GAUTIER DE COINCI

VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.COM

MEDIEVAL TEXTS AND CULTURES OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Editorial Board under the auspices of the
Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Hull

Wendy Scase, Chair, *University of Birmingham*

John Arnold, *University of London, Birkbeck College*
Lesley A. Coote, *University of Hull*
David Crouch, *University of Hull*
Alan Deighton, *University of Hull*
Alan Hindley, *University of Hull*
Judith Jesch, *University of Nottingham*
Adrian P. Tudor, *University of Hull*

Advisory Board

Andrew Ayton, *University of Hull*
David Bagchi, *University of Hull*
Elaine C. Block, *Misericordia International*
Keith Busby, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
Olle Ferm, *University of Stockholm*
Wim Hüsken, *Stedelijke Musea, Mechelen*
Gerhard Jaritz, *Central European University, Budapest*
Peter Meredith, *University of Leeds*
Veronica O'Mara, *University of Hull*
Nigel F. Palmer, *University of Oxford*
Brigitte Schludermann, *University of Hull*
Michel Zink, *Collège de France, Membre de l'Institut*

VOLUME 13

Gautier de Coinci

Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts

Edited by

Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones

BREPOLS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Gautier de Coinci : miracles, music, and manuscripts. – (Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe ; v. 13)
1. Gautier, de Coinci, 1177?-1236. Miracles Nostre Dame 2. Gautier, de Coinci, 1177?-1236 – Manuscripts 3. Mary, Blessed Virgin, Saint – In literature 4. Mary, Blessed Virgin, Saint – Songs and music 5. Manuscripts, Medieval – France 6. Manuscripts, French – History – To 1500 7. Part songs, French – 500-1400 - History and criticism
I. Krause, Kathy M., 1962- II. Stones, Alison
841.1

ISBN-13: 9782503520605

© 2006, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2006/0095/172
ISBN: 978-2-503-52060-5

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper

Contents

List of Illustrations ix

List of Musical Figures xiii

List of Tables xv

List of Abbreviations xvi

Preface and Acknowledgements xix

Introduction. Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*: Texts and Manuscripts 1
ARDIS BUTTERFIELD

Manuscripts

L'Œuvre en contexte: la place de Gautier de Coinci dans les recueils cycliques des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* 21
OLIVIER COLLET

Minstrel's Mantle and Monk's Hood: The Authorial Persona of Gautier de Coinci in his Poetry and Illuminations 37
KATHRYN A. DUYS

Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts 65
ALISON STONES

Words and Music

L'*Annominatio* chez Gautier: vocabulaire et syntaxe 101
PIERRE KUNSTMANN

Gautier's Wordplay as Devotional Ecstasy 113
ROBERT L. A. CLARK

Gautier de Coinci est-il un compositeur? 127
FRÉDÉRIC BILLIET

L'Interprétation musicale du *Cycle de Sainte Léocade* 149
CLAIRE CHAMIYÉ COUDERC

From Auxerre to Soissons: The Earliest History of the Responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo* in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* 167
BARBARA HAGGH

Figures and Types

Gautier de Coinci and Medieval Childbirth Miracles 197
RENATE BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI

Histoire poétique du péché: de quelques figures littéraires de la faute dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci 215
YASMINA FOEHR-JANSSENS

Gazing on Women in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* 227
KATHY M. KRAUSE

Images of the Virgin Mary in the Soissons Manuscript (Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 24541) 253
NANCY BLACK

Contexts

The Rose, the Blessed Virgin Undefiled: Incarnational Piety in Gautier's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* 281
LAUREL BROUGHTON

Telling the Same Tale? Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the First *Vie des Pères* 301
ADRIAN P. TUDOR

Or escoutez une merveille! Parallel Paths: Gautier de Coinci and the Fabliaux 331
† BRIAN J. LEVY

Appendices

I. Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame:* Manuscript List 345
KATHRYN A. DUYS ASSISTED BY KATHY M. KRAUSE AND ALISON STONES

II. Manuscripts that Preserve the Songs of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Listed by Date and Sigla 367
KATHRYN A. DUYS

III. Illustrated *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Manuscripts Listed by Sigla 369
ALISON STONES

IV. Illustrated *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Manuscripts Listed by Stylistic Attribution and Attributable Manuscripts Whose *MND* Selection is Unillustrated 373
ALISON STONES

V. The Prayer of Theophilus, II Prière 37 397
ALISON STONES

VI. Owners of *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Manuscripts 407
ALISON STONES

Select Bibliography: Gautier de Coinci and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* 443

Index 455

List of Contributors 487

Illustrations

Kathryn A. Duys, 'Minstrel's Mantle and Monk's Hood: The Authorial Persona of Gautier de Coinci in his Poetry and Illuminations'

Figure 1, p. 53. I Prologue 2. The only portrait of Gautier de Coinci that unequivocally portrays him as a musician. MS B, Brussels, BR, 10747, fol. 3r (photo: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier)

Figure 2, p. 54. King David portrayed as he is described in the narrative of the Old French *Eructavit*. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 264r (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

Figure 3, p. 57. II Epitre 33. Musical hybrid at the head of Gautier's epilogue poem. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 232v (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

Figure 4, p. 58. II Doutance 34. Musical hybrid at the head of the sermon on the fear of death. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 233v (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

Figure 5, p. 59. II Prologue 1. Musical hybrid at the opening of *MND* Book II. MS N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 105r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 6, p. 61. I Miracle 11: *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*. A small hybrid monk on the decorative bar dividing the Theophilus miracle (I Mir 10) from the beginning of the Ildefonsus miracle. MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 57v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Alison Stones, 'Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts'

Figure 1, p. 67. Virgin and Child enthroned. MS M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163, fol. 1^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 2, p. 68. A clerical figure at the feet of Christ in Majesty with the Evangelist Symbols. MS M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163, fol. 2^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 3, p. 69. Genealogy of the Virgin. MS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517, fol. 7^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

Figure 4, p. 70. Genealogy of the Virgin. MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 0^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 5, p. 71. Swearing Page: Virgin and Child enthroned between angels. *Costuma*, Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, 42, fol. 8^{r} (photo: author)

Figure 6, p. 74. Gautier as cleric kneeling before the Virgin and Child. MS G, Paris, BNF, fr. 1530, fol. 1^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 7, p. 75. Cosmography of Eustache de Lens, Author writing, Soissons, BM, 3, fol. 1^{r} (photo: author)

Figure 8, p. 76. Gautier before the Virgin and Child. MS F, Paris, BNF, fr. 986, fol. 1^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 9, p. 77. Old Testament prophet. MS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517, fol. 6^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

Figure 10, p. 78. Gautier as hooded monk in black habit, seated writing. MS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517, fol. 140^{r} bis (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

Figure 11, p. 80. I Miracle 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*. MS N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 58^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 12, p. 80. I Miracle 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 93^{v} (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

Figure 13, p. 81. I Miracle 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*. MS. L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 101^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 14, p. 81. Latin miracle of the pregnant abbess. Paris, BNF, lat. 17491, fol. 42v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 15, p. 82. I Miracle 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*. MS N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 49v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 16, p. 82. I Miracle 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 84v (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

Figure 17, p. 83. I Miracle 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*. MS. L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 91r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 18, p. 84. Cistercian Gradual from Vauclair. Laon, BM, 241, fol. 1r (photo: author)

Figure 19, p. 84. Adoration of the Magi, Valenciennes, BM, 397, fol. 43r (photo: author)

Figure 20, p. 85. St Katherine disputing with masters. Valenciennes, BM, 396, fol. 125v (photo: author)

Figure 21, p. 87. Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne, Châlons-sur-Marne, BM, 45, front cover (photo: author)

Figure 22, p. 88. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*. Laon, BM, 426, fol. 135r (photo: author)

Figure 23, p. 88. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*. Paris, BNF, lat. 6428C, fol. 1r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 24, p. 89. Virgin and Child enthroned. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2689, fol. 10r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève)

Figure 25, p. 97. Virgin Mary standing at a door, facing the kneeling donor. Cambrai, MM, 87, fol. 210r (photo: author)

Figure 26, p. 98. Heraldic initial, arms of Gautier de Châtillon and his wife. Cambrai, MM, 87, fol. 211r (photo: author)

Kathy M. Krause, 'Gazing on Women in the Miracles de Nostre Dame*'*

Figure 1, p. 238. I Miracle 20, *De l'abbesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*, MS T, Besançon, BM, 551, fol. 42v

Figure 2, p. 241. II Miracle 26, *D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon dou feu*, MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 236^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 3, p. 242. I Miracle 18, *De une noble fame de Rome*, MS B, Brussels, BR, 10747, fol. 40^{r} (photo: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier)

Nancy Black, 'Images of the Virgin Mary in the Soissons Manuscript (Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 24541)'

Figure 1, p. 259. I Miracle 13, *De la tavlete en coi l'ymage de la mere Dieu estoit painte*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 36^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 2, p. 259. I Miracle 32, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 67^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 3, p. 260. I Mir 34, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame qui se desfendi dou quarrel*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 70^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 4, p. 261. II Miracle 12, *Comment Nostre Dame desfendi la cité de Constantinnoble*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 154^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 5, p. 262. II Miracle 30, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame de Sardanei*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 206^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 6, p. 263. I Miracle 11, *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol 29^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 7, p. 265. I Miracle 21, *De l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 51^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 8, p. 266. I Prologue 1, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a fr. 24541, fol. 2^{r} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 9, p. 267. End of *MND*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 231^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Musical Figures

Frédéric Billiet, 'Gautier de Coinci est-il un compositeur??'

Music 1, p. 128. Superposition of Gautier's *Esforcier m'estuet ma voiz* and the *cantiga Dereit édess'end'achar*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 45

Music 2, p. 129. Superposition of Gautier's *Pour conforter mon cuer et mon coraige* and Alfonso X's *Coma Deus é comprida Trinidade*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 118

Music 3, p. 133. Motet from Montpellier manuscript showing the characteristic jump of a fifth, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 65. (Montpellier, BIU, Section Médecine H196, fols 138^{v}–140^{r})

Music 4, p. 133. Gautier, refrain from *Vilaines genz*, showing the jump of a fifth, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 137

Music 5, p. 133. Gautier, refrain 'Cui donrai je mes amours' in *Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 146

Music 6, p. 134. *Au flagel d'argen*t, refrain found in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* as well as Gautier's *Entendez tuit ensemble, et li clerc et li lai* in MS F, Paris, BNF fr. 986, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 67

Music 7, p. 137. Superposition of Gautier's *Entendez tuit, et li clerc et li lai*, monodic version, and Pérotin's *Beata viscera*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 148

Music 8, p. 137. Superposition (by Chailley) of Gautier's *Pour mon chief reconforter*, Thibaut de Blazon's *Chanter et renvoisier seuil*, and the Latin two-voice conductus *Sol sub nube latuit*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 154

Music 9, p. 138. Superposition (by Chailley) of Gautier's *Hui enfantez fu li filz Dieu* and the sequence *Laetabundus* from the Christmas Mass, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley p. 153

Music 10, p. 140. Gautier, two-voice version of *Entendez tuit ensemble, et li clerc et li lai* from MS B, Brussels, BR, 10747, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 71

Music 11, p. 141. Melody of *Benedicamus Domino*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 138

Music 12, p. 141. Three-voice organum clausula from Notre Dame on the cantus-firmus *Benedicamus Domino* in the 5th mode, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 138

Music 13, p. 141. Two-voice motet *Hyer matin a l'enjournee* whose upper voice serves as the model for Gautier's *Hui matin a l'ajornee*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 138

Music 14, p. 141. Gautier, *Hui matin a l'ajornee*, contrafactum of the upper voice of *Hyer matin a l'enjournee*, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 138

Claire Chamiyé Couderc, 'L'interprétation musicale du Cycle de Sainte Léocade*'*

Music 1, pp. 158–60. Transcription in modern notation of the melody of Gautier's chanson 20, *Las! las! las! las! par grant délit* (by author)

Tables

Robert L. A. Clark, 'Gautier's Wordplay as Devotional Ecstasy'

Appendix, pp. 122–25. *Annominatio* in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Claire Chamiyé Couderc, 'L'interprétation musicale du Cycle de Sainte Léocade*'*

Table 1, p. 158. Manuscrits musicaux contenant le *Cycle de Sainte Leochade*

Table 2, p. 161. Chanson 20 – Emplacement des variantes musicales

Kathy M. Krause, 'Gazing on Women in the Miracles de Nostre Dame*'*

Table 1, p. 229. Miracles with significant female characters, other than the Virgin Mary

Table 2, p. 231. Miracles with female characters who are subjected to a gaze

Adrian Tudor, 'Telling the Same Tale? Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame *and the First* Vie des Pères*'*

Table 1, pp. 304–05. Manuscripts of the *Vie de Pères*

Table 2, pp. 305–06. Manuscripts containing tales from both the *Vie des Pères* and the *MND*

Abbreviations

atl	above top line
B. Ars.	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Pal. lat.	Palatinus latinus
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
fr.	français
lat.	latin
n.a.	nouvelle acquisition
BR	Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier
btl	below top line
Catalogue général	*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements [. . .]*, 7 vols in 4 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849–85); *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, 59 vols (Paris: Plon/BNF, 1886–1975); *Bibliothèque nationale: Département des manuscrits, Catalogue general des manuscrits français. Anciens petits fonds français*, ed. by Charles de la Roncière, 3 vols (Paris: Leroux, 1898–1902); *Ancien Saint-Germain français*, ed. by H. Omont and L. Auvray, 3 vols (Paris: Leroux, 1898–1900); *Ancien supplément français*, ed. by H. Omont, 3 vols, I: *Nos 1–3060* (1899); II: *Nos 3061–6500* (1900); III: *Nos 6501–*

10000 (1900); IV: *Nos 10001–11353 et 20001–22811* (1918); 'Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1932–1935: Inventaire sommaire', ed. by P. Lauer, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 96 (1935); 'Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1941–1945: Inventaire sommaire', ed. by Jean Porcher, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 106 (1945–46); 'Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1946–50: Inventaire sommaire', ed. by Suzanne Solente, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 112 (1954); *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1946–1957, Nos 13005–14061, 24219–25100* (Paris: BNF, 1967); *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1958–1971, Nos 14062–16427 et 25101–25245* (Paris: BNF, 1981); *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1972–1986, Nos 16428–18755,* ed. by Florence Callu and Annie Angremy (Paris: BNF, 1999).

DG — Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci: Description et classement sommaire des manuscrits. Notice Biographique. Édition des miracles 'D'un chevalier a cui sa volenté fu contee por fait aprés sa mort', et 'Coment Nostre Dame desfendi la cité de Costentinnoble' d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae, Series B, 25 (Helsingfors: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1932)

KB — Koninklijke Bibliotheek

MM — Médiathèque Municipale

MND — *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, with the following abbreviations from Koenig's edition

Ch	chanson(s)
Chast	*Chasteé as nonains*
Dout	(*de la*) *Doutance de la mort*
Epi	epilogue
Mir	miracle
Pr	Prologue
Sal	salut

NLR	National Library of Russia
PL	Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64)

Preface and Acknowledgements

The idea for this volume arose around the manuscripts in Paris and took shape in a conference held at the University of Pittsburgh jointly sponsored and organized by Alison Stones of the Department of History of Art and Architecture and Kathy Krause of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Missouri, Kansas City. Our aim was to invite specialists in different disciplines to come together and explore Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* from a variety of points of view — textual, codicological, musicological, art-historical, and historical. Gautier's œuvre and its manuscripts are among the first corpora in which vernacular poetry, music, and pictures are transmitted together, setting a pattern by the middle of the thirteenth century that anticipates the great song compilations of the later Middle Ages. The reception of Gautier's manuscripts in later centuries attests to the continuing fascination this material held for subsequent owners, readers, and singers.

We thank all the participants for their varied contributions, which attest to the range of interests Gautier de Coinci and his œuvre still hold for medievalists. We acknowledge the support of the libraries holding the originals for allowing us access, and of the staff of the Sections romane and codicologique of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes for making their resources available to us. Financial support was generously provided by the Honors College, West European Studies Program, University Center for International Studies, Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program, Departments of English, French and Italian, History, History of Art and Architecture, Music, Religious Studies, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and the Visual Information Systems Center at the University of Pittsburgh; and the Graduate School and the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Missouri, Kansas City.

The editors, contributors, and editorial board of Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe deeply regret the untimely death of our colleague Brian Levy but are happy that we were able to include his essay in this volume. We thank Brian's colleague Adrian Tudor for his editorial assistance. The essay is a testament to Brian's scholarship and his inestimable sense of humour, so much in evidence at our conference, and we dedicate this volume to his memory.

Introduction
Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*: Texts and Manuscripts

Ardis Butterfield

Gautier de Coinci was one of the most significant vernacular authors of the thirteenth century. Composed early in a century when vernacular song was gaining new visibility as a written form, his major work, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), marks him out as a profoundly innovatory poet and musician who influenced the course of later medieval vernacular writing to an extent that is only now being gradually realized. He is a figure whose work, by its pioneering character, stands on the edge of several modern disciplinary approaches. If this has caused undue neglect in the past, a collective sense is at last growing, as evidenced in this volume of essays, of the kind of original, collaborative research that his writings are capable of generating.

Gautier de Coinci's *MND* is more than a single work: it is a complex compilation in several genres of nearly sixty verse narratives in two books, a substantial repertory of songs, and a range of further pious material including prayers, *saluts*, and versified sermons. The particular form of this variety as image, text, and music, and its protean survival in a dauntingly large number of manuscript copies demands not only the attention of specialists in a wide range of fields — music, literature, art history, codicology, palaeography, and lexicography — but also a recognition that work in these fields needs to adapt mutually to the stimulus of trying to interpret the *MND* as a whole. In other words, Gautier's *MND* has been, and will continue to be, a powerful encouragement to new kinds of research across fields, and not merely to further research within the current boundaries of those fields. This introduction will outline some principal areas in which the *MND*

both participates in leading current questions concerning the interpretation of medieval vernacular writing and urges ways of reformulating them.

It may not be clear, at first sight, why the *MND* has any special claim on our attention over the many other books surviving from the Middle Ages that combine image, music, and text. Two main reasons offer themselves. First, it survives in this form in an unusually large number of manuscripts — over one hundred in total from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries[1] (twelve with extensive musical notation) — and second, it presents this combination with an exceptional degree of structural sophistication that has as yet been only partially unravelled. It therefore represents an interpretative challenge that puts it on a par with that other outstanding medieval example of intricate musical, textual, and pictorial interplay, this time from the early fourteenth century, *Le Roman de Fauvel* in Paris, BNF, fr. 146. Recently analysed in an ambitious effort of interdisciplinary collaborative enquiry, *Le Roman de Fauvel* has seemed to offer modern scholarship a unique impetus towards redefining itself.[2] The single codex became the object of a simultaneous and multiple gaze in which the light of each perspective was intensified by the others. Gautier's *MND* offers a parallel challenge, but from the opposite vantage point of a whole history of manuscript production. Trying to catch hold of the significance of the *MND* thus involves the detailed assessment of a single manuscript's performance of the work only as part of its longer theatrical history, its rearrangements, new orderings, substitutions, and reworkings over two hundred years. This task is only just beginning.

One further crucial respect in which the *MND* differs from *Fauvel* is that the earlier work is much more emphatically the work of a single author. The existing secular satiric narrative of Fauvel the horse by Gervès du Bus was transformed and extended in BNF fr. 146 by at least one other individual, a certain Chaillou de Pesstain; the result is a work overlaid and punctuated by a vast profusion of

[1] Of the 115 manuscripts, seventeen preserve Gautier's complete collection of eighty-nine miracle tales and accompanying songs and texts, twenty-two preserve large groups of poems from the collection (often all of Book I), and finally, the remaining seventy-six manuscripts contain just one or two of Gautier's poems excerpted within other collections. See below, p. 6 and the complete list of manuscripts in Appendix I.

[2] *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146*, introduction by Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude, 1990); Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, eds, *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS français 146* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

multiauthored (as well as anonymous) material.[3] Gautier's *MND* was not at all immune from similar processes (as I shall discuss shortly), but a strong authorial assertiveness in the songs as well as the miracle narratives means that the relation between the two genres, and indeed between the contents of the manuscripts and their organization, is governed by the image (if not always the presence) of a single author figure. A central question for this introduction concerns the way we are to perceive and understand authorial control through so widely dispersed a production history, lasting well beyond the death of the author. This question has particular resonance for a work first composed in the early decades of the thirteenth century: several scholars have asserted that authorial control is to be understood as applying to vernacular writings only later in the century, most notably in the 'Adam de la Halle codex' (Paris, BNF, fr. 25566) and that it becomes fully visible in the material form of manuscripts only in the fourteenth century with the production of 'complete works' copies of the poetry and music of Guillaume de Machaut.[4] Gautier's *MND* redirects our attention to the role and publishing power of the medieval vernacular author back towards a much earlier period.[5]

Alongside the complexity of its manuscript history and the questions raised by its compositional date, the *MND* is a work of unusual generic contrasts. Although it does not match the sheer versatility of generic reference displayed in the *Fauvel* codex, it testifies to an equally exhilarating ambition to mix genre and register on

[3] For discussion of the authorship of the *Roman de Fauvel*, see Bent and Wathey, eds, *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 12–15, and Elisabeth Lalou, 'La Chancellerie royale à la fin du règne de Philippe IV le Bel, in ibid., p. 307–19, on the possible identity of Chaillou as a royal notary.

[4] The most influential account of this process is by Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987). She sees the single-author codex as a predominantly fourteenth-century phenomenon, and Gautier as belonging outside this tradition (p. 40). Huot's chronology has been widely repeated (see, for instance, with some qualifications, Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols, Faux Titre, 221–22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 481–82), but one reason for this is that literary scholars have largely ignored musical manuscripts. See Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 28–29, 34–35, 293–94, and passim.

[5] See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, and Kathryn A. Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1997). I would like to thank Karen Duys for kindly sending me a copy of her fine thesis, and I have based some of my references to the manuscript tradition of the *Miracles* on her revisions of DG (see note 12 below). See also Appendix I for further refinements.

a large scale. I mentioned earlier its structural sophistication; yet even before we consider how order and sequence, repetition, and allusion function across and within the song and the miracle narratives, the separate categories of *chant* and *dit* composition within the larger work turn out to be astonishingly inventive explorations of seemingly settled generic and registral distinctions. In what follows, after some discussion of the nature of the *MND* as a compilation in the context of some other medieval compilations, Gautier's treatment of *chant* and of narrative (of various kinds) will be considered separately in order to introduce these explorations in detail. The discussion will also broach some of the broader issues of how we are to understand structure and emphasis across the work as a set of relationships between different genres and between words and music, before, finally, we return to the long durée of the work's textual history and what it can teach us about the literary, musical, and artistic appreciation of a medieval work's changing, collaboratively produced material realization over time.

Compilation and the Image of the Author

In its character as a compilation, Gautier's *MND* bears comparison with several other large vernacular literary collections, ranging from the later thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese song book written in its wake, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, to books mixing both song and narrative (though not necessarily containing music), such as Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor*, the Adam de la Halle codex which also includes more dramatic works, the *Fauvel* book, and fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies of the works of Machaut, Froissart, and Deschamps, and of the English writers Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate. While all these instances of compilation have been studied separately, some more fully than others, further research on the common issues raised among them would be profitable.

To a greater extent, even, than Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, modern editions of the *MND* do not attempt to represent any one medieval version of the work.[6]

[6] In practice, modern editions of *The Canterbury Tales* are all based on one of two manuscripts, Ellesmere 26 C 9 (Huntington Library, San Marino) and Hengwrt 154 (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth), both written by the same scribe and earliest in date among the surviving copies. However, confusingly, each manuscript presents the tales in a different order, and among the fifty-five 'complete' copies, there are no fewer than twenty-seven different tale orders. The standard teaching edition, *The Riverside Chaucer* (gen. ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)), is based on Ellesmere. In short, in contrast to Koenig's treatment of the *Miracles*, modern editors of Chaucer have largely given up the attempt to find the 'original'

The careful and detailed description of the contents of the whole work given by V. F. Koenig does not correspond to the contents of *any* of the ninety-five manuscripts from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century in which the *MND* is copied.[7] That there are good reasons for accepting the pragmatism of Koenig's description does not diminish the point that any convenient modern view of the work as forming a single 'whole' is distorting a fluid and in some sense unfixable object.[8] We are used to thinking of medieval works as part of a textual culture in which *mouvance* is privileged over the kind of textual stability that is achievable through print, yet it might still seem surprising to find such persistent individuality over as many as ninety-five copies.[9] In short, the *MND* was a work in which the principle of order and selection was intrinsically variable and always open to further innovation: no settled and exactly copied sense of the work's *ordinatio* was sought until the twentieth century.

The openness of structure in the *MND* nonetheless operates within certain constraints and takes different forms within the manuscript tradition. Three modern editors have worked extensively on the Gautier manuscripts: Arlette Ducrot-Granderye, Jacques Chailley, and Vernon Koenig. It is a further indication of the complexity of the tradition that their work is so distinct: Ducrot-Granderye's pioneering work (DG) described the individual books, their *ordinatio*

or 'authorial' state of the *Tales* as a finished, ordered work (although it must be said that this does not always prevent the *Riverside Chaucer* from functioning in modern criticism as if it were Chaucer's finished work).

[7] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. F. Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70), I, pp. ix–xiv.

[8] It is an interesting problem in the case of the *Miracles* because it arises out of its being regarded as a single work. We more easily accept compilations as being inherently unique; it is less easy (as with Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*) to *realize* this with a work which is also a compilation. For further discussion on the interpretive issues facing modern readers of medieval compilations (including debate over such terms as miscellany, compilation, and anthology), see, for example, Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Susanna Fein, ed., *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000); Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); and *Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies*, ed. by Phillipa Hardman, special issue, *Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003).

[9] The classic and highly influential exposition of the term *mouvance* in relation to medieval texts is by Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972), pp. 71–72.

and their copying affiliations; Chailley studied the music of the songs and established much useful information about their contexts, allusions, and musical history;[10] and Koenig undertook the labour of producing a full textual edition of the songs and narratives.[11] Ducrot-Granderye grouped the tradition into three main branches: those that form a more or less 'complete' version of the *MND* (seventeen manuscripts); a group in which smaller ('semi-complete') arrangements of material from the *MND* are inserted into other larger compilations, often of the *Vie des Pères* (twenty manuscripts); and thirdly, the largest group (seventy-six manuscripts), in which single or very small clusters of miracles and other poems are included in many different types of compilation, such as collections of didactic narratives, some including *fabliaux*, and also more formal devotional material: books of hours, sermon handbooks, a prayer book, a vernacular psalter, and a breviary.[12] The illustrative tradition of the Gautier manuscripts has been relatively neglected by comparison; extensive new work by Alison Stones in this volume has clarified many details of their stylistic affiliations and of their production and reception in the areas of Soissons itself, the rest of the Reims province, Paris, and the east, south, and west regions of what is now France.

This tripartite grouping immediately indicates three different perceptions of the *MND*: as a large collection of narratives and songs in its own right, as a resource for creating smaller and more diverse sequences of pious narratives, and as a further resource for individual examples of stories of the Virgin or of single prayers which could be used to aid both lay and priestly devotions.[13] Each category deserves more scrutiny and much further research; what may be suggested here is

[10] *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci (1177[78]–1236): Edition musical critique avec introduction et commentaires*, ed. by Jacques Chailley, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, 15 (Paris: Heugel, 1959).

[11] More recent editorial work on the texts has been carried out by Olivier Collet: see his *La Vie de sainte Cristine, Edition critique d'après le manuscrit f.fr.817 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Textes Littéraires Français, 510 (Geneva: Droz, 1999); the important study *Glossaire et index critiques des œuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 227 (Geneva: Droz, 2000), and his 'Gautier de Coinci: Les oeuvres d'attribution incertaine', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 43–98. The work of Koenig, as Collet points out, is in need of overall revision (*Glossaire*, p. x); that of Chailley perhaps even more so.

[12] For a lucid account, see Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song', pp. 20–24. The totals given here reflect the additional manuscripts added to the list since Ducrot-Granderye's work. See Appendices I and V of the present volume.

[13] See further the conclusions drawn by Stones about the evidence of the widening reception of the prayers especially among the lay populace into the late fifteenth century (pp. 95–98).

some sense of how they compare with our knowledge of other medieval compilations and other representations of generically mixed works. It should be said at the outset that these different perceptions do not necessarily imply a graded sense of authorship. In other words, the principles of selection from Gautier's compositions that we see across this large range of manuscripts have the potential to tell us a great deal more than we currently know about the processes by which a vernacular author gained currency, and the small extracts may yield as much about this process as the large collections.

The substantial group of seventeen that present the *MND* as a large and distinctive if somewhat permeable collection, thirteen of which have musical notation for the songs, form an extraordinary repertory for the modern scholar.[14] It is important to stress how unusual these manuscripts are as a group not just at this date but throughout the thirteenth century. Paradoxically it is the very profligacy of their survival which is so unique: when we look for vernacular comparisons of single works that combine song and narrative we find that nearly all survive in single copies. Moreover, the number that contains musical notation can be counted on one hand: only *Fauvel* is on a similar scale, and it survives, as I have remarked, in a unique version.[15] *Aucassin et Nicolette*, likewise, occurs in a single surviving copy, and its compact prose-laisse structure is rather different from the framed two-book pattern of the *MND*. Jean Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose* is an important frame of reference for Gautier, as I shall discuss later, but again, it has come down to us in a single copy, with no music for the songs which are cited mostly in excerpted form. The success of the *MND* by comparison suggests that its particular presentation of mixed genres in a pious context had a much wider appeal; yet the implications of the extent, role, and place of musical copying in vernacular piety have barely been studied.

The *MND* manuscripts on the face of it seem to have more in common with two other kinds of collection: the *chansonniers* and the later 'complete works' copies of Adam de la Halle, Watriquet de Couvin, the Condés, Machaut, Froissart, and Deschamps.[16] Each comparison draws out different aspects of the

[14] One of the thirteen, Paris, BNF, fr. 2193 (MS o), however, has fake notation.

[15] For a summary of the evidence and a list of manuscripts containing musical notation, see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 177–78, and Appendix II in the present volume.

[16] On these 'complete works' copies, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, pp. 211–327, who, however, specifically excludes Gautier's *Miracles* from her survey (see note 4 above); Busby, *Codex and Context*, pp. 473–84, provides an interesting discussion of manuscript constructions of authorship in relation to Marie de France.

MND; the placing of the songs in discrete sequences before each book of narratives is a means of anthologizing them that is closely analogous to the authorially organized sequences collected in the main *chansonniers*. Since none of the surviving *chansonniers* dates from before the 1250s at the earliest, the early compositional date of the *MND* (between 1214 and 1233) provides us with vital evidence for this pre-*chansonnier* stage in the writing down of vernacular song. If it is part *chansonnier*, the *MND* is also more than a single work; it is perhaps better understood as Gautier's œuvre, his life's work. A hundred years before Machaut, Gautier drew together his poetic and musical compositions and shaped them into a collection that acquired authority, both as a whole and in its constituent parts. His act requires us to rethink the character and disseminatory power of vernacular authorship. Authorship did not after all emerge as a gradual evolutionary process, with writers gradually gaining an increasing level of self-consciousness about writing and its significance. Gautier upsets this teleology: long before other writers and compilers achieved anything similar he created a work that promoted his own brand of charismatic didacticism through the very elaborateness of its material form.

Gautier's *MND* thus stands alone in many respects, yet also, through its successful and wide transmission, offers reasons for thinking that further study of the links between sacred and secular vernacular writing in the period would broaden our understanding of vernacular authorship. A continuing theme of research shown in the essays comprising this volume is that his work centrally raises issues of 'wholeness': lying somewhere between unity and diversity it is characterized not by singleness but by the desire to link disparate elements — song and narrative, sacred and secular, words and music — in unexpectedly close yet often equivocal associations.

Song and the MND

The presence of song in the *MND* is one of its most remarkable features. The songs are remarkable both for what they achieve as individual pieces and as examples of their genre and for their role in the overall collection. Looked at individually, they are in fact the first *chansons pieuses*: Gautier creates a new genre in which the high art secular songs of the *trouvères* are rewritten as devotional Marian lyrics. Musically they are *contrafacta*; their sacred texts are modelled structurally upon and set to the melodies of a large range of *trouvère* chansons, *pastourelles*, and refrains. They represent some of the most sophisticated and creative examples of *contrafacta* in the medieval period. Their subtlety derives from Gautier's pioneering redefinition of the role of the *trouvère* and his appropriation of it for a new

sacred context. He makes great play of this in his prologues to each book, simultaneously abusing secular song and taking advantage of it. The extent to which he draws on secular models can be seen in his delineation of his own role as performer, which is closely analagous to the *trouvère*'s: he composes and sings for the love of his lady ('Et atemprer veil ma viele, / Se chanterai de la pucele', I Pr 2, vv. 57–58).

Several contributors present new research or develop further arguments about Gautier's role as a musician as well as poet. Karen Duys argues that Gautier's presentation of himself as author is in part to be understood as an uneasy refashioning of the persona of the monk through that of the minstrel. From a more directly musicological standpoint, Frédéric Billiet and Claire Couderc reconsider Gautier's use of *contrafacta* as part of an oral as well as literate praxis, while Barbara Haggh traces the rich and complex history of one of his most widely known musical citations, the Marian responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo*.

The tensions that Gautier both creates and exploits in his *chansons* have a much wider resonance in the work. From a structural point of view, the song sequences set up a rival presence to the narrative: they give the reader a quite different mode of instruction from the miracle narratives and provoke questions about emphasis and interpretation. Is the work a collection of songs or a collection of narratives? Of course, it turns out to be both, but neither is an expected concomitant of the other, and to have both together makes one ponder the differences between each genre and how the juxtaposition of the two affects our interpretation of each. That this question runs deep can be seen in the early reception of the *MND*, for in copying terms, the songs and the narratives have distinct traditions.[17] The full implications of this have yet to be drawn out, but it warns us away from assuming an easy assimilation between the two elements of the work. Indeed the manuscript tradition is itself witness to a perceived division between the work as a combination of song and narrative, and as primarily a repository of narrative.

In considering the songs, we therefore need to take account of the fact that Gautier presents them as intrinsically embedded within a larger narrative structure. It is the group of 'complete' manuscripts that transmits the songs: only one of them (Paris, BNF, fr. 1613, MS K) leaves them out (reminding us that 'complete' is a rather variable term), and conversely, there are only two instances in the whole tradition where individual songs are independently circulated (London,

[17] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, pp. 81–82.

BL, Egerton 274 (MS 10-bis) and Rouen, BM, 533 (MS Add-17)).[18] From the 'complete' manuscripts we can see how thoroughly Gautier seems to have conceived of the songs as ways of creating formal divisions throughout the work. The two books of miracles are framed by an elaborately interlocking pattern of prologues and epilogues: thus as well as the expected main prologue ('Ci commence li prologues seur les myracles Nostre Dame que Gautiers, prieus de Vi, moines de Saint Mart, translata', Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, MS L), Book I is prefaced by a sequence of songs. These, however, are given their own status as a collection by being prefaced in turn by a separate prologue. In several of the manuscripts, Book I finishes with a further sequence of songs. A third prologue, followed by another collection of songs, then introduces Book II of the *MND*. The end of Book II is marked by a wide variety of concluding pieces. Depending on the manuscript there is a main epilogue, followed by a sermon on the fear of death, a long verse amplification of the Ave Maria (*Li Salus Nostre Dame*), again with its own prologue, a final song ('Entendez tuit ensemble') and up to four prayers.

Once again it is interesting to see how accretive the structure of the *MND* is: the very broadest pattern is one of alternation between song and narrative sections, yet it would be more accurate to see the work 'as a whole' as a means of exploring several ways of creating formal division. The seventeen 'complete' manuscripts present a range of possibilities, some more controlled than others; what they collectively show is how interested Gautier was in creating a complex structure, in giving his material a variety of openings and conclusions. Moreover, in showing several kinds of sequence and microsequence, the manuscripts do not merely illustrate an elaborate *ordinatio*, they give it a thematic importance in its own right: the issue of how the *MND* are disposed and arranged is not incidental to the work but intrinsic to the way Gautier seems to wish them to be received.

Although the songs have a fairly consistent place in the larger structure of book division, as microsequences they are full of fluidity. The number of songs within each sequence changes from manuscript to manuscript, as does their order, and new songs are constantly interpolated. As Karen Duys has remarked, the *MND* 'attracted lyric in astonishing quantities'.[19] In a manner that prefigures *Fauvel*, no fewer than seventy-two songs in total[20] make their way into the Gautier manu-

[18] See the tables provided by Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song', Table 1.1 (pp. 15–17) and Table 1.2 (p. 45), and her discussion at pp. 47–48.

[19] Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song', p. 49.

[20] I take this figure from Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song', p. 210, n. 6; see also her Appendix II; *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, pp. 5–11, lists sixty-five.

scripts, nearly half of which are Latin and include polyphonic motets as well as monophonic *conductus*, Alleluias, and a sequence. Many of these are to be found in a single huge compilation, Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 (MS D), in which the more common pattern of four locations for song (including the final 'Entendez tuit ensemble') is doubled to eight. Musically, there is also considerable flux: as is common for secular chansons in the *chansonniers*, melodies do not only vary for the same texts in different manuscripts, they may be quite different; in some cases a normally monophonic song is provided with a duplum.[21]

The songs thus generate more energy, resourcefulness, and imitation among copyists and compilers than any other element in the *MND*. Looked at as a group, the manuscripts with songs act as a kind of parallel universe to the largely secular transmission of courtly song that takes place among the *chansonniers* and romances of the mid-thirteenth century on.[22] Gautier's *chansons pieuses* act as a magnet attracting many types of (largely Marian) pieces to support and extend their devotional evangelism. For Chailley this moveable feast of satellite pieces was a cause of anxiety and scholarly trouble. He spent much time and ink worrying over their authenticity: since the majority are unattributed and not known from other sources, it is difficult, often impossible, to be certain of their origin. Some may have been the copyists' or compilers' own work; others the work of known composers that was inserted anonymously; some, even, additional pieces by Gautier. Yet it is possible to stand back from these questions of authenticity and still find oneself addressing the notion of authority. The very flexibility of the prologue and book structure of the *MND* does not weaken Gautier's authorial power, but strengthens it. His strong, idiosyncratic voice and distinctive refashioning of *trouvère* song works centripetally to pull together a whole corpus of Marian lyric: in some sense all these songs are attributable to the force of this central authorial initiative.

I want to finish this discussion of song in the *MND* by returning to the detail of the songs themselves. As Chailley demonstrates, and Billiet reinforces through his survey of Gautier's musical sources, Gautier bases his chansons on a wide acquaintance with contemporary *trouvère* lyric. The Soissonais was rich in *trouvères*, both from the earlier generation (Huon d'Oisy, Conon de Béthune, Guy de Couci, Blondel de Nesle, and Gace Brulé) and from Gautier's close con-

[21] See *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. by Chailley, p. 68.

[22] I say 'largely secular' since certain *chansonniers*, such as Paris, BNF, n. a. fr.1050, also contain small groups of *chansons pieuses*. The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* is exceptional in the period as a collection of exclusively Marian songs, surviving with notation.

temporaries (Vidame de Chartres, Roger d'Andeli, Colin Muset, and Richard de Fournival). His chansons illustrate through their texts as much as their music and their music as much as their texts the full subtlety of process in *contrafacta* composition. He does more than merely borrow an existing tune and set new words to it: he engages in a double attack with music and text in simultaneous and concerted formation. Just as his texts play on the secular wit of his sources and seek to trump it, often by turning the words against their own meanings, so his melodies implicitly comment on the melodies of their sources and turn their rhythmic and melodic features against them.[23]

Yet Gautier's ostensible fury and contempt for those who praise Marot rather than Marie is not all it seems. Several of his songs take a high-style model and then cut into it lower-style refrains. Ironically, he does not merely appropriate the high-style song for pious ends, he first of all gives it a much broader, more popular character. Only by increasing their secularity and making them more recognizably modern does he seek to make them function as a means of undermining that secularity and contemporary glamour. It is an old but ambiguous ecclesiastical ploy, and Gautier seems as caught up in the sophisticated enjoyment of secular song as any of those he excoriated for doing so.

His relation to his close contemporary Jean Renart raises various questions. Several of Gautier's songs draw on the same refrains that are cited in Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose*, and much of his language seems targeted at the kind of lay audience interest in romance and courtly-popular song that Renart is also identifying and seeking to flatter. Without knowing whether they knew of each other, we can only speculate on their putative connections and shared attitudes. But what at any rate seems clear is that they are not divided according to a simple notion of opposition between the secular and sacred. On the contrary, the issue of whether Gautier's work is to be understood as a sacred foil to Renart's or whether Renart's is a secular foil to Gautier's strikes at the heart of Gautier's artful manipulations of his audience's assumptions and predilections.

Gautier's use of song throughout the *MND* points up the larger ambivalences of the work: it has various centres of gravity, not just one, and this diversity, if it causes complexity of response among his readers, seems precisely designed to respond to the broad base of lay interest in pious devotion. Gautier's subtle apprehension of the appeal of secularity makes it possible for him to take account of lay interest in courtly love song as well as Marian worship, in romance as well as

[23] See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 103–15.

hagiography, in high art music as well as chant and sacred polyphony, in fabliau as well as prayer.

Narrative in the MND

Gautier's treatment of narrative receives extensive consideration in this volume, demonstrating the surprising variety of contexts for his choice of miracles as well as the often radical literary and theological directions of his retellings. Three main types of religious context are studied: the main Marian miracle collections (Broughton, Black, and Blumenfeld-Kosinski), the closely comparable collection of vernacular hagiographic narratives known as the *Vie des Pères* (Tudor), and the cluster of shorter devotional and semi-liturgical pieces that frame the main compilation in certain manuscripts (Collet). Laurel Broughton investigates Gautier's early inventiveness in Marian traditions of incarnational piety, namely his use of a rose instead of a lily as the central floral motif associated with the Virgin and the twelfth-century prayer *O beata et intemerata* instead of 'Ave Maria' to associate the Virgin with Christ's passion and redemptive power. Nancy Black considers the images of the Virgin both within and out of the miracle collection, their often iconic function within narratives to influence the course of events, and their corresponding importance for devout readers. Giving special attention to the fourteenth-century Soissons manuscript (Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541), Black discusses some of the practical ways in which royal users of this manuscript might have used the book 'on a daily or weekly basis', and how its Marian material might have shaped and expressed aristocratic devotional and liturgical practice. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski explores the subgenre of the childbirth miracle and, through the remarkable story of *L'Abbesse grosse*, shows how Gautier works through the transgressive power of the Virgin's intervention to restore the abbess and her convent back to a state of equilibrium.

The contexts discussed by Tudor and Collet are of particular interest in that they are provided by the manuscript tradition itself: thus there are fourteen manuscripts which have tales from the *Vie des Pères* and the *MND* in common; similarly Collet is specifically concerned with five pieces that occur only in certain Gautier manuscripts, their likely attribution to Gautier himself, and their relation to the kinds of framing material which some compilers of the *MND* selected to place around the central compilation. Nearly all this material is Marian, such as *L'Asomptions Nostre Dame* by Herman de Valenciennes, *La Conception Nostre Dame* by Wace, and *Li Regrés Nostre Dame* by Huon le Roi, although some not specifically or exclusively Marian religious and didactic narratives are also present,

such as *La Court de paradis* (in Paris, BNF, fr. 25532) or Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du monde*. As Collet argues, Gautier's *MND* emerges in these collections as the central impetus for a '*recueil marial*, ou *mariologique*': on the model of the *Pseudo-Matthœi Evangelium*, these are anthologies of historical as well as edifying material based on both biblical and apocryphal traditions. His case gains lateral support from Stones's research into the wider work of some of the painters of the Gautier illuminations, such as that of Painters A and B in BNF fr. 25532, who contributed between them to a grammar book, Pontifical, noted missal, and Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*. Such connections provide a glimpse of the (not unexpected) intellectual and religious preoccupations of likely patrons and readers of Gautier's *MND*, and hence of the cultural milieu in which it was appreciated and interpreted.

The context described by Collet, which involves the 'whole work', contrasts with the kinds of connection that exist between the *Vie des Pères* and the *MND*. To recall, these manuscripts form a subgroup (twenty manuscripts) within the larger tradition in which 'semi-complete' arrangements of material from the *MND* are inserted into other compilations. Here compilers clearly view the *MND* as exclusively narrative in focus and alert us to the similarity of enterprise between Gautier and other retellers of vernacular hagiography. What is perhaps unexpected is the extent to which both authors work with stories that (from a modern perspective) would seem to stretch the human understanding of confession (in the case of the *Vie des Pères*) and Marian redemption (in the case of the *MND*) to its limits. Characters such as 'The Clerk of Chartres', who seem persistently and wilfully feckless, or worse, are not only defended by the Virgin in the face of quite reasonable condemnations by their fellow characters but given special ethical status, healing, and grace. The close comparison made by Adrian Tudor of some of the tales in common between the *Vie des Pères* and the *MND*, such as the *Noble fame de Rome* and *L'Abbesse grosse*, shows both authors relishing sinful behaviour (such as the sexual pleasure the noble Roman mother in the *Vie* enjoys in her incestuous affair with her son) that is silently juxtaposed with devotion to the Virgin. Such sinfulness seems almost a precondition of special Marian favour: we are entering uneasy ethical territory where Mary's supernatural female virtue is available only to those who are marked by salacious desires and acts, that is, to those whose expression of Marian attachment is apparently stimulated by a predisposition towards sexual fallibility.

While Gautier is not alone in this emphasis among medieval hagiographers, it is clear from several other studies in this volume that his versions of the miracles take a particularly complex pleasure in the ironies and contortions surrounding

female sinfulness. In a perceptive phrase, Yasmina Foehr-Janssens draws attention to the unsettling physicality ('la corporalité de la Vierge') of Gautier's treatment of the Virgin's redemptive actions. Kathy Krause, likewise, pointing out that nearly a third of the fifty-eight miracles[24] contain female characters that are important to the plot, argues that Gautier is involved in a process of exposure of female sexuality and depravity that compromises his apparent concentration on virginal purity. As both Foehr-Janssens and Krause illustrate, the Virgin's extraordinary tenderness towards female sinners is narrated by Gautier at the price of an equally extraordinary emphasis on female bodily weakness, prone to devilish temptation but also to perverse personal desires.

But perhaps the clearest way of grasping the distinctiveness of Gautier's approach to narrative is to turn, finally, to the less obvious — because secular — context of fabliau. At first sight, this genre might seem at a polar opposite to the Marian miracle story, yet Brian Levy's discussion systematically questions this assumption through many carefully chosen points of comparison, such as the presence of sexuality and certain common patterns in the trajectory of the narrative and the stereotyping of characters. The links (as Levy implies) go, however, even further than this. Although work on Gautier's narrative art has largely taken place independently of the study of his songs, the conclusions independently reached on both sides are remarkably similar and point towards his own ambivalent obsession with profanity. He does not simply reject or seek to transform the profane; more awkwardly, but also more knowingly, he appreciates and seeks to understand profane behaviour from the inside. This manifests itself in an overt contemplation of the comic, sexual, and physically sinful, indeed the female, that is oddly respectful of the human complexities produced by these conditions and shows itself capable of subtle exposition as well as aggressive recoil.

Focusing in detail on Gautier's versions of more widely circulating stories raises some central issues about narrative direction that reflect back upon the wider structural decisions evident across the 'complete' *MND*. One of the reasons why the *MND* conveys a powerful authorial presence, despite its disparate character as a concatenation of many individual pieces and genres, is that we find a similarity of purpose in the smaller as well as the larger instances of contextual refashioning. His reappropriations of secular song show a recognizably similar attitude towards their sources as his narrative retellings. Yet it is important to

[24] It should be pointed out that the figure of fifty-eight is from Koenig's edition; in practice the number of miracles varies from manuscript to manuscript like the number of songs, though not as startlingly.

stress that this raises more interpretive questions than it solves, and that further explorations of Gautier's methods across the *MND* would be illuminating. There is much to learn about the perception of generic boundaries in medieval composition that Gautier's interest in combining genres and in the role of the profane in devotional practice could yet teach us.

Words and Music

Although some consideration has been given to the place of the songs in the overall design of the *MND*, and their character as *contrafacta*, there is another aspect to Gautier's innovative treatment of boundaries that deserves comment and further study. Any reader or listener of Gautier's songs and narratives is struck by his signature use of *annominatio.* In Gautier's hands, this is a rhetorical device in which repeated play on the sounds of words, particularly on word endings, is carried out over long sequences of verse. Pierre Kunstmann and Robert Clark carry out pioneering work in investigating its 'explosive' effect on verse construction, syntax, and semantics. Gautier is not the only vernacular poet to indulge in this very visible and audible form of wordplay (which is common in Latin verse), but his heavy reliance on the device in specific passages provokes questions about the timing and character of his use.

What I want to single out here is the characteristic way in which Gautier develops an area of composition that stands between rather than securely within certain of our habitual ways of responding to medieval writing. As Frédéric Billiet discusses, Gautier's music participates in a world in which oral transmission, memory, and improvisation are closely, and subtly, integrated with written practice. This particular device, especially when used as elaborately as Gautier does, starts to disrupt a notion of a piece of writing as 'written'. The pure play of sound caused by extensive repetitions cumulatively affects our sense of how words relate to meaning, and indeed how performing such a string of repeated sounds might make meaning harder to comprehend.[25] Conversely, there is an argument for

[25] There are related issues with polytextual motets. For a polemical statement of the problems of understanding texts in motets, see Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 65–111. A contrasting argument is offered by Sylvia Huot, 'Polyphonic Poetry: The Old French Motet and its Literary Context', *French Forum*, 14 (1989), 261–78; see also Ardis Butterfield, 'The Language of Medieval Music: Two Thirteenth-Century Motets', in *Aspects of Medieval Song: Essays in Honour of John Stevens*, special issue, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), 1–16.

thinking that extensive *annominatio* becomes rather hard to perform: in short, the device makes the songs and the narratives in some sense resistant to being performed as well as — in their very marked aurality — more difficult to understand. Perhaps most interestingly, we are led by this means to compare song and narrative as instances of performance: Gautier as ever is disinclined to allow his audience to keep the different elements of his compilation separate, but draws them into specific and often challenging relation.

It is important to remember that the early date of the *MND* aligns it with such other early attempts to record song in writing as Jean Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose* and Gerbert de Montreuil's *Le Roman de la Violette*. Gautier's fascination with *annominatio* may be seen to be part of a cultural climate in which the writing down of sounds — in words as in music — was not taken for granted, but rather held the promise of being a highly creative activity in its own right. How far wordplay is a matter of soundplay becomes a question that Gautier's song 'Hui matin a l'ajournee' directly poses as it tosses around the 'o' of Marot and the 'o' of *mot*, through the hocketing sound 'o o o', that breaks up the meaning of any one word, and yet in the process inversely reinforces the connections between sound and meaning.[26] As a musician as well as a poet, Gautier — long before that other great vernacular poet-musician of the French Middle Ages, Guillaume de Machaut — explored through song alone, and through juxtaposing song and narrative, the creative potential of displaying sound through artful manipulations of text, image, and performance.

Authorship in Time

In conclusion, Gautier's *MND* offers the paradox of a work that is both singular and multiple: it is a highly distinctive combination of devotional material and yet our appreciation of it depends on interpreting a large number of books written over nearly three centuries in which that combination takes many forms. It is a classic example of a work that is created as much by its compilers, copyists, illuminators, singers, and readers as by any single author, and yet all this activity is stimulated by a much more vivid notion of authorship than we would expect from so diffuse a compilation. Stephen Nichols, commenting 'that almost all manuscripts postdate the life of the author by decades or even centuries' talks of 'the manuscript matrix as a place of radical contingencies: of chronology, of

[26] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, p. 109.

anachronism, of conflicting subjects, of representation'.[27] In the case of Gautier's *MND*, however, such undoubted contingencies are moderated by an internally displayed interest in *ordinatio* and design that self-fulfillingly reaches beyond the grave to perpetuate a concept of the work as planned and coordinated.

The *MND* has the potential, in short, to extend our understanding of authorship beyond the historical existence of a single individual, and beyond even a collective activity undergone by a wide range of interested mediators, to a determining belief in the power of a book to shape the structure of devotional belief and practice. This ancient concept gains new influence through Gautier's inventive insistence on exploring through writing a host of disparate, and often seemingly incompatible, roles: as *trouvère*, monk, performer, reader, visionary, musician, and instructor of the laity. As this volume indicates, the complex process of authorial configuration provided by the *MND* manuscripts has given the history of the book a rich legacy.

[27] Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 1–10 (p. 8).

Manuscripts

L'Œuvre en contexte: la place de Gautier de Coinci dans les recueils cycliques des *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Olivier Collet

Abstract

Begun in the 1920s by the Helsinki School, under the direction of Arthur Långfors, the modern scientific study of the manuscript tradition of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) examines only incidentally the accessory texts found in certain collections of Gautier de Coinci's works. In a 'global' investigation of the *MND*, of their composition and their diffusion, the contexts and couplings formed by these texts with Gautier's œuvre deserve a more thorough examination. Scholars have long considered the question of the relationships between his literary production and five poems that have come down to us only in manuscripts of Gautier's *MND* — a *Genealogie Nostre Dame*, the *Nativité Nostre Dame*, the *Nativité Jhesucrist*, the *Nativité saint Jehan Baptistre et li fait Jhesucrist*, and finally the *Assumption Nostre Dame*. Although their authorship cannot be established with complete certainty, provisional attribution to Gautier de Coinci allows us to envisage this cycle of texts — in many ways very homogeneous and interlinked with the *MND* — as forming an integral part of Gautier's work. Destined to enrich the celebration of Mary through miracle tales and songs via a coherent set of 'historical' narratives about the Virgin, these five texts allow us to see Gautier de Coinci's poetic project as even more polished and complete then what has traditionally been attributed to him.

C'est à l'importante école d'Helsinki, sous la conduite particulière d'Arthur Långfors, que l'on doit la réalisation entre deux guerres, puis à nouveau dès 1950, des plus anciennes éditions scientifiques de Gautier de Coinci

et de la première étude d'envergure sur la tradition manuscrite de son œuvre. Sur le plan biographique d'ailleurs, de même qu'au point de vue philologique et, dans une assez large mesure, pour l'approche matérielle de la diffusion des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), le travail publié en 1932 par A. Ducrot-Granderye (DG) fait toujours autorité de nos jours.

Analysant les presque quatre-vingts exemplaires complets, partiels ou fragmentaires qui lui étaient connus, A. Ducrot-Granderye parvenait ainsi à distinguer trois phases dans l'évolution du projet littéraire de notre auteur, en qui du même coup elle révélait à la critique moderne l'inlassable artisan que fut le prieur de Vic et (même si cet argument n'apparaît pas en clair dans son analyse) le constant souci de Gautier de mener à terme l'exécution d'une entreprise complexe, mouvante et, surtout, habitée d'une claire volonté de cohérence et de complétude.

À suivre les démonstrations de sa thèse, treize des copies aujourd'hui conservées, dont neuf à l'état de fragments, reproduiraient ce qu'elle envisage comme la forme initiale de l'œuvre — I Pr 1; I Mir 10; I Mir 11 en 115 vv.; I Mir 12–43; II Dout 34 en 810 vv.[1] — datée de 1218 environ, tandis que le manuscrit dit 'de Soissons' (S)[2] nous apporterait le seul témoignage, indirect, d'une version intermédiaire mais qui n'aurait pas été reproduite telle quelle, enrichie vers 1222 par l'ajout des I Ch 3–9 avec leur prologue, de la II Ch 36, composition sur l'*Ave Maria*, et des pièces sur sainte Léocade (soit I Mir 44, I Ch 45, I Ch 46 et I Ch 47; enfin grâce à l'extension de I Mir 11 sur 2342 vv.). Au bout du compte, vingt-trois exemplaires illustreraient la refonte entreprise entre 1223 et 1227, et donc l'état

[1] Désignations empruntées à l'édition complète des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* par V. F. Koenig, quatre tomes parus respectivement à Lille, chez Giard, et à Genève, chez Droz, entre 1955 et 1970.

[2] Voici, dans l'ordre alphabétique des sigles habituels — majuscules, puis minuscules —, les volumes cités dans ce travail: A: Blois, BM, 34; B: Bruxelles, BR, 10747; C: London, BL, Harley 4401; D: Paris, B. Ars., 3517 & 3518; E: Paris, BNF, fr. 817; F: Paris, BNF, fr. 986; G: Paris, BNF, fr. 1530; H: Paris, BNF, fr. 1533; I: Paris, BNF, fr. 1536; K: Paris, BNF, fr. 1613; L: Paris, BNF, fr. 22928; M: Paris, BNF, fr. 2163; N: Paris, BNF, fr. 25532; O: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969; R: Saint-Pétersbourg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9; S: Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541; T: Besançon, BM, 551; a: Bruxelles, BR, 9229–30; b: Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475; e: Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816; f: Paris, B. Ars., 3527; g: Paris, B. Ars., 5204; i: Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276; 1: Paris, BNF, fr. 818; n: Paris, BNF, fr. 1807; r: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586; s: Tours, BM, 948; t: Paris, BNF, fr. 23111; x: Paris, BNF, fr. 15110. Faute de reproductions complètes de ce vaste répertoire, nous citerons certains titres d'après les indications, parfois divergentes, des travaux auxquels nous nous référerons. Pour plus de détails sur la tradition manuscrite, voir Appendice I à la fin du volume. Sur les chansons sur sainte Léocade, voir la contribution de Claire Chamiyé Couderc, et sur le manuscrit dit 'de Soissons' voir les contributions de Nancy Black et Alison Stones.

de l'œuvre qu'A. Ducrot-Granderye considère comme définitif,[3] les autres copies des *MND* n'offrant qu'un choix beaucoup trop partiel pour appuyer une théorie sur la constitution de l'ensemble dont ils proviennent.

Est-ce à cette élève d'Arthur Långfors que l'on doit aussi la survie d'une telle représentation ou du moins, l'idée d'un échelonnement par Gautier de Coinci de son travail, par une série d'accroissements successifs, jusque dans ses écrits périphériques? Toujours est-il qu'en 1959, le musicologue J. Chailley venait à proposer une datation, bien illusoire, des pièces lyriques de notre auteur *anno pro anno*, de 1219 à 1233.[4] Par ailleurs, la réédition de la *Vie de sainte Christine*,[5] due elle aussi à Gautier de Coinci, et les caractéristiques de diffusion de cet écrit hagiographique ont suscité parmi d'autres commentaires récents une hypothèse du même ordre.[6]

La présente réflexion voudrait prendre acte d'une telle possibilité, sans ambition d'en discuter les présupposés philologiques ni de les remettre en cause, mais afin de placer une nouvelle fois l'enquête sur l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci, sur la nature de son projet littéraire et sur les aléas de sa réalisation, dans un contexte plus large. Quelle que soit en effet la validité des déductions obtenues par A. Ducrot-Granderye et par ses successeurs, celles-ci ont d'ores et déjà le mérite d'avoir ouvert des perspectives intéressantes et auparavant insoupçonnées sur l'activité de Gautier de Coinci et sur la pratique des écrivains du moyen âge, trop souvent considérée comme statique, en comparaison de la mobilité que l'on prête à la transmission de leurs écrits. Mais une évaluation de la carrière littéraire du poète, des lignes de force de son entreprise et de ses objectifs ne pourrait-elle pas se trouver confortée ou modifiée par l'étude non seulement des *MND*, '*intus et in cutis*', pourrait-on dire, à savoir dans l'appréciation interne de leurs caractéristiques de diffusion, mais au regard du paysage ou des différents environnements auxquels la production manuscrite les associe?

[3] Voir DG, pp. 159–71 et, en particulier, les pp. 159–60, 165 et 166–69.

[4] *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci, 1177/78–1236, Édition musicale critique avec introduction et commentaires*, éd. par Jacques Chailley, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, 15 (Paris: Heugel, 1959).

[5] Gautier de Coinci, *La Vie de sainte Cristine, Édition critique d'après le manuscrit f.fr. 817 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, éd. par O. Collet, Textes Littéraires Français, 510 (Genève: Droz, 1999).

[6] Masami Okubo, 'À propos de la *Vie de sainte Cristine* de Gautier de Coinci', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 248–64. Commentant les choix de l'éditeur, cet article propose ainsi de distinguer la trace de deux états successifs de rédaction dans la survivance, très restreinte, de cette passion hagiographique.

Loin de former un corpus intangible et matériellement éloigné de tout contact avec le reste de la littérature médiévale, les *MND* voisinent en effet avec des constellations assez nombreuses et variées d'autres textes, fait observé de longue date mais étudié de façon accessoire, en règle commune. Pour bien des exemplaires d'ailleurs, les notices de A. Ducrot-Granderye, comme celles de travaux postérieurs sur Gautier de Coinci, d'éditions ou des catalogues des bibliothèques conservatrices, ne permettent d'obtenir qu'un inventaire partiel et imprécis de ces écrits, lorsque ces diverses sources d'information ne divergent pas à quelque égard. En premier lieu, elles sont loin de permettre une identification certaine de tous les textes qui encadrent les *MND* ou qui interfèrent avec eux dans certains volumes: si aucun doute ne peut en principe subsister sur l'attribution d'œuvres comme les *Romans* de *Miserere* et de *Carité* du Renclus de Moilliens, que l'on rencontre dans trois copies où figurent aussi les *MND* (D, f et t), ou sur *Les Vers de la mort* d'Hélinant de Froidmont, qu'un de ces mêmes volumes reproduit, il s'avère plus complexe de reconnaître certaines pièces d'après une simple rubrique, comme *Il Leguaz amourex et plains de jalousie* ou *Les Douze Signes d'amors*, qui concluent un autre recueil (R). Certains ensembles ne bénéficient aussi que d'une mention beaucoup trop réduite pour permettre de les caractériser de manière satisfaisante: d'assez nombreuses copies — parmi les plus importantes, D, I, K, R, T, a, g, r; b, i, l, n, s, t, x — ajoutent par exemple (et dans certains cas, substituent peut-être) à quelques-uns des textes de Gautier de Coinci des récits pieux élaborés par d'autres auteurs, l'absence de dépouillement plus explicite des manuscrits concernés empêchant toutefois une reconnaissance aisée, qui semblerait bienvenue dans des situations aussi intéressantes. Enfin, les descriptions courantes ne distinguent que rarement les collections originales, c'est-à-dire les anthologies conservées sous l'apparence qu'elles possédaient dès le départ, des regroupements ultérieurs, ce qui expose les analyses sur la composition d'un recueil et le rapprochement éventuel entre ses constituants au risque de notables erreurs de jugement.

La possibilité d'entrevoir certaines logiques parmi les assemblages que produisent les quelques dizaines de textes qui gravitent autour des *MND* et se combinent parfois avec eux, existe-t-elle néanmoins? Ou ces rencontres doivent-elles être attribuées au simple hasard, à des mises en relation fortuites, aux choix, le plus souvent incompréhensibles, de commanditaires inconnus, etc.? Davantage encore, la nature de cette production, ou d'une partie de celle-ci, serait-elle susceptible de nous fournir des indications supplémentaires sur le projet littéraire de Gautier de Coinci et sur la conception de son œuvre, différentes aussi de celles mises en perspective par l'étude philologique de ses *MND*? Le cas échéant, enfin, ces regroupements peuvent-ils être associés à un stade de réalisation spécifique de

son entreprise, et reflètent-ils un modèle déjà disponible ou traduisent-ils une nouvelle invention de notre auteur?

Par delà l'enquête matérielle qu'impose en elle-même la partie explicitement reconnaissable des écrits de Gautier de Coinci, avec ses caractéristiques propres de contenu, ses différences de choix et d'ordre, et ainsi de suite, nous allons donc tenter ici d'établir dans quelle mesure le cadre auquel ceux-ci se trouvent associés dans les recueils qui nous les ont transmis peut nous renseigner sur les intentions de notre auteur, du moins pour certaines copies. Sans reprendre de fond en comble le travail de description et d'analyse critique de la tradition manuscrite, mais d'après le profil qui se dégage des exemplaires hybrides des *MND*, il s'agira ainsi de vérifier si l'"entourage' de ces derniers est à même de nous fournir des informations de quelque pertinence sur l'entreprise de notre auteur.

À s'en tenir aux vingt-et-un manuscrits complets et aux dix-sept copies partielles que distingue A. Ducrot-Granderye et à la trentaine de textes divers que ceux-ci joignent aux *MND*, quelques remarques s'imposent d'emblée.

L'un dans l'autre, il est d'abord frappant d'observer que si le nombre d'exemplaires réservés aux *MND* — plus, éventuellement, une ou deux pièces adventices, en règle générale à la fin du volume — est bas (A; B, sauf une adjonction postérieure à la fin; C; E, exception faite du dernier texte; F; G; I et K, hormis deux autres contes dévots entremêlés aux *MND*; M), la tradition manuscrite de Gautier de Coinci reste somme toute très homogène. Compte tenu des imbrications que le genre des *MND* autorise, de l'ampleur et de la durée de leur perpétuation, on est loin en tout cas d'y découvrir la mixité et la diversité qui prévaut dans la transmission matérielle de certains corpus. Sous réserve du problème évoqué plus haut quant à l'évaluation de leur contenu, la proportion de recueils composites s'avère faible et le nombre de textes 'adventices' limité. Certaines configurations attendues ne se produisent même pas, ou à titre secondaire: peu de volumes contiennent par exemple des légendes hagiographiques à côté des *MND*. Les écrits qui accompagnent ceux-ci ne sortent en outre guère du cadre moral, religieux et spirituel — favorisé par les analogies qui les rapprochent entre elles, le voisinage avec des séries comme *La Vie des Pères* est même assez fréquent. Anonymes, pour la plupart d'entre eux (en dehors du répertoire lyrique et de quelques pièces assorties des simples prénoms, ne font exceptions que les *Vers de la mort* d'Hélinant de Froidment et le *Roman de Miserere* du Renclus de Moilliens, déjà cités, ainsi que *L'Image du monde* de Gautier de Metz; enfin, les textes d'Herman de Valenciennes, de Huon le Roi et de Wace, sur lesquels nous reviendrons au passage), ces additions sont en général de peu d'ampleur, ce qui tendrait à indiquer la prédominance des *MND* dans la programmation des recueils où elles coexistent, sur le plan

matériel bien sûr mais tout autant au point de vue intellectuel ou conceptuel, reflet éventuel d'une certaine autorité déjà associée à la figure de leur concepteur. Elles ont encore pour caractéristique de ne se retrouver la plupart du temps que dans un seul exemplaire des *MND*, ou deux au maximum.

Si dans l'ensemble, au niveau macro-structurel, la tradition manuscrite de Gautier de Coinci ne semble pas avérer l'existence de modèles de composition bien définis, reproduits au sein de familles repérables, une tendance à 'thématiser' leur contenu rapproche six recueils, D, H, L, O, N, R, dont la particularité la plus notable n'est pas toutefois d'assembler les *MND* et d'autres récits du même ordre, mais de nous faire connaître quelques pièces d'inspiration religieuse, narrative et, une fois, dramatique, sur un sujet bien spécifique: l'histoire de la Vierge et de son Fils divin. Contrairement au reste des œuvres qui forment l'entourage des *MND*, quelques-uns de ces écrits ont aussi la propriété de subsister dans plusieurs volumes, le cas le plus intéressant étant représenté par les manuscrits D, L, N et R qui, pour cette raison surtout, ont depuis longtemps attiré l'attention.[7]

Ces quatre copies, qui figurent au nombre des exemplaires les plus complets et les plus fiables au point de vue de la transmission des *MND*, nous retiendront ainsi pour leur témoignage dans la survie de cinq poèmes narratifs anonymes en octosyllabes, plusieurs fois signalés par ceux qui se sont interrogés sur l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci — une *Genealogie Nostre Dame en romanz*, une *Nativité Nostre Dame*, une *Nativité Jhesucrist*, une *Assumption Nostre Dame*, et *La Nativité saint Jehan Baptistre et il fait Jhesucrist*, pour reprendre les intitulés (et l'ordre) de R, le plus complet avec D,[8] — avec certaines différences qui, néanmoins, mettent en

[7] H débute avec un cycle assez proche dans son esprit de celui que l'on trouve dans D, L, N, R — une Vie de Marie et une Passion du Christ; un poème sur la Nativité de Jésus, le récit de son entrée à Jérusalem, de la Résurrection et de la mort de la Vierge; les *Quinze Signes du Jugement dernier*, selon la description fournie par DG, p. 59 — mais ne partage ce choix avec aucun autre exemplaire des *Miracles*. O s'achève sur un Mystère de la Passion et de la Résurrection dit 'Passion Palatine', qui lui est aussi propre au sein de la tradition manuscrite des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* et n'existe que dans ce recueil.

[8] *La Genealogie Nostre Dame en romanz* (*GenND*): D, fols 5ra–6vb; L, fols 1ra–3rb; R, fols 1va–2vb (lacunaire; les 66 premiers vers sont répétés par erreur au fol. 261^{va-b}). *La Nativité Nostre Dame* (*NatND*): D, fols 105ra–110va; L, fols 3va–10rb; N, fols 227rb–233ra; R, fols 3ra–8va. *La Nativité Jhesucrist* (*NatJC*): D, fols 110va–121ra; L, fols 10va–24rb; N, fols 244va–256ra; R, fols 8vb–19vb. *L'Assumption Nostre Dame* (*AssND*): D, fols 121ra–131va; N, fols 233ra–244va; R, fols 20ra–31ra. *La Nativité saint Jehan Baptistre et li fait Jhesucrist* (*NatJB*): D, fols 131va–140ra; N, fols 256ra–265rb; R, fols 31ra–39vb.

Pour être complet, il conviendrait encore de signaler, d'une part, deux pièces aux caractéristiques comparables: 1° *C'est dou saint dent Nostre Seigneur*, poème sur une relique du Christ (N,

lumière des communautés ou des oppositions plus ou moins nettes entre ces quatre manuscrits.[9]

L'existence du corpus reproduit dans ces volumes est peut-être aussi responsable de quelques associations secondaires, ou du moins observe-t-on une certaine conformité par exemple dans le cas de *Li Regrés Nostre Dame* de Huon le Roi, qui se retrouve dans L et dans R, et de *L'Asomptions Nostre Dame* due à *Hernans*, soit Herman de Valenciennes,[10] transcrite par le scribe de L, peut-être en remplacement de celle qui figure dans DNR. Comme un article fort érudit et sourcilleux

fols 265rb–268rb; R, fols 258va–261va); 2° *L'Eructavit en romans*, paraphrase du Psaume 44 (D, fols 76vb–89ra du second tome; N, fols 268rb–281va; R, fols 264rb–277va; à titre partiel dans I, fols 248–56, et dans les exemplaires étrangers à l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci que P. Meyer cite, 'Notice sur un ms. bourguignon (Musée britannique Addit. 15606) suivie de pièces inédites', *Romania*, 6 (1877), 1–46 (pp. 9–10)). D'autre part, une chanson incluse dans les manuscrits B, D, H, M, e et v.

[9] Les notices de Ducrot-Granderye figurent aux pp. 41–46, 63–66, 68–70, 72–74 et 228–42 de son ouvrage. Sans entrer dans tous les détails, L et R apparaissent comme les volumes les plus homogènes. En dehors des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* et des pièces que nous venons de mentionner, ils ne contiennent que peu de textes chacun. Tout en restant très cohérent et proche de ce modèle, D présente une structure plus élaborée avec, notamment, plusieurs groupes de chansons françaises et latines à la Vierge — avant la *GenND* (mais il s'agit là d'un ajout au recueil) et entre les deux tables, bilingues, des *MND*; avant la *NatND* et à la suite de la *NatJB*, puis des chansons qui enchaînent sur le prologue du livre II, et avant la table du second livre — la dernière partie du manuscrit étant occupée par *L'Eructavit en romans*, quelques contes dévots dont une partie tirée de *La Vie des Pères*, le *Roman de Miserere* du Renclus de Moilliens, des hymnes notées à la Vierge, et par deux textes hagiographiques. N rejette à la fin tous les constituants qui se distinguent des *MND*: un groupe formé de quatre de nos poèmes, plus celui sur la relique du Christ et *L'Eructavit en romans*; une suite d'œuvres diverses (quatre récits hagiographiques, une pièce sur l'invention de la Sainte Croix, *Il Purgatoires saint Patrice*, une *Nativité et vie de Antechrist*, *La Conception Nostre Dame* de Wace et *La Court de paradis*).

Une certaine ressemblance résulte en outre de l'organisation de L et de R — les trois mêmes pièces parmi les cinq qui nous concernent ici figurent dans un ordre identique au début du recueil, les différences tenant au choix et à l'emplacement de l'*AssND*, à l'absence dans L de la *NatJB* et à la composition de la fin des deux volumes —, tandis que D et N présentent deux agencements distincts. Au point de vue iconographique, enfin, on observe certaines correspondances entre les manuscrits LR, d'une part, et DN, d'autre part (il serait d'ailleurs utile de mettre en perspective le dispositif exact qui encadre chaque retranscription: type de miniatures et d'initiales ou de lettrines; rubriques, etc.).

[10] Voir G. Gröber, '*Del Tumbeor Nostre Dame*', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 4 (1880), 88–97 (part. p. 96). G. Gröber a aussi reconnu l'appartenance au *Romanz de Dieu et de sa mere* d'un second extrait contenu dans L: *La Çainne Nostre Seigneur*, en alexandrins, qui figure juste avant *Li Regrés*, et *L'Asomptions*.

vient encore de le rappeler, on peut très bien imaginer que les deux opuscules latins qui occupent le fol. 6^{v} du manuscrit N 'remplacent en quelque sorte la *Genealogie Nostre Dame*', qui manque dans ce recueil.[11] Le texte intitulé *Comment Jhesu Criz commanda la sainte Virge mere en la garde saint Jehan l'Euvangeliste* par le copiste de R est dans une situation comparable, mais comme le poème de Huons le Roi, il existe dans d'autres volumes que ceux de Gautier de Coinci.

Comme nous l'avons souligné auparavant, la récurrence autour des *MND* des cinq poèmes mentionnés plus haut et leur absence de toute autre combinaison aujourd'hui attestée est l'une des causes qui ont amené différents critiques à s'interroger sur leur attribution, avec des points de vue, des méthodes et des résultats dont il n'est pas lieu d'exposer ici le détail.[12] L'étude que nous avons nous-même menée sur la *NatND*, partant de considérations formelles, linguistiques (dialectales et lexicales), stylistiques, ainsi que sur les sources et sur les postulats littéraires de cette adaptation, permet de constater une forte adéquation entre ce texte et l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci,[13] et des liens aussi suggestifs avec la *NatJC*, la *NatJB* et l'*AssND* pourraient être mis en évidence,[14] même si aucun argument, de quelque type que ce soit, n'éclaircira sans doute jamais pleinement les rapports entre le corpus des *MND* et le cycle auquel cette discussion est consacrée.

[11] Masami Okubo, 'Autour de la *Nativité Nostre Dame* et de son attribution à Gautier de Coinci', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 348–81 (p. 359). Voir V. Frédéric Koenig, '*La Genealogie Nostre Dame* and the Legend of the Three Mary's', *Romance Philology*, 14 (1961), 207–15 (pp. 208–09). Au moment d'écrire ces lignes, nous ne disposons que de la première partie du travail de M. Okubo, et nous ne connaissons pas l'éclairage sous lequel se placera la suite de cette contribution.

[12] C'est même le seul critère explicite sur lequel Ducrot-Granderye semble fonder la liste de textes qu'elle introduit, de manière quelque peu paradoxale, au début de son exposé sur l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci (cf. DG, pp. 157–58), moyennant ce commentaire: 'Dans les manuscrits que nous avons étudiés, nous avons trouvé, à côté des miracles de Gautier de Coinci, plusieurs ouvrages différents dont Gautier ne paraît pas être, *a priori*, l'auteur' (ibid.). Une note ajoute: 'Nous n'avons retenu que les œuvres qu'on trouve dans trois manuscrits au moins, sauf pour la *Vie de sainte Cristine* et le n° 1 [le poème sur la relique du Christ] qui sont sans aucun doute l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci'.

La publication déjà mentionnée de Okubo, 'Autour de la *Nativité Nostre Dame*', permet de faire un bilan bibliographique précis des opinions qui ont été émises sur ce texte et sur les quatre autres poèmes dont il est question ici (part. pp. 350–55), et fournit une description rapide de D, L, N et R, avant de discuter leur classement et les sources latines du cycle de la Vierge.

[13] 'Gautier de Coinci, les œuvres d'attribution incertaine: La *Nativité Nostre Dame*', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 43–98.

[14] Il est plus difficile de cerner les affinités avec la *GenND*, sauf bien sûr pour ce qui touche la contribution que cette pièce apporte à la série qu'elle inaugure. *Dou saint dent Nostre Seigneur* et *L'Eructavit en romans* figurent en marge du corpus qui nous intéresse ici.

Loin de faire l'unanimité ou de pouvoir se confirmer avec certitude, l'idée qui tend pour nous à se dégager de cet ensemble n'est pas non plus nouvelle. En l'absence de conclusions définitives sur son attribution, à quels progrès une prise en compte de ces quatre ou cinq textes peut-elle donc conduire? Sans entrer dans le détail de leur composition, retenons surtout deux observations: l'existence d'une véritable cohésion littéraire entre ces pièces elles-mêmes, et donc d'une possible communauté d'origine entre elles, d'une part; le contexte de proximité avec les *MND*, d'autre part.

Constituée de récits 'historiques' au sujet de la vie de Marie et du Christ, cette suite de poèmes présente tout d'abord une forte unité conceptuelle et thématique. Leur solidarité est en outre accentuée par la contiguïté de leurs sources, certes différentes les unes des autres, sous réserve de quelques interférences, mais toutes dépendantes directement ou indirectement de la tradition sacrée et, surtout, des légendes qui la complètent. Renouvelant le principe qui guide l'élaboration de textes comme le *Protévangile de Jacques*, le cycle que forment la *GenND*, la *NatND*, la *NatJC*, la *NatJB* et l'*AssND* prend pour modèle des passages et des motifs bibliques afin d'écrire l'histoire des parents de la Vierge, de la naissance de Marie, de son enfance et de sa vie, enfin de sa mort, grâce aux ajouts des textes complémentaires aux Écritures Saintes. L'auteur de la *NatND* a ainsi adapté le *Libellus de Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ* et lui a joint, en guise de préambule, un passage issu d'un autre avatar de la tradition apocryphe, le *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, qu'il a substitué à l'exorde du *De Nativitate*. La *NatJC* recourt au même *Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu*, moins le prologue original et le prologue secondaire, déjà utilisé au début de la *NatND*. Dans les grandes lignes, la *NatJB* représente un montage, beaucoup plus libre que dans les autres cas, à partir d'une entrée en matière indépendante puis des versets bibliques de Luc 1. 5 à 5. 15 parfois déplacés ou condensés, parfois au contraire très développés ou étoffés par des emprunts aux livres de Jean et surtout de Matthieu, qui supplante même Luc vers le milieu du récit, avant une longue digression et un retour à ce dernier. Enfin pour l'*AssND*, qui donne elle aussi lieu à de considérables amplifications, le traducteur s'est servi d'une autre légende, celle du *Transitus beatæ semper virginis Mariæ Genitris Dei* — quel que soit le titre exact que l'on choisisse de donner au modèle latin — et d'une version intermédiaire de ce texte, apparemment inconnue de ses exégètes, sauf pour l'introduction qui a été écartée.[15]

[15] La comparaison avec sa tradition originale et surtout les remaniements propres à l'auteur français — parfois sur des détails, mais d'une certaine valeur – montrent que le traducteur s'est servi d'une version qui ne correspond ni tout à fait à B^1 ni à B^2, pour reprendre les désignations

Les liens entre nos quatre *mises en romans* sont aussi perceptibles sur le plan narratif. Le projet annoncé par les vv. 9–15 de la *GenND* couvre ainsi les thèmes développés par la *NatND* et par la *NatJC*:

> Mais ou non de la Trinité
> Vous conterai la verité
> Comment Nostre Dame fu nee
> Et a cui ele fu donnee
> Selonc la loy par mariage,
> Et si dirai de son lingnage
> Selonc les .iiij. Euvangelistes. (texte du manuscrit L)[16]

les vv. 22–28 introduisant par une mention à l'ascendance du premier de ces personnages le thème de la *NatJB* qui, même s'il s'explique au regard de la tradition latine dont s'inspire la *GenND*, se situe en marge du sien.[17] L'abandon dans la *NatJC* du prologue original et du prologue secondaire de l'*Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu*, que nous venons de signaler à travers notre brève revue des sources, pourrait fournir une autre indication intéressante au regard de la composition d'ensemble de ce 'cycle de la Vierge'. En affectant à la *NatND* ce préambule d'une des références majeures de la tradition apocryphe, l'adaptateur n'aurait-il pas eu l'intention de revêtir le poème sur la naissance et les 'enfances' de Marie, soit le premier des récits 'historiques' par rapport à la biographie de Jésus et de sa mère, d'une fonction inaugurale au regard de la suite chronologique que réalisent la *NatJC*, la *NatJB* et l'*AssND*? L'articulation avec le premier de ces maillons est d'ailleurs assurée grâce à la suppression de la partie relative à Anne et Joachim et à l'enfance de la Vierge jusqu'à sa troisième année,[18] redondante par rapport aux épisodes déjà présents dans la *NatND* et que l'auteur a donc délaissés, tandis que

familières à la critique du *Transitus* latin. Pour un regard d'ensemble, voir Simon Claude Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption de Marie: Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Théologie historique, 98 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1995).

[16] Reproduit par Koenig, '*La Genealogie Nostre Dame*', pp. 211–14. L'épilogue de la *GenND*, et particulièrement les vv. 313–15, annoncent à nouveau cet enchaînement: 'Aprés orrez la verité / De la sainte nativité / De Jhesucrist et de sa mere.'

[17] La *GenND* a sans doute été réalisée d'après une des versions du *Trinubium Annæ*, bref récit en prose des mariages successifs de la mère de Marie, que l'on trouve notamment dans certains exemplaires du *Pseudo-Matthieu* mais dont il existe aussi plusieurs rédactions en langue vulgaire. On y découvre les indications, absente de la Bible, dont l'adaptateur s'est servi au sujet de Jean-Baptiste.

[18] *Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu*, I–V.

le début de la *NatJB* se charge de rappeler les principaux épisodes du récit qui la précède afin de donner essor à la suite de la légende:

Ja avez oï de s'enfance,
Ou fu nez et confaitement,
Comment fu couchiez povrement
En l'estable dedens le creche
Qui toute estoit et viez et seche,
Et s'ai dit des trois rois qui virent
L'estoile et leur offrande firent
Au roi qui nez estoit en terre,
Vers cui Herodes avoit guerre,
Car quant fu nez, mout ot grant ire,
Que perdre cuida son empire.
Bien ai dite la verité
Si com devant l'ai recité.
N'est pas mestiers que le recorde,
Ja soit ce qu'aucunz s'i acorde
Por ce qu'il n'a nient seü
De ce que j'ai devant leü,
Mais s'adez ce qu'ai dit disoie,
Ja mais desqu'au chief ne venroie,
Car petit se puet avancier
Qui adés est au commencier.
Or soufise ce que vueil dire
Sanz ce qu'ai dit devant redire,
Car je vorrai en romans metre,
Si comme liverra la letre
Et je le verrai en escrit,
La vie et les fais Jhesu Crist. (vv. 26–52; texte du manuscrit R)[19]

Elle renforce cette adéquation, interne et externe, d'une autre manière encore. L'effort sur le plan narratif est, tout d'abord, ce qui rend ce texte remarquable. Comme, en effet, nous l'avons indiqué plus haut, l'auteur ne s'est pas contenté de suivre verset par verset l'histoire racontée par Luc, mais il a reconstitué à partir de

[19] Toutefois, cette pièce s'interrompt d'une façon abrupte en apparence, à un point de l'histoire qui ne correspond à aucune articulation significative chez Luc, ni pour la vie du Christ ni pour celle de Jean-Baptiste, si ce n'est dans la mesure où la suite des Évangiles éloigne le récit du personnage auquel est avant tout consacré le cycle dont la *NatJB* dépend: la Vierge. Reste que l'absence de dénouement la prive d'une réelle continuité avec l'*AssND*, dont le prologue et la narration n'établissent aucun lien non plus avec les textes précédents. En revanche, l'ampleur exceptionnelle que revêt l'admonestation jointe à l'adaptation du *Transitus* (presque 600 vers, soit un tiers environ du poème français) est peut-être destinée à souligner sa fonction de clôture.

la Bible et des traditions apocryphes une trame qui lui permet d'enchevêtrer les divers récits des premières années du Christ et de Jean-Baptiste afin de compléter la version du troisième Évangile, lors de développements jugés sans doute plus complets ou intéressants dans les Saintes Écritures ou les écrits légendaires. Par ailleurs, la *NatJB* présente de nombreuses marques d'interlocution et des rappels qui établissent par rapport aux autres pièces du groupe français un système de références intertextuelles, très comparable à celui que Gautier de Coinci instaure dans ses *MND*; mécanisme qui renforce les liens entre les différents constituants issus du Nouveau Testament et des apocryphes. Les digressions dont, au même titre que les *MND*, les quatre récits les plus développés du 'cycle historique' sont émaillés, ne sont pas non plus sans rappeler la propension de Gautier de Coinci à amplifier ses poèmes au moyen de tels ajouts, les techniques employées par notre auteur et les thèmes qu'il affectionne.[20] Annonçant les interventions prodigieuses de Marie, la *GenND*, que cette pièce fût ou non de la même main, la *NatND*, la *NatJC*, la *NatJB*, et l'*AssND* procureraient ainsi une entrée en matière destinée à introduire aux principaux aspects de sa vie et, parallèlement, à mettre en scène les *MND*. Pour encadrer et inclure, introduire et compléter l'exposé, le commentaire et la louange des bienfaits de la Vierge (avec l'architecture propre que Gautier de Coinci confère à son ouvrage), quel meilleur dispositif pourrait-on en effet imaginer, sinon l'enchaînement formé par la généalogie de la Vierge, par le récit de sa naissance puis de la venue au monde du Messie et de saint Jean-Baptiste, enfin par l'apothéose de Marie?

Une telle démarche n'irait pas sans conforter le sens général de son entreprise et en appuyerait même la cohérence. Elle expliquerait peut-être aussi l'exclusion de la *Vie de sainte Cristine*, étrangère à cette structure, dans tous les manuscrits des *MND* sauf un, tardif — et, notamment, dans les exemplaires 'cycliques' que D, L, N et R sont susceptibles de représenter –, en dépit de son appartenance certaine

[20] Ainsi, parmi d'autres exemples, dans la *NatJC*, dont l'épilogue, consacré à l'un des thèmes qui traverse d'ailleurs le texte — la pauvreté; cf. surtout vv. 1805–66 — consonnent avec un long passage du poème II Dout 34, vv. 951 sq. (s'y mêle une apologie du jeûne et de l'abstinence qui fait écho aux vv. 1191–1246 de la *NatJC* et à plusieurs passages des *MND*); dans la *NatJB*, où le jeu sur les termes *queue* et *couee* corrobore l'important réseau lexico-sémantique que Gautier de Coinci étend à partir de ce motif, cf. vv. 536–51; ou dans le long *excursus* sur la prière qui conclut l'*AssND*, tout à fait dans l'esprit et le style de Gautier de Coinci — il ne manque en tout cas pas de rappeler le ton que ce dernier prend dans le *Miracle* de Rocamadour (II Mir 21): voir surtout les vv. 1469–76, 1521–32 et 1841–44.

aux œuvres de Gautier de Coinci.[21] Dans cette éventualité, l'absence de la *GenND*, de la *NatND*, de la *NatJC*, de la *NatJB* et de l'*AssND* ailleurs que dans ces quatre copies contribuerait encore à éclairer l'essor du projet littéraire de notre auteur. Ces dernières n'en perpétueraient-elles pas alors l'idée la plus aboutie: non seulement réunir en un polyptique harmonieux et subtil le vaste répertoire de chansons et de légendes que constituent les *MND*, mais intégrer ce recueil dans une véritable somme à la gloire de la Marie, en puisant dans les matériaux qui authentifient sa vie et son action? Toujours est-il qu'aucun de nos quatre volumes ne relève de la forme la plus ancienne de l'œuvre, selon A. Ducrot-Granderye; D, L, N, R figurant au nombre des vingt-trois témoins de la refonte que Gautier de Coinci aurait entreprise entre 1223 et 1227. Leur configuration ne pourrait-elle alors résulter d'un état très avancé de son travail, et peut-être même refléter le stade ultime de son élaboration?

Cependant, une réflexion aussi empirique sur cette situation matérielle ne comporte-t-elle pas le risque de négliger certains arguments capables d'en contredire à un niveau plus profond les aboutissements? Au point de vue philologique, en particulier, c'est en tout cas ce qui pourrait ressortir des difficultés de classement auxquelles nous confrontent les différentes analyses qu'autorisent soit une approche externe des manuscrits (à partir du contenu de nos recueils et de la disposition de leurs pièces), soit la comparaison interne des textes. L'existence, effective, de familles distinctes pour les copies des *MND* et pour la *NatND*, notamment, donnerait ainsi lieu de penser que celle-ci 'ne fait pas partie de la production poétique de Gautier de Coinci, mais représente une contribution venue de l'extérieur pour compléter, modestement, ces recueils. Il en serait de même pour tout le cycle'.[22]

Or, en laissant de côté le jugement de valeur qu'exprime cette conclusion ou les divergences dans la manière d'évaluer les liens au sein d'une tradition manuscrite, en dépit de la simplicité apparente qu'offre celle de notre premier récit et, dans l'ensemble, de la remarquable stabilité dont fait preuve le corpus auquel il se

[21] Rappelons que, mis à part E, cette adaptation n'a été diffusée qu'en marge des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (elle n'intervient même pas dans S qui, nous l'avons signalé, comprend pourtant une série de pièces hagiographiques, dont une relative au personnage de Christine). La nature de ce récit, son thème ainsi que les caractéristiques de sa diffusion plaident donc en faveur de l'indépendance de *La Vie de sainte Cristine* face au projet général que reflètent les *Miracles*.

[22] Okubo, 'Autour de la *Nativité Nostre Dame*', pp. 369 sq. (part. pp. 374–75).

rattache,[23] on peut se demander dans quelle mesure cette appréciation ne résulte pas surtout de l'angle de vue sous lequel elle se place.[24]

Entre les regroupements que chaque partie d'une œuvre permet d'établir, surtout lorsque celle-ci se compose d'éléments dissociables, les contradictions sont en effet monnaie courante et on les explique en général par des interférences entre plusieurs familles de manuscrits, des aléas de circulation, ou par des états de rédaction successifs[25] — arguments dont les limites de notre compréhension face au travail des écrivains et à l'histoire de chaque exemplaire ne nous permettront jamais de vérifier l'entière pertinence — sans préjuger pour autant de l'authenticité

[23] Le *stemma codicum* proposé à la p. 374 — de même que la manière de rendre compte des principes d'édition du texte —, le rôle de certains paramètres dans cette représentation et le type d'opinion formulée au sujet du manuscrit N peuvent effectivement prêter à débat.

[24] La même remarque vaut sans aucun doute pour une large part des arguments susceptibles d'entrer en lice. Nous ne pouvons entourer cette brève communication de tout l'appareil que requerrait une étude de fond sur les quelque 6500 vers de ce cycle ni l'alourdir par de nombreuses citations, mais sur le plan littéraire et pour chaque pièce, il y aurait beaucoup à dire en ce qui concerne les transformations que subissent l'aspect ou le contenu des sources exploitées, les changements de structures narratives, le tour donné à la représentation de la Vierge (par le recours à des registres poétiques mis à fréquente contribution dans les *MND*, en particulier dans les compositions lyriques que ceux-ci renferment, ou à des procédés de dramatisation); le répertoire, souvent caractéristique de l'écriture de Gautier de Coinci, des formules et des images littéraires qui parsèment nos textes, l'emploi de certains procédés poétiques et lexicaux, etc. Toutefois, il est incontestable que le regard que l'on porte sur de tels objets influe dans une plus ou moins grande mesure sur l'opinion que l'on retire de leur analyse. Ainsi, selon les présupposés ou le tour d'esprit qui tendent au départ à l'orienter, une ressemblance thématique ou stylistique, l'utilisation concomittante de mécanismes formels, la réapparition de tournures ou de traits linguistiques significatifs, et bien d'autres rapprochements encore, peuvent jusqu'à un certain point s'interpréter dans un sens ou dans l'autre, comme une signature ou du moins comme une marque favorable à l'attribution d'une pièce, ou au contraire, comme une dénonciation de la servilité d'un imitateur et de son manque d'inspiration, l'aveu d'un plagiat — termes dont les valeurs sont d'ailleurs sujettes à caution pour le moyen âge, mais bref: au profit d'une réfutation de leur 'authenticité.' Il serait en tout cas souhaitable que la réflexion sur les problèmes que soulève notre corpus ne se limite pas à une analyse externe ou, pour celle des textes eux-mêmes, au choix de quelques arguments à partir de l'inventaire des contributions apportées par de précédents critiques (pp. 350–55), certains constats méritant la plus grande attention tandis que d'autres s'avèrent caduques ou justifieraient une réévaluation. Nous ne pouvons donc qu'appeler de nos vœux la réalisation d'une étude complète pour la totalité du cycle, à partir d'éditions mises à jour et de l'ensemble des critères qu'il s'agirait de prendre en compte, sans égard au départ pour le verdict auquel ils tendent.

[25] Notons au passage que pour diverses variantes des *MND*, Okubo fait un accueil plutôt propice à ce type de conjectures, tout en réservant son opinion définitive ('À propos de la *Vie de sainte Cristine* de Gautier de Coinci', n. 49).

et de la cohérence de l'ensemble. De fait, si de telles divergences ne devaient conduire qu'à suspecter l'originalité d'un corpus ou de certains de ses constituants, dans bien des cas, comme pour les *MND*, l'observation des changements de filiation qui interviennent selon que l'on examine telle ou telle tranche de certaines copies (N, par exemple, en ce qui concerne les *MND*) aboutirait au rejet de pièces dont l'appartenance n'a pas d'autre raison d'être mise en cause! Ne s'expose-t-on donc pas aux mêmes conséquences en opposant deux traditions manuscrites, comme si chacune vivait une existence à part de l'autre, au lieu d'envisager leurs accidents au même titre que ce qui advient si souvent dans la transmission d'écrits hybrides ou de quelque ampleur, comme les *MND*? Si l'on considère la *GenND*, la *NatND*, la *NatJC*, la *NatJB* et l'*AssND* non pas comme de simples pièces rapportées mais comme autant d'éléments résultant d'un projet solidaire avec les *MND*, l'existence d'incompatibilités entre les ramifications que chaque exemplaire illustre pour ces derniers et pour nos cinq 'satellites' cesse d'apparaître comme une contradiction aussi radicale. . . .

Même si elles représentent un fait notable et une complication évidente pour le raisonnement, il n'est donc pas certain que de telles oppositions démentent l'existence d'une réalisation homogène, dont l'idée et l'accomplissement ne se confondent pas obligatoirement avec les aléas de sa transmission matérielle, et son appartenance possible à Gautier de Coinci. Elles n'empêchent pas d'imaginer une rédaction suivie ou à des moments indépendants, mais par le même créateur, aussi bien que par deux intervenants distincts, il est vrai, des *MND* et du 'cycle historique' sur la Vierge, corpus dont au gré d'une diffusion complexe, en fonction du plan et de l'intention qui a déterminé la réalisation de chaque exemplaire, la fusion se serait réalisée ou non.[26]

Au terme de l'entreprise sans cesse renouvelée de Gautier de Coinci, un 'modèle' encore beaucoup plus ambitieux et complet serait donc venu englober le principe polyphonique des *MND*: celui du *recueil marial*, ou *mariologique* – d'une véritable 'anthologie', constituée de récits à la fois 'historiques' et édifiants, inspirés de la tradition biblique et apocryphe, et consacrés aux légendes sur Marie et sur le Christ, de pièces hymniques et d'épisodes miraculeux liés au personnage de la Vierge — somme dont l'accomplissement a sans doute été dicté par l'exemple latin.[27] Infatigable écrivain et remanieur (pour autant qu'ici, sa responsabilité

[26] Voir à ce sujet les intéressantes remarques de Okubo, 'Autour de la *Nativité Nostre Dame*', p. 372.

[27] Le *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, par exemple, se retrouve parfois dans des environnements assez comparables à ceux que produit la réunion des *MND* et des pièces 'historiques' qui les com-

dépasse l'impulsion que quelque continuateur sensible à ses intentions et à son travail littéraire aurait reçu de lui), Gautier de Coinci a ainsi pu extraire de la fréquentation des livres qui lui ont fourni la matière de ses *MND* l'intuition d'un dernier perfectionnement à apporter à leur structure déjà si raffinée et achevée, en ajoutant aux deux parties qui les composent, à la louange de ses chansons et à l'exaltation des prodigieux bienfaits de Marie, les éléments destinés à magnifier, par le récit de sa vertueuse existence, l'infinie *gloire la glorieuse* (I Mir 43, v. 1).

plètent, et une tendance chronologique s'observe aussi dans certains des manuscrits qui nous retransmettent les apocryphes latins, comme dans D, L, N, R. Koenig avait déjà effectué le rapprochement au sujet du premier poème de notre cycle, voir '*La Genealogie Nostre Dame*', p. 208.

Minstrel's Mantle and Monk's Hood: The Authorial Persona of Gautier de Coinci in his Poetry and Illuminations

Kathryn A. Duys

Résumé

Cet article examine la figure de l'auteur comme personnage que Gautier de Coinci élabore dans ses *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) se basant sur trois modèles différents: St Ildefonse, premier auteur marial à l'époque; le roi David, compositeur et musicien biblique; et la figure populaire du ménestrel. Une vue globale de la poétique lyrico-narrative qui organise les *MND* nous permet de découvrir comment Gautier a pu imposer cette image à travers son recueil, et la fixer dans le miracle de Ste Léocadie, le récit autobiographique placé au centre des *MND*. En considérant l'histoire dramatique du personnage de Gautier, nous examinons les problèmes posés par la juxtaposition surprenante d'Ildefonse, David, et le ménestrel. Nous passons ensuite aux cinq enluminures qui représentent la figure hybride de l'auteur. Les miniatures marginales, les grotesques, et les *bas-de-page* ont fourni aux enlumineurs le langage visuel nécessaire pour représenter et commenter habilement la figure du poète comme personnage dans les *MND*.

In the early thirteenth century, Gautier de Coinci and Jean Renart introduced the lyrico-narrative poetic techniques that focussed the cutting-edge of Old French literary practice for the next three centuries in and around the artful combination of story and song.[1] Jean Renart famously foregrounded his poetics

[1] Jean Renart's *Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* has been dated to 1200–11, 1212–13, and around 1228 by different scholars. Gautier composed his *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

by playfully presenting his romance, *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, as a luxurious garment, dyed a rich red and lavishly embroidered with song.[2] It is no coincidence that Jean Renart's alter ego in the story, the minstrel Jouglet, revels in descriptions of fancy attire as only a minstrel might, which is understandable given the custom of remunerating entertainers with articles of fine clothing. Like Jean Renart, Gautier de Coinci is generally thought to have adopted a minstrel's persona to define his performing presence in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) because of three prominent references that he makes to his *viele* and lyre, the instruments that he takes up at the beginning of his work and puts away at the end. What has not been considered is how problematic it was for Gautier, a monk, to use a minstrel-like persona, and how he uses the metaphor of garments to redress those problems. As a Benedictine monk, Gautier spurned the multicolored garb of minstrels, but that did not stop him from using a snippet from a minstrel's mantle to pull together the glorious patchwork of his authorial construct, which conjoins the imposing archetypes of St Ildefonsus and King David the Psalmist.

The present examination of Gautier's authorial persona and his hybrid robes begins with a survey of the lyrico-narrative design of the *MND*, for like Jean Renart, Gautier cut his garment from a poetic fabric interwoven with songs and stories. The poetics of citation that Gautier used to weave the images of his authorial models into his work are stunning, but fashion statements are seldom made with words alone. Therefore, after exploring the poetic images in Gautier's hybrid authorial mantle, we turn to the illuminators' pictorial interpretations. The images considered in this study cut to the core of the problems posed by Gautier's surprising juxtaposition of awe-inspiring archetypes and the lowly minstrel. Using finely tuned details, grotesques, the pictorial language of marginalia, and *bas-de-page* scenes, the illuminators render the uneasy alliance of Gautier's models with clever grace.

between 1214 and 1236. On the dating of Jean Renart's romance, see Sylvie Lefèvre, 'Jean Renart', in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age*, ed. by Genevève Hasenohr and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), p. 839. See also Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaumme de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 18, who considers the most probable date of the work to be 1210.

[2] 'car aussi com l'en met *la graine* / *es dras* por avoir los et pris, / einsi a il chans et sons mis / en cestui *Romans de la Rose*, / qui est une novele chose / et s'est des autres si divers / et *brodez, par lieus, de biaus vers*' (vv. 8–14; italics, apart from the reference to the title of the work, are mine). Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. by Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1979).

The images presented here are the product of an especially interesting case of manuscript illumination. Gautier tells us that he meant his book to be illustrated, and that a dear friend of his — not an underling or an anonymous artist working for an unknown patron — undertook that task. Sadly, no manuscripts of the *MND* survive from the lifetime of the poet and his friend, but the manuscripts considered here are among the earliest extant copies. Moreover, they are linked to Gautier's mother-house, so they take us as close as possible to the original textual community of friends evoked by Gautier. Their exceptional images portray Gautier's hybrid authorial mantle with a subtlety and playfulness that allows us to visualize the lyrico-narrative poetics of the *MND* in high Gothic style.

Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame

The *MND* is, like Jean Renart's romance, a combination of story and song.[3] However, the *Roman de la rose* is a single narrative with fragments of song inserted into it, whereas Gautier's *MND* is a collection of short narratives divided into two books with cycles of complete songs inserted at the beginning and ending of each book. The songs are clustered with other added poems (sermons, prayers, narrative and non-narrative *dits*) and together function as prologues and epilogues, framing the two books of miracle stories and shaping them into a single cohesive unit: a book.[4] At the same time, these pieces bring the book to life by presenting the entire work as a single long monologue, a marathon performance piece the likes of which is rare in the history of literature. The frame poems cast Gautier in the role of the work's lead performer, for he is at once reader, reciter and singer, preacher, protagonist, and *miraculé*. An autobiographical narrative threads through the frame poems and unites their performance and bookish functions by telling the story of how Gautier made his book.

The story of Gautier and his book begins in the prologue poems that open the *MND* where he provides a description of the whys and wherefores of his project. He addresses lay nobility and clergy, especially cloistered men and women, and

[3] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70). All citations are identified by Koenig's numbering system and unless otherwise indicated all italics are mine.

[4] On the textual design of the *MND*, see Kathryn Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1997).

claims to compose in the vernacular for those with imperfect Latin. He identifies the libraries that furnished him with his Latin sources and tells us that he adorned his book with songs as one would embellish a garden by planting flowers here and there: 'Tout cest livre volrai joncier / Et florir d'odorans florets. / C'iert de flories chançonnetes' (I Pr 2, vv. 32–34).

The frame story continues at the end of Gautier's first book in the Leocadia miracle (I Mir 44), which marks the midpoint of the *MND*. The Leocadia miracle, a personal story and the only tale in the collection not based on a Latin source, tells how the devil appeared to Gautier and threatened to kill him if he refused to abandon his book. He refused to acquiesce, and four days before Pentecost in 1219, the relics of St Leocadia were stolen along with a statue of the Virgin painted by Gautier. The Virgin and St Leocadia intervened, and on the eve of Pentecost the statue and relics were recovered. The relics were discovered at the banks of the river Aisne, whose waters began to heal the sick. Gautier commemorated the miracle with a great feast and a procession. This miracle authorized him to return to his work, so he reopened his great Latin source and pushed forward with the second book of the *MND* (II Pr 1). At the end of the *MND*, Gautier closes the frame narrative, shutting his Latin source and urging his manuscript pages into the hands of a dear friend, Robert de Dive, Prior of Saint-Blaise de Noyon. Robert had the work copied, illuminated, and disseminated among local clergy and pious nobility (II Epi 33).

The frame narrative of the *MND* is studded with cycles of songs that are attached to the prologue and epilogue poems. The songs have several functions, one of which is structural and depends on a deceptively simple device: repeated melodies, or *contrafacta* — a form of lyric citation. Two melodies in particular form the skeleton of Gautier's work. The tunes of his first and last songs reappear at the midpoint of the collection set to different lyrics: the second and third songs of the Leocadia cycle.[5] These two Leocadia songs mark Gautier's personal miracle at the pivot point of his work. Furthermore, select manuscripts make these the

[5] The only *MND* manuscripts with musical notation that do not contain this melodic repetition are MSS FMCGI. (For a complete list of the manuscripts of the *MND* and their sigla, see Appendix I at the end of the volume.) The repetition does appear in MSS BDLNRS. Of these, MSS RNS arrange the repeated melodies in perfect numerical symmetries, although each one accomplishes it differently. Of those manuscripts that do not contain the repetition, MS F only has songs at the beginning and end of the *MND*, M only has songs opening and closing Book II, and CGI cluster songs only at the beginnings of Gautier's two books. See Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song' for patterns of variance and *mouvance* in the textual design of this manuscript corpus.

ninth and tenth songs of eighteen lyrics, dividing the *MND* lyric corpus into two groups of nine songs each. The repeated melodies impose a symmetrical patterning on the collection and root that patterning in the dramatic story of the theft of the Leocadia relics — Gautier's authorizing miracle.

The frame of the *MND* not only recounts an autobiographical narrative and structures the collection with melodic citations, but it also casts the entire collection as a single long performance and establishes Gautier's complex performance persona, which is the subject of this article. In this marathon performance, Gautier begins by announcing his intention to translate miracle stories, but before beginning, he takes out his *viele* and lyre and tunes them. He sings, then opens his *grant livre* and appears to translate the Latin stories on the spot into Old French verse. He pauses only after recounting the Leocadia miracle from memory. He then notes how tired he is, and how his bow has gone slack. After his spirits are restored, he opens Book II by taking up his Latin manuscript again. But before beginning to translate, he again sings a few songs. At the end of his work, he closes his great Latin manuscript and rests his tired, aching head with a song. He concludes by putting away his *viele* and lyre, and closing the collection with a long series of prayers.

The Monk and the Minstrel's Mantle

The lines that have traditionally been thought to determine Gautier's minstrel stance — the references to his lyre and *viele* — appear in three poems: at the beginning and end of the collection and at the midpoint in the Leocadia miracle where Gautier says that the string of his bow has gone slack.

> Or veil atant traire ma lire
> Et atemprer veil ma vïele. I Pr 2, vv. 56–57

> Ci mes arçons est destendus
> Quant Dieu plaira, s'iert retendus. I Mir 44, 875–76

> Bien puis en sauf metre ma lire
> Et traire arriere ma vïele. II Epi 33, vv. 52–53

However, these lines are not the simple references to minstrelsy that they are often taken to be. The references to the *viele* and lyre are a commonplace evoking King David the Psalmist.[6] Unlike other poets, however, Gautier takes the reference to

[6] This commonplace is also found in works by Gautier de Châtillon, Rutebeuf, Robert de Sorbonne, Geofroi de Paris, the poets of the *Carmina Burana*, and Villon. See Nancy Regalado,

King David further, for the passage in which he takes up his instruments echoes the biblical story recounted in I Samuel 16. 15–23. There, King Saul calls David to draw evil spirits out of him by playing his harp. Gautier's first set of songs follows immediately after the passage that foregrounds the power of David's music to enchant with an *annominatio* figure on *chant* and *enchanter*. In the last line of the prologue, Gautier explicitly takes on the Davidic project himself, asking his audience to listen to his own enchanting songs of the Virgin. Gautier's first song follows; its first two strophes continue Gautier's *annominatio* figure and begin enacting his Davidic project.

[The end of the Prologue]

Or veil atant traire ma lire
Et atemprer veil ma vïele,
Se chanterai de la pucele
Dont li prophete tant chanterent
Et qui mil ans ains l'anoncerent
Qu'engenree ne nee fust
Ne cloufichiés fust Diex en fust.
Qui que vos chant chançons polies
De risees et de folies,
Je ne veil pas chanter tex chans,
Car trop i a pleurs et deschans:
L'ame sovent pleure et deschante
Dou chanteür qui tex chans chante.
Qui l'anemi velt enchanter
De la grant dame doit chanter
Dont jor et nuit li angle chantent.
Dyable endorment et enchantent
Tou cil qui chantent se doz chant.
Or escoutez comment j'en chante. I Pr 2, vv. 56–74

[Gautier's first song]

Amors, qui seit bien *enchanter,*
As plusiors fait tel *chant chanter*
Dont les ames *deschantent.*
Je ne veil mais *chanter* tel *chant*,
Mais por celi novel *chant chant*
De cui li angle *chantent*

Chantex de li, tuit *chanteür*.
S'*enchanterez* l'*enchanteür*

Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A Study in Noncourtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 233.

Qui sovent nos *enchante*.
Se de la mere Dieu *chantez*,
Tous *enchantanz* iert *enchantez*.
Buer fu nez qui en *chante*. I Ch 3, strophes 1 and 2, vv. 1–12

What exactly gave a song the power to enchant the devil? Gautier's prologue suggests that his subject matter, the Virgin, makes a difference, but one can easily conjure up a performance practice that could undermine the most pious of words. In the commentary, or *queue*, that Gautier attached to his retelling of the Rocamadour miracle (II Mir 21), he reveals that his songs were empowered neither by their religious sentiments nor by their moving melodies, but by the sincere faith that the performer expressed as he performed them.

Qui Dieu loer vielt doucement
Ausi le lot com fist David:
Ses cuers ou ciel ert toz ravid
Quant li looit Dieu en sa harpe.
Bien chante cil, vïele et harpe
Qui en sen cuer l'aeure et prie
Queque la harpe ou la voiz crie
[. . .]
Quant li hons est de bone vie,
Adont harpe il si bien et chante
Que les diables touz enchante
Si com David les enchantoit
Quant pour le roi Saül harpoit. II Mir 21, vv. 270–76, 280–84

The Rocamadour miracle is the story of how a minstrel named Pierre Sygelar prayed to Our Lady of Rocamadour and then sang for her before hundreds of delighted pilgrims. Using the language of *fin amors*, he asked the most courtly of ladies, 'Dame de toute courtoysie' (v. 39), for a candle as a 'guerredon', a reward (v. 41). Accordingly, the Virgin lowered one onto his *viele*, which caused the monk who was overseeing the sanctuary to set upon the minstrel and accuse him of evil enchantments, or sorcery: 'enchantererie' (v. 100). The Virgin lowered a second and third candle onto Pierre's *viele* before the miracle was recognized. Gautier ends the tale with an exhortation to all monks to try to emulate Pierre Sygelar, who sang with his heart focussed on God, just as David had.

Gautier admired Pierre's brand of minstrelsy, but like the monk in the story, he too was suspicious of minstrels at large. In the commentary to the miracle of the Maid of Arras (II Mir 27), he explains this, as he accuses fast-talking *goliard*-tricksters, the scholar-poets who ran rampant in towns like Arras, of regularly tricking people by performing false miracles. In this way they sowed the seeds of doubt in the minds of the general public regarding Mary's miracles:

Diex, quel tuër! Diex! Diex! Qui que
Aint telz larrons, telz menestreuz,
Jes has de mort. Ausi fait Diex,
Sa douce mere et tuit si saint.
Sainte Marie! Diex me saint!
Por ce s'aucun sermoneür
Goulïardoys et guileür,
Qui toute jor par ces viletes
Fiertres comportent et clochetes,
Fauz myracles font a la fois,
Se diront cil en cui faut fois
Et cui croire ne doit nule ame
Que li myracle Nostre Dame
Sont ausi faus et contrové. II Mir 27, vv. 534–47

Gautier's reservations about minstrels make his own lyric technique all the more surprising. He did not just compose devotional songs using the style of the *grand chant courtois* and the terminology of *fin amors*, which is what Pierre Sygelar seems to have done. Gautier often borrowed *trouvère* melodies and set new words to them, words that both praised the Virgin and criticized the secular *trouvère* lyrics that had inspired his poetic technique and lyric inventions.[7] Furthermore, Gautier made fun of the aristocratic ideals of *trouvère* song by using the *trouvères*' own poetic techniques against them. Into some of his devotional lyrics, which he set to melodies of the most famous courtly love songs, he sometimes inserted refrains from *trouvère* genres whose popular style was antithetical to the aristocratic style of the *grand chant courtois*. These refrain citations from *pastourelles*, *aubes*, *chansons de malmariées*, and *caroles* make fun of the aristocratic ideals of courtly love in a piquant fashion, and when Gautier combines them with his own angry attacks on secular leisure lyrics, he becomes a formidable critic indeed. In *D'une amor coie et série* (II Ch 5), for example, Gautier set new devotional words to a *chanson* by Gilles de Vieux Maisons, *Je chant, c'est mout mauvais signes* (R. 1356) and added a repeating refrain whose tone is far from noble: 'Vilainnes gens, / Vous ne les sentez mie, / Les dous maus que je sent' (II Ch 5, 9–11). The final strophe of that song attacks the earthly loves that preoccupied Gilles: 'Amons tuit la vraie

[7] This technique is especially evident in the songs that introduce Book II of the *MND*. Gautier's lyric citation technique has been heavily studied; see especially Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 104–18; Daniel O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 11–32 and 114–16; Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song', pp. 56–156, and Anna Drzewicka, 'La Fonction des emprunts à la poésie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 91 (1985), 33–51, 179–200.

amie / Qui la voie ou ciel aprent. / Laissons l'amie anemie / Qui l'ame engigne et sousprent' (II Ch 5, 45–48). The same light-hearted *carole* citations that are such pretty lyrical embroidery on the narrative fabric of Jean Renart's courtly romance become a tool of clever and devastating ridicule in Gautier's hands in the pseudo-lyric that closes the *Chasteé as nonains*[8] (II Chast 10), where he weaves bits of the dance songs that were heavily condemned by clergy into a *chanson de mal mariée*, which he transforms into a *chanson de bien mariée* and places in the mouths of nuns who sing as they take their vows of marriage to Christ.

Was this kind of creative, critical, and pious use of minstrelsy beyond suspicion? Probably not. One might easily accuse Gautier of being obsessed with lyrical devilry. Perhaps for that reason, Gautier turned to the figure of King David to defend his poetic and musical practice. David's association with minstrelsy is reflected in the story of how King Saul called David to his court to chase off the King's demons with his song. At that time, David was a young shepherd, which may explain Gautier's penchant for *pastourelle* citations. David, the biblical shepherd-musician, is transformed into a medieval court poet in an Old French poem from the late-twelfth century, the Old French *Eructavit*. The Old French *Eructavit*, a vernacular paraphrase and expansion of Psalm 44, the royal wedding psalm, is frequently associated with Gautier's Marian œuvre.[9] It recounts how a minstrel named David tries to get into the heavenly court to play at the wedding of Christ and the Church. The Psalmist is initially refused entry to the court of the King; the porter advises him to write his song down. David objects, 'Avuec mes moz vïeleroie / Jouglerre sui [. . .]' (vv. 234–35)! The porter relents when David reveals that the Son of God will be born of a virgin of David's own lineage.

As appealing as this Davidic minstrel is, he forms only part of Gautier's hybrid authorial persona, for unlike the *Eructavit* minstrel, Gautier depends as much on written ecclesiastical authority as he does on performance and song. After all, the *MND* was a book, albeit one shaped as a performance. Thus, the other aspect of Gautier's authorial persona is bookish and is based on the figure of St Ildefonsus, the premier author among contemporary compilers of Marian lore. Gautier joins the authorial prototypes of Ildefonsus and David using a link that he establishes

[8] This title, better known than Koenig's *Des nonains de Nostre Dame de Soissons*, will be used throughout.

[9] Four of the sixteen extant copies of the *Eructavit* Paraphrase are *MND* manuscripts: MSS DINR; see *Eructavit: An Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm XLIV Published from All the Known Manuscripts and Attributed to Adam de Perseigne*, ed. by T. Atkinson Jenkins, Gesellschaft für romanische Literature, 20 (Dresden: Niemeyer, 1909).

via St Leocadia: gifts of miraculous robes, and the practice of remunerating minstrels with clothing.

One detail in the Leocadia miracle reveals that when Leocadia's stolen relics were recovered on the banks of the river Aisne, among them was a fragment of the *chemise* of St Leocadia:

> Haute pucele de haut pris,
> De roial sanc nee et estraite,
> Trop laidement t'avoient traite
> Ta *chemise* li malfaiteur,
> Li mal larron, li traïteur,
> Li foymentie, li parjure. I Mir 44, vv. 324–29

The *chemise* is a snippet of Leocadia's garment that had belonged to St Ildefonsus, Archbishop of Toledo, from 657 to his death in 667. The fourth-century virgin martyr was venerated in Spain as the patron saint of Castile's capital city, Toledo, and was beloved of St Ildefonsus, who later became patron saint of that city as well. Ildefonsus was the beneficiary of a miracle in which Leocadia and the Virgin teamed up to demonstrate Mary's gratitude for the book that Ildefonsus had written about her perpetual virginity. Leocadia rose from her tomb to tell Ildefonsus that Mary appreciated his work, and Ildefonsus cut off a bit of her robe before the tomb closed over her. That snippet became his personal relic. Ten days later, the Virgin herself appeared to Ildefonsus and presented him with a heavenly alb in thanks for his book about her. Centuries later, when Saint-Médard, Gautier's mother-house, acquired the relics of Leocadia, Ildefonsus's snippet of Leocadia's robes was among them — if we are to believe Gautier.

Therefore, Gautier had close ties to Ildefonsus, not only because he had Ildefonsus's Leocadia relic in Vic-sur-Aisne, but also because both he and Ildefonsus had been beneficiaries of a miracle in which Leocadia and the Virgin had teamed up for a literary cause. Leocadia and the Virgin had miraculously thanked Ildefonsus for his book, and the two had miraculously saved Gautier's book from being abandoned to the devil. In addition, both Ildefonsus and Gautier had received gifts of clothing: the Virgin gave Ildefonsus an alb made in heaven, and she had returned to Gautier the stolen bit of Leocadia's robe that Ildefonsus had snipped off so many centuries earlier.

It is through this tiny gift of clothing — the snippet of Leocadia's robe — that our poet works minstrelsy into his connection with Ildefonsus, allowing him to create a persona whose expertise rested on writing, a deep attachment to Mary and Leocadia, and devotional song, which he hoped was as enchanting as the sacred psalms of David. From this he pieced together an authorial construct that was a living presence in his book, a performer and author who would protect his stories

and songs from minstrels' misinterpretations. Toward the very end of the Ildefonsus miracle, Gautier compares his own work to that of a minstrel:[10]

> Des troveeurs, quant je m'essai,
> Ne mespris mie les essaies,
> Mais por ce se vest noires saies
> Et il vestent les robes vaires,
> Ne leur desplaise mes affaires,
> Car troveres ne suis je mie
> Fors de ma dame et de m'amie
> Ne menestrex ne sui je pas.
> Mais por les nuis que j'en trespas
> Et por ce que j'en ai tensees
> Aucunes fois vainnes pensees
> A la foïe m'i sui pris
> Je ne truis pas por avoir pris.
> Ne por robes ne por avoir,
> Mais por l'amor la dame avoir
> Qui tost revest les ames nues
> Et ses amans en porte es nues.
> Je ne truis pas por avoir robe,
> Mais por la dame qui m'enrobe
> Quant anemis m'a desrobé.
> Cil deceü sont et lobé
> Qui jor et nuit truevent les lobes
> Por gaïgner chevaus et robes.
> Je ne truis mie por avoir
> Mais por l'amor la bele avoir
> Qui n'a compaigne ne pareille. I Mir 11, vv. 2310–35

In this closing passage of his Ildefonsus miracle, Gautier deliberately uses the practice of remunerating minstrels with clothing for their performances to create a chain of authority that works an inherently non-authoritative figure, the minstrel, into an authorial construct that rests on St Ildefonsus and King David. He might have simply associated himself with Ildefonsus; after all, he had the Spanish Archbishop's Leocadia-relic. But by introducing the minstrel, he brings a performer's presence to his persona, and by assigning that minstrel to a Davidic

[10] The Ildefonsus miracle contains an account of the miracle Leocadia performed for Ildefonsus, an attack on Jews, the miracle of the Virgin, an extended attack on simony among high-ranking clergy, a passage on the poverty of scholars, a discourse on hypocrisy, an account of the translation of Leocadia's relics to France (with a reference to the procession Gautier held to commemorate her miracle for him), and the final passage quoted above.

performance practice, he comes up with a performing authorial persona who can charm the devil himself, as we shall now see.

Gautier's tripartite authorial construct comes to life in his personal miracle, an autobiographical piece that incorporates all aspects of his poetic enterprise in their most elaborate form. The Leocadia cycle is composed of a verse narrative and a series of three songs that form one of the earliest narrative lyric sequences in Old French. In the highly emotive mode of lyric poetry, the first song laments how the relics were lost because Gautier insisted on continuing his book. The town grieves. The second song records the recovery of the relics, including the bit of Leocadia's robe that Ildefonsus had snipped off so long ago, and celebrates the miracle with a procession. The third song calls for an annual feast in memory of the miracle, giving thanks to Leocadia and the Virgin.

As mentioned above, the second and third Leocadia songs fulfil an important structural function in the *MND*. They are *contrafacta* set to melodies of Gautier's own songs, so they are autocitations. Furthermore, the second of the two melodies — the one that closes the Leocadia cycle and the entire *MND* — is borrowed from an outside source as well: the Notre-Dame conductus, *Beata viscera*, composed by Pérotin. Thus, the third song of the Leocadia cycle is both an autocitation and a double *contrafact* as well.

The technically brilliant melodic citations in the second and third Leocadia songs mark them as the pivotal point in the structure of the *MND*, but the first song in the sequence doesn't seem to fit the pattern because it is not a *contrafact* at all. In fact, it is the opposite of a *contrafact*. It calls attention to itself because it does *not* cite a melody when everything indicates that it should. Not only does the unity of the lyric sequence beg for it, but the song's verse structure does too, for the verse structure of the first Leocadia song, *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit* (I Ch 45), is the same as that of the second Leocadia song, *Seur cest rivage, a ceste crois* (I Ch 46), and it is therefore also the same as that of the song that opens the *MND*, *Amors, qui seit bien enchanter* (I Ch 3): 8aa 6b 8cc 6b. Although this is not a complicated verse structure, these three songs stand out as the only ones in the *MND* that share exactly the same verse structure.[11] And yet, the first Leocadia song does not share the same melody as the two others. This lapse calls out to the careful listener, for the absence of the melody corresponds to the loss of the relics

[11] The other two songs that share a melody, the final Leocadia song and the concluding lyric of the *MND*, are not metrically identical. They have similar verse structures, but they are not precisely the same, and furthermore, neither one of them replicates the verse structure of their Latin source, *Beata viscera*.

that the song describes. By the same token, in the second Leocadia song, the recovery of the relics corresponds to the reunion of melody and verse structure. Let us recall that the first song, whose melody is both self-consciously not cited and then cited in the first two Leocadia songs, is the very piece in which Gautier styles himself as a Davidic musician. When this melody returns in the second Leocadia song, it fulfils the promise of Davidic song by chasing off the devil, which coincides with the moment when Gautier receives a gift of miraculous clothing from the Virgin Mother herself, just as Ildefonsus had centuries earlier.

Thus, the story of Gautier's book is rendered not only in narrative verse in the frame poems, but also in lyric song at the very heart of the collection, and it uses the devices that make the *MND* so distinctive — lyric citation and Gautier's rhetorical signature, *annominatio* — to heighten the drama of Gautier's story. In addition, it may be understood to suggest another narrative about Gautier's authorial persona.[12] It presents a writer starting out whose hubris allows him to establish a link with King David and Ildefonsus early in his work (in the prologue to the songs, I Pr 2, and in the Ildefonsus miracle, I Mir 11). At the midpoint of the *MND* (in the Leocadia miracle, I Mir 44) he tells the story of his humbling and how the Virgin then bestowed her favour upon him, authorizing him to complete his work. It is here that the lowly minstrel is introduced into Gautier's authorial persona — by virtue of an old snippet of miraculous clothing, which was stolen, drenched in the river, and finally recovered as the heavenly gift that adorns Gautier's black Benedictine poet's mantle.

Exceptional Illuminations: Interpreting Some of Gautier's Author Portraits

Gautier's talk of black Benedictine garb, miraculous robes, heavenly albs, and multicoloured minstrels' mantles titillates the mind's eye as do the elegantly embroidered crimson garments described in Jean Renart's *Roman de la rose*. Unfortunately, Jean Renart's romance survives in a single unilluminated manuscript, so we will never know how a medieval artist might have rendered a court poet clothed in lyrico-narrative poetics.[13] Gautier, on the other hand, is depicted in a wide range of portraits, but they generally come in two standard authorial models, neither of which reflects the lyrico-narrative poetic games of the *MND*. Luckily, it is in the nature of manuscript culture to make and break its own rules, so a handful of exceptional images do engage Gautier's complex authorial construct.

[12] I thank Yasmina Foehr-Janssens for suggesting this interpretation to me.

[13] Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, p. iii.

However, to understand how they apply to Gautier, we must first grasp the general rules that govern authorial portraiture in the *MND* manuscript corpus.

The most common of Gautier's authorial images is the portrait of devotion, which presents Gautier on his knees with his hands joined in prayer before the Virgin, who is present either in person or as a statue.[14] The second most common model is the evangelist-style scribal portrait, which depicts Gautier seated at a desk, penning his work with the Virgin before him, who again appears either in person or as a statue.[15] These images are generally found in standard places in the collection. They tend to be located where Gautier presents and represents himself: among the highly self-reflexive frame poems of the *MND*. For example, a standard authorial image usually introduces each of Gautier's two books: where he begins his project (I Pr 1) and where he is returning to it after having been aggrieved by the devil (II Pr 1). The Leocadia miracle, at the end of Book I, is usually accompanied by a narrative illumination depicting some key moment(s) in the miracle and generally portrays Gautier as a protagonist rather than an author. Finally, Gautier's formal epilogue poem (II Epi 33), which closes the *MND*, is often headed by an image that shows Gautier handing off his manuscript pages to his friend to be copied, illuminated, and disseminated. In addition, the sermon on death, *La Doutance de la mort* (II Dout 34), which follows the formal epilogue poem, is sometimes accompanied by an image of Gautier in a preacher's pose, addressing a small group of clerics.[16] In the *MND* manuscript tradition as a whole, the songs are almost never illuminated. Since the miniatures usually correspond to the texts they introduce, this may explain why there is precious little musical iconography in Gautier's author portraits even though music is so important to his authorial construct.[17]

[14] There is one variation on this model in *MND* MS T, where the Virgin hands the praying monk a long scroll (Besançon, BM, 551, fol. 1^{r}).

[15] There are several variations on this later model: sometimes Gautier dictates to a scribe; sometimes he just reads; other times he displays a book to the reader.

[16] There is one more place where Gautier is often depicted in a preacher's pose: at the head of Gautier's only other sermon, *La Chasteé as nonains* (II Chast 10), where he addresses the nuns of Notre-Dame de Soissons. This sermon is the second piece in Book II, following the prologue with its songs, and the Empress miracle (II Mir 9). The position and prominence of the *Chasteé* in Book II resemble that of the Ildefonsus miracle in Book I (I Mir 11), in which Gautier's sermonizing on the abuses of high-ranking clergy dominates the poem.

[17] The only two exceptions are the songs of the Leocadia cycle, which are illuminated in two manuscripts, MS S: Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fols 110^{r}, 111^{r}, 111^{v}; and MS T: Besançon, BM, 551, fol. 87^{r}.

Among the exceptions to the general rules delineated above are five miniatures that bring minstrelsy, King David, and St Ildefonsus to bear on Gautier's painted image in remarkably thoughtful ways. They are found in some of the earliest manuscripts of Gautier's *MND*: MSS N, R, L, and B, all from the late thirteenth-century:[18]

MS B = Brussels, BR, 10747, fol. 3r
MS N = Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 105r
MS R = St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fols 232v, 233v
MS L = Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 57v

Manuscript B was listed in the Bruges inventory of 1467 as part of the library of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, but little else is known about it. Editors have suggested that the manuscript might be related to MSS H (Paris, BNF, fr. 1533), K (Paris, BNF, fr. 1613), and h (Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295), with MS h most closely related to MS B. However, this grouping of manuscripts poses numerous problems, and none other than MS B contains images relevant to this study.

The other three manuscripts present the opposite scenario; they are intricately related in text, music, and images and were all possibly made in Soissons.[19] The artist who illuminated MS N also decorated R, and the artist who illuminated MS L copied most of the images from R, which dates from 1260–70.[20] These manuscripts are the closest in place and time to the extraordinary textual

[18] Initial dating of the manuscripts was done by Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye (DG). For a revised list, see Appendix I in this volume.

[19] DG, p. 68. Manuscript N was transferred to Paris in the late eighteenth-century from Saint-Médard, the monastery where Gautier began and ended his ecclesiastical career. Furthermore, both MSS N and R contain the only two surviving copies of an Old French miracle story about Christ's baby tooth, which opens with a reference to its source in the library of Saint-Médard. This relic was famously owned by Saint-Médard and became a cause célèbre in the twelfth century when it spurred Guibert de Nogent to write his well-known tract against the veneration of false relics in which he lambasted the monks of Saint-Médard. Manuscript L contains a text dedicated to the nuns of Notre-Dame de Soissons, the same nuns to whom Gautier dedicated his second book.

[20] For the date of MS R, see Tamara Voronova and Andrei Sterligov, *Manuscrits enluminés occidentaux du VIIIe au XIVe siècle à la bibliothèque nationale de Russie de Saint Pétersbourg: France, Espagne, Angleterre, Alemagne, Italie, Pays-Bas* (Bournemouth: Parkstone; St Petersburg: Aurora, 1996), p. 67. N.B. Only the French translation of this book dates MS R to 1260–70; many thanks to Anna Russakoff for pointing this out to me. For a further discussion of the dating of these manuscripts, see Alison Stones's contribution in the present volume.

community described by Gautier in his final epilogue poem when he sends his pages off to his friend, who would copy, illuminate, and distribute copies to other friends. What situation could be more conducive to the production of pictorial interpretations that are sensitive to the overarching themes of the book than a close-knit textual community of poets, singers, artists, and readers?

Only one of the five images presented here unequivocally portrays Gautier as a musician (Fig. 1). In MS B, the prologue to the Songs (I Pr 2) is introduced by a historiated initial *A* that contains a monk in black Benedictine robes, seated on a bench, playing a *viele* as he reads notated but illegible music on a bifolium (or book) that lies on the bench next to him.[21] This image is curious for several reasons. First, monks are not usually depicted playing the *viele*, which is an instrument associated more with *trouvères* and minstrels. Monks are usually shown standing together singing psalms a capella, often with a notated book that sits on a lectern; this image often accompanies Psalm 97. On the other hand, *chansonniers* don't usually portray troubadours, *trouvères*, and minstrels playing from notated music, and while they are occasionally seated, they are usually portrayed standing. David, on the other hand, is often depicted seated with his musicians gathered around him in images that introduce Psalm 1, *Beatus vir*. Consequently, the image in MS B appears to conflate three iconographic models: minstrels, monks, and David the Psalmist. While the fusion of these three models might seem compatible with Gautier's hybrid persona, we must remember that, like most clergy, Gautier was deeply suspicious of minstrelsy and only admitted the figure into his composite persona with qualifications and limitations. Indeed, in the very poem that this image introduces, the prologue to Book I, Gautier specifically disavows the music of minstrels and *trouvères*: 'chançons polies / De risees et de folies, / Je ne veil pas chanter tex chans, / Car trop i a pleurs et deschans' (I Pr 2, vv. 63–66).

Gautier's reservations notwithstanding, his illuminators had a good model for the iconographic fusion of sacred and scurrilous, for the figure of David playing a minstrel's *viele* was commonplace. One series of such David images appears in MS R, introducing the Old French *Eructavit* Paraphrase discussed above (Fig. 2).[22] The *Eructavit* miniature has four tiny compartments; the first frame shows David as the biblical Psalmist seated in his throne tuning his harp. This corresponds to the first line of the poem in which David is identified as the author of the psalm:

[21] Brussels, BR, 10704, fol. 3r. I am indebted to Frédéric Billiet, Domenic Leo, Edward Roesner, and Kathleen Wilson-Ruffo for their generous help in interpreting this miniature. Any remaining errors are mine.

[22] NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 264r.

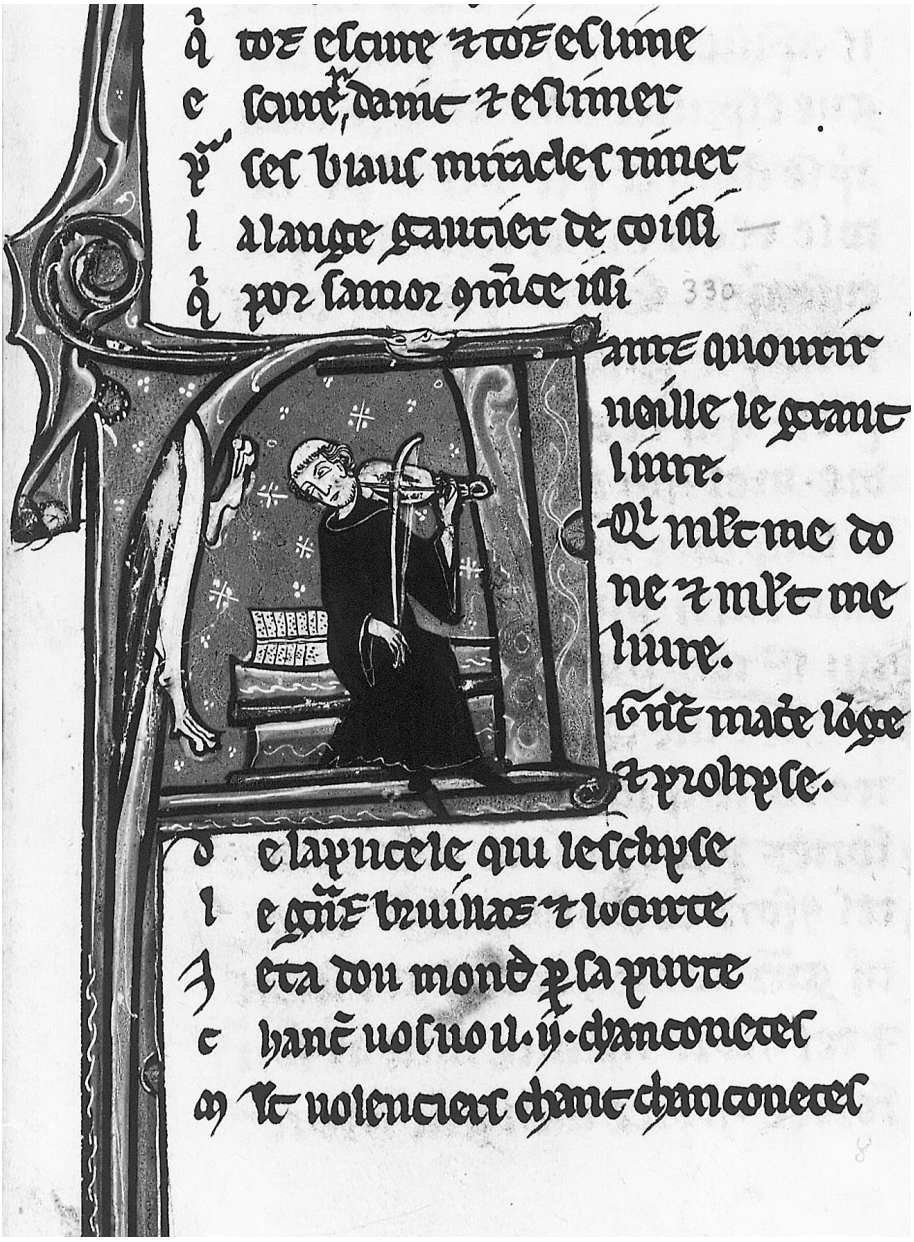


Figure 1. I Prologue 2. The only portrait of Gautier de Coinci that unequivocally portrays him as a musician. MS B, Brussels, BR, 10747, fol. 3r (photo: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier)

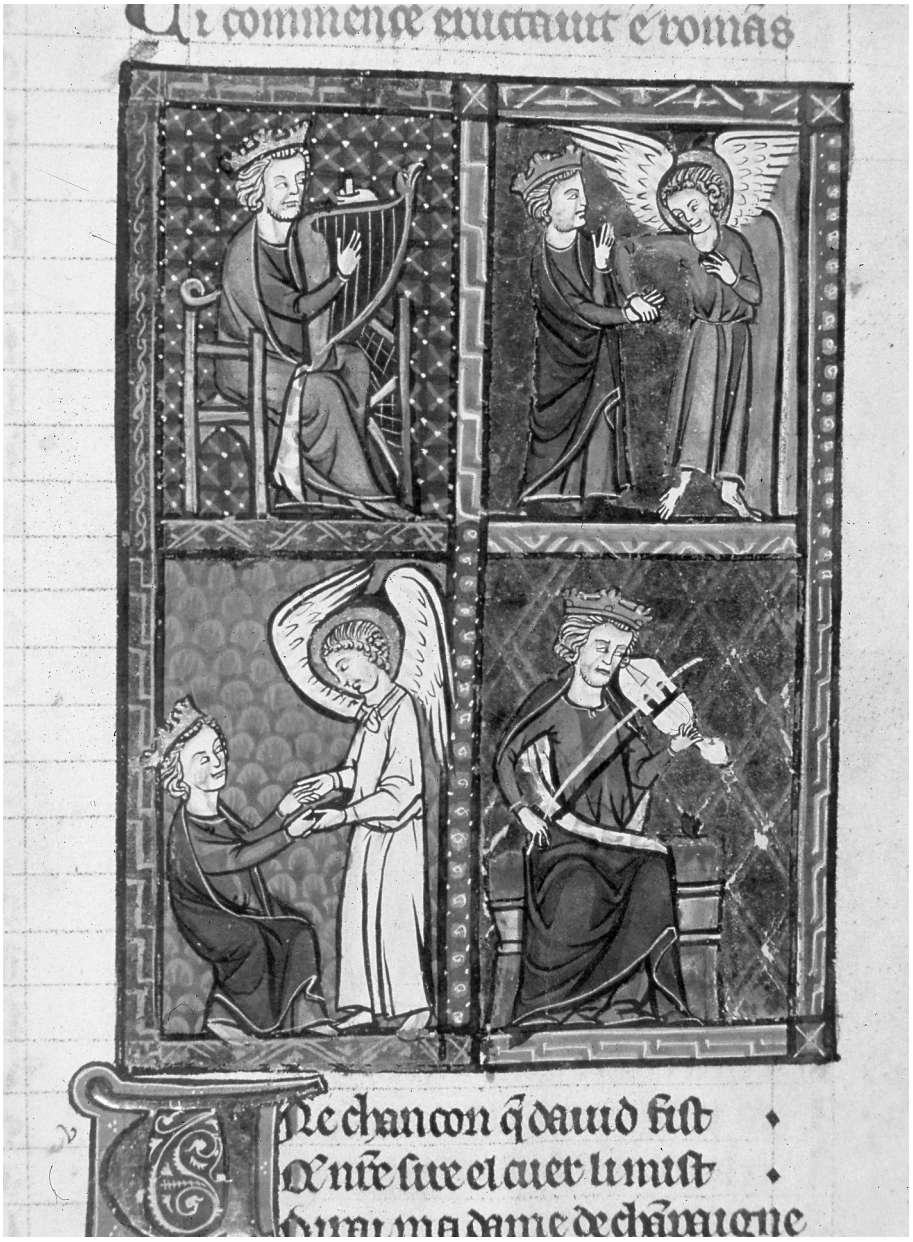


Figure 2. King David portrayed as he is described in the narrative of the Old French *Eructavit*. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 264[r] (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

'Une chancon que David fist'. The second frame portrays the porter as an angel who is refusing David entry to the heavenly court, and in the third the porter helps David up and ushers him into the court of the King. The fourth and final frame shows David as a minstrel seated on a bench playing his *viele*, having gained entry to the marriage festivities of the King.

David is transformed from a harpist to a *vieleur* in this sequence of images, a detail that corresponds to the great interest in David's instruments in the thirteenth century. The renewed study of Hebrew inspired numerous scholars to inquire into the instrument names mentioned in the psalms. One Dominican friar, Petrus de Palude, even considered that the ancient instrument upon which David might have composed the psalms, the *psalterium*, was in fact a *viele*.[23] In the first image David is depicted tuning his harp. Christopher Page has noted that references to tuning harps in thirteenth-century French romances appear essentially to be praise of an individual harpist's extraordinary musical talents.[24] However, when discussing Gautier, who tunes his lyre (I Pr 2, vv. 56–57), Page suggests that Gautier may be talking about a well-tuned instrument as a sincere and focussed — finely tuned — heart that produces true prayer.[25] He notes distinguished precedent for this metaphor, for Jerome said '[Oratio] est lyra nostra' in his commentary on Psalm 143.[26] The detail of tuning therefore distinguishes Davidic song from minstrels' songs by visually associating it with refined art and true prayer.

The metamorphosis of David into a minstrel may have been curious, but it was not shocking. Nor was the similar transformation of Orpheus.[27] This is perhaps because both were celebrated figures from antiquity whose authority was unassailable. Gautier, on the other hand, was a living mortal and was therefore inherently unauthoritative. Accordingly, when the same artist who portrayed David as Psalmist and minstrel sought to portray the minstrelsy in Gautier's authorial construct, he reached for grotesques, the visual language of marginalia, to accentuate what an unexpected and troubling combination a monk and a minstrel can make.

In each of the three such images of Gautier painted by this artist, he combined human, animal, and angelic elements with music in a figure that terminates in an

[23] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments in the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 55.

[24] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, pp. 112–17.

[25] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, pp. 191–94.

[26] Quoted in Page, *Voices and Instruments,* p. 193.

[27] John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 159.

exuberant foliate initial. Two of the three historiated initials are in MS R and a third is in MS N, which was illustrated by the same artist but copied by a different scribe. The first image in MS R, which accompanies Gautier's formal epilogue poem (II Epi 33), presents the tonsured head and winged upper body of a person who plays a *viele* (Fig. 3).[28] The second hybrid figure in MS R accompanies Gautier's sermon on the fear of death, *La Doutance de la mort* (II Dout 34), and is also tonsured but plays a fingerboard instrument shaped like a holly leaf — probably a *citole* (Fig. 4). The figure has the hind leg of a lion, but no wings.[29] The third image, which is in MS N and introduces Book II of the *MND* (II Pr 1), is untonsured but has wings and the hind legs of a lion and plays a *viele* (Fig. 5).[30]

Hybrid figures like these are typical of marginalia; but although such marginalia do exist in the *MND* manuscript corpus, they are not common. What makes these especially significant is that they are within the text block — they have moved from the margins to the centre of the page — and they appear precisely where Gautier's author portraits are typically situated. This, more than anything else, allows us to associate these figures with the poet.[31] The somewhat perverse or subversive character of marginalia reflects Gautier's suspicions of minstrelsy and his uncomfortable alliance with the popular figure of the itinerant musician. Finally, although these three images bring minstrel and monk together, there is no effort to tie them to the other important part of Gautier's poetic identity: St Ildefonsus.

Another artist did make that effort, however. Manuscript L was decorated by an artist who admired the images in MS R so much that he copied all its multi-compartment miniatures even though MS L had been prepared for a more traditional and modest illumination program. The artist therefore had to rearrange the vertical organization of the compartments so that they could be inserted horizontally into the smaller spaces of MS L. As a result, the miniatures regularly break the text block, a slightly awkward touch in what is otherwise an elegant manuscript. The artist of MS L copied most but not all of the images in MS R; one of his systematic departures from R's illumination program regards the author portraits, which he completely replaced — including the fascinating hybrids of monk and minstrel.

[28] NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 232^{v}.

[29] NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 233^{v}.

[30] BNF fr. 25532, fol. 105^{r}.

[31] My thanks to Domenic Leo for suggesting this angle of argumentation to me.

Figure 3. II Epitre 33. Musical hybrid at the head of Gautier's epilogue poem.
MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 232v
(photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

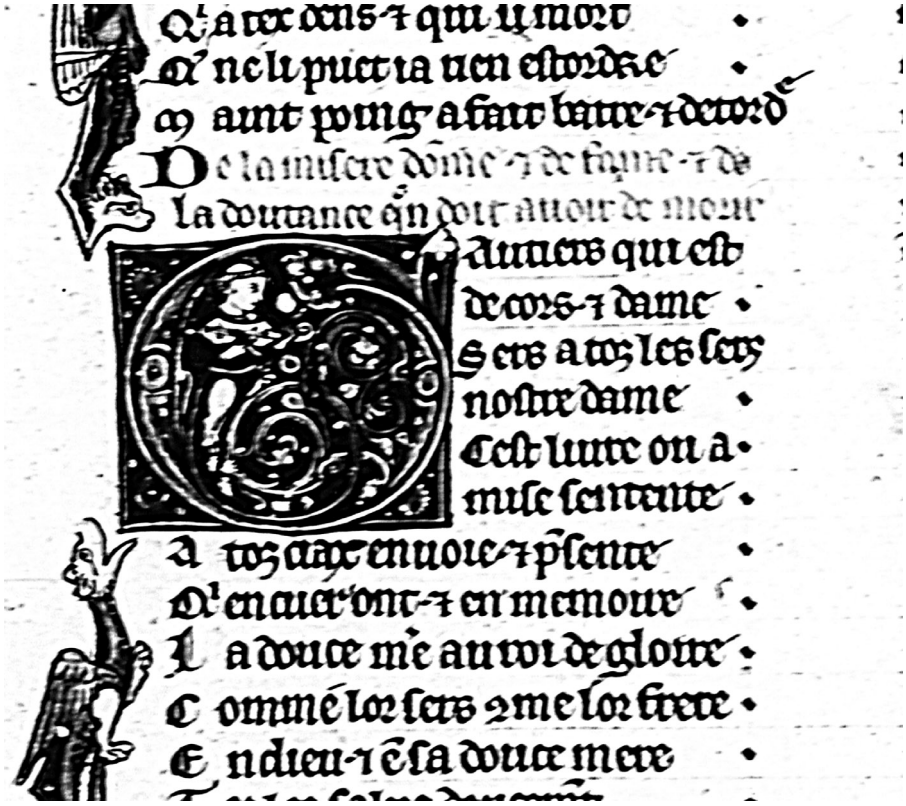


Figure 4. II Doutance 34. Musical hybrid at the head of the sermon on the fear of death. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 233v (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

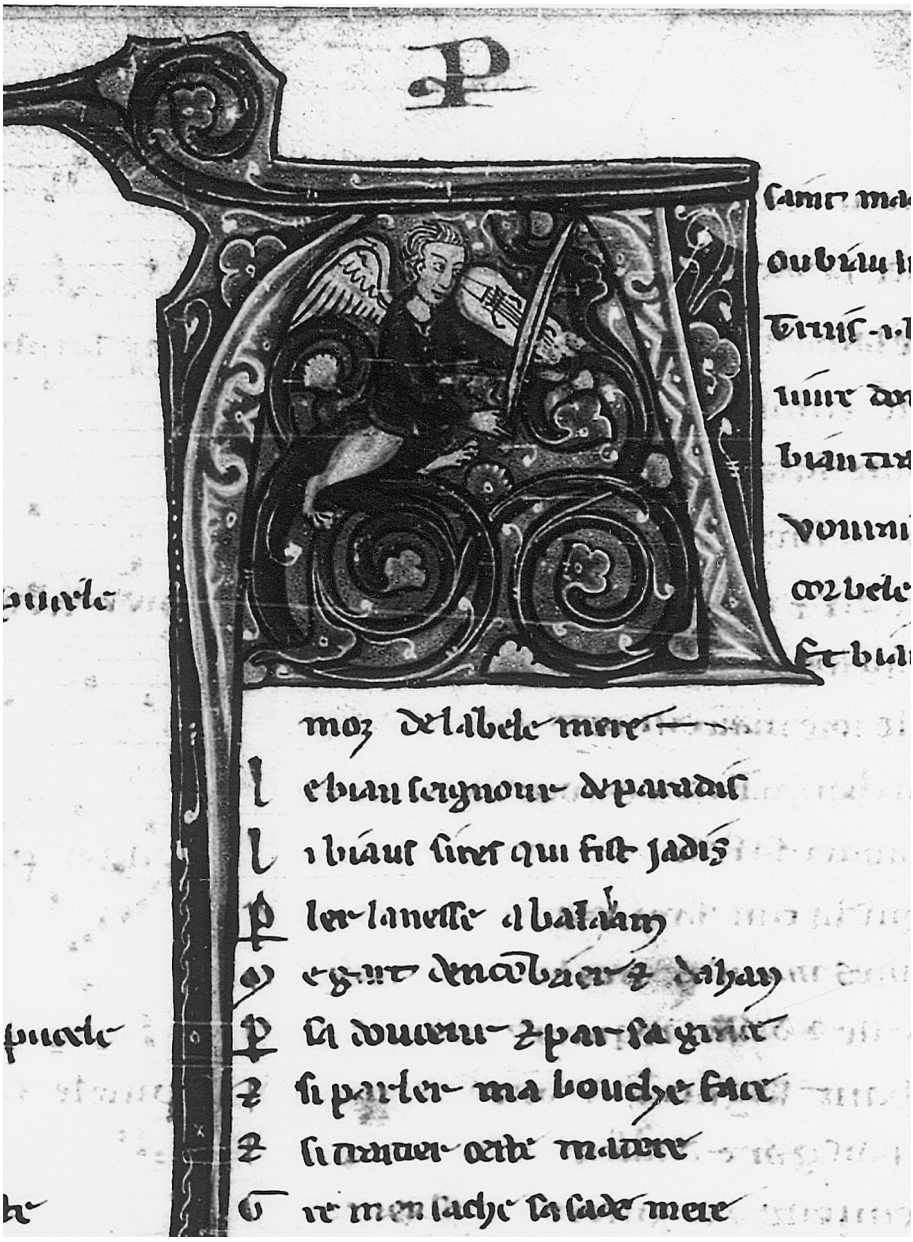


Figure 5. II Prologue 1. Musical hybrid at the opening of *MND* Book II.
MS N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 105[r]
(photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

The author portraits of MS L are beautiful and well suited to the poems that they accompany. They are innovative in a different way, however. The artist replaced the provocative musical hybrids with an image of Gautier passing his manuscript on to his friend Robert de Dive, and another of Gautier in a preaching pose. But he did not drop the hybrids completely. He inserted a tiny hybrid monk where MS R has none: at the head of the Ildefonsus miracle (Fig. 6).[32] The hybrid figure, whose tonsured head and lion's legs attach to a small animal-like body, sprouts from the top of a foliate bar that divides the two columns of the folio where the Ildefonsus miracle begins. The bar divider is shaped like an inverted T with the crossbar at the bottom of the page supporting a *bas-de-page* hunting scene. The hybrid monk does not hold the fiddler's bow (*arçon*) that one might expect, knowing the artist's models in MS R, but the instrument has not disappeared entirely. In fact, the bow has merely dropped down to the *bas-de-page* hunting scene in which a centaur with a raised bow (*arc*) has just shot his arrow at a large white bird.[33] A green hunting dog who might have aided in the chase has gone astray and sits atop the page, crouched above the miniature that introduces the Ildefonsus miracle. That miniature depicts Leocadia sitting up in her tomb, thanking Archbishop Ildefonsus for the little book he wrote for Mary. The King, who sits behind Ildefonsus, is holding out his knife to the Archbishop, who will use it to slice a memento from Leocadia's robe before the sepulchre closes over her.

Mary Carruthers has argued convincingly that *bas-de-page* chase scenes represent a common metaphor for memory retrieval (hunting for memories) and that the most conventional image of the hunted memory is a bird.[34] Memory is indeed in play on this folio, which contains the end of the Theophilus miracle (I Mir 10) as well as the beginning of the Ildefonsus miracle (I Mir 11). The Theophilus miracle closes with an *annominatio* figure on the word *corde* which revolves around the idea of how remembering the Virgin and serving her makes it possible for her to reconcile a sinner with God. Many of the words that Gautier built into that *annominatio* figure have other meanings having to do with music and stringed instruments. For example, some of the words that Gautier built around

[32] BNF fr. 22928, fol. 57^{v}. There are other such grotesques in the margins of this manuscript, but they are not tonsured.

[33] There are other marginal hunting scenes in this manuscript, but they portray grotesques with swords and shield, not bows and arrows.

[34] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 246–47.

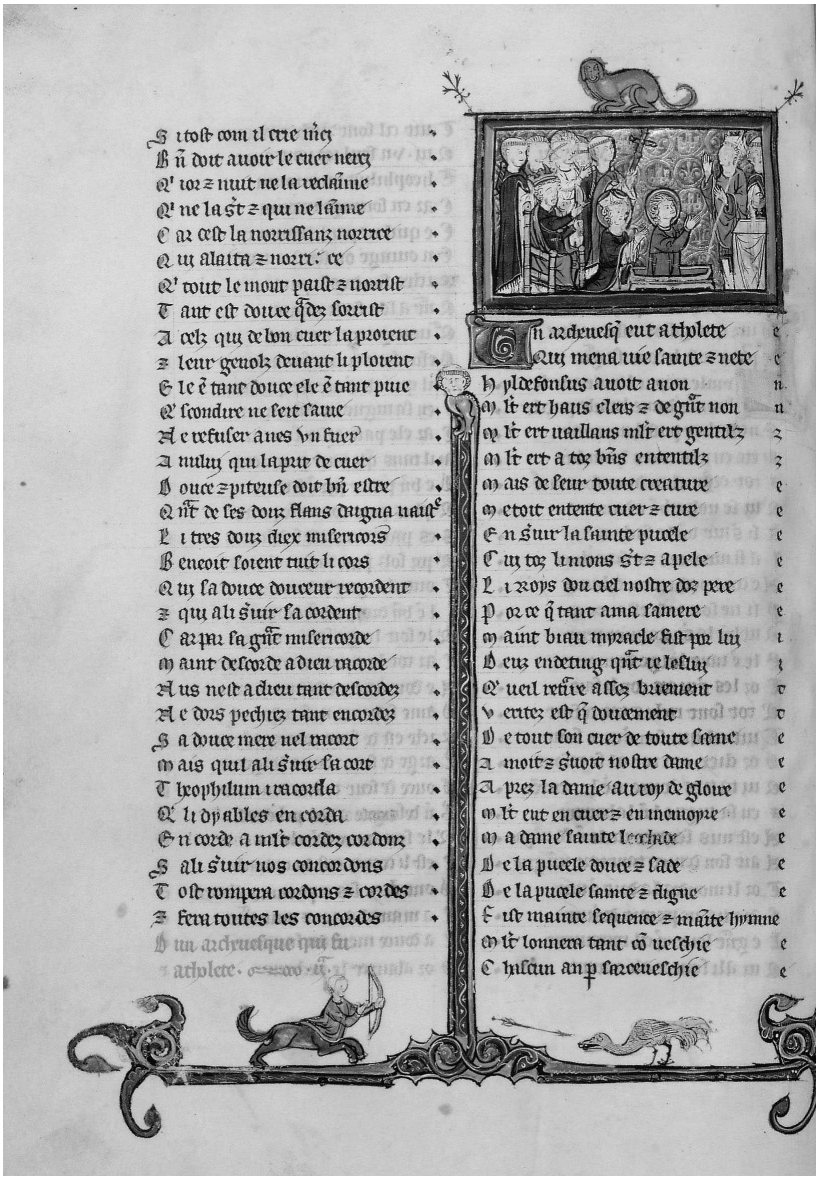


Figure 6. I Miracle 11: *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*. A small hybrid monk on the decorative bar dividing the Theophilus miracle (I Mir 10) from the beginning of the Ildefonsus miracle. MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 57v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

corde (heart or cord) are *recorder* (to remember), *racorder* (to reconcile), *descorder* (to be in disagreement; to play or sing out of tune), *acorder* and *concorder* (to agree; to harmonize), and *encorder* (to tie something up; to string a musical instrument; or to notch an arrow on a bow).[35]

> Beneoit soient tuit li *cors*
> Qui sa douce douceur *recordent*
> Et qui a li servir *s'acordent,*
> Car par sa grant *misericorde*
> Maint *descordé* a Dieu tant *racorde*.
> Nus n'est a Dieu tant *descordez*
> Ne d'ors pechiez tant *encordez*
> Sa douce mere nel *racort*,
> Mais qu'il a li servir *s'acort*.
> Theofilum y *racorda*,
> Que li dyables *encorda*.
> En *corde* a mout *cordez cordonz*.
> S'a li servir nos *concordons*,
> Tost rompera cordons et *cordes*
> Et fera toutes les *concordes*. I Mir 10, vv. 2078–92

In MS L, Gautier's elegant play on words is extended into a visual pun. The fiddler's bow that one might expect the hybrid to hold — knowing his cousins in MS R — has dropped to the bas-de-page where a centaur holds an archer's bow, having just shot an arrow at a bird in a scene that visually conveys the act of remembering. The play on memory and reconciliation at the end of the Theophilus miracle (I Mir 10) segues smoothly into the Ildefonsus miracle, which reminds us that unlike Theophilus, Ildefonsus served the Virgin faithfully, 'Amoit et servoit Nostre Dame', and kept St Leocadia in his memory, 'Mout eut en cuer et en memoyre / Ma dame sainte Leochade' (I Mir 11, vv. 18, 20–21). Yet the little hybrid that separates the miracles about the two archbishops is a monk; he does not wear a bishop's mitre as St Ildefonsus always does. Furthermore, Leocadia was Gautier's lady too, and through her the Blessed Virgin showed him favour and saved his book of her miracles and songs from the devil. In this manuscript, whose author images are so well suited to the poetry that they introduce, this little hybrid who has lost his fiddle reminds us that the figure of the minstrel patches together the rich and poor vestments of the two Marian authors: the archbishop and the

[35] See Olivier Collet, *Glossaire et index critiques des œuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 227 (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

monk. That patching occurs via the scrap of cloth that Ildefonsus cut from Leocadia's robe, the scene illustrated in the miniature at the top of the folio.

The illuminations of folio 57^{v} in MS L are the only time that Gautier is visually associated with Ildefonsus in all of the surviving 114 manuscripts of the *MND*. Reading the pictorial language of this association presents challenges that are typical of this work and this manuscript corpus. It depends on a knowledge of the work as a whole — both its narrative and lyric elements. It requires a familiarity with Gautier's textual design and the connections he makes through it. Finally, one must be familiar with the manuscript corpus in order to know that this illuminator had MS R under his gaze. However, once these different pieces of information are themselves patched together, Gautier's image comes together seamlessly, like the carefully worked, but modest, poet's mantle he wore.

Conclusion

At the end of Jean Renart's romance, the heroine Liénor, the maiden who proved her virginity and routed her enemy with a story, stands triumphant in a splendid gown magically embroidered with scenes from the legend of Troy. Gautier's black robes — part minstrel's mantle and part monk's hood — also tell great stories: stories of a virgin, and of the Virgin, and of demons defeated by the song of the soul. Standing next to Jean Renart, Gautier may not have cut a fashionable figure, but his plain robes had a heavenly provenance that made them no less impressive. He created a tripartite authorial construct that incorporated some the most innovative aspects of his Marian collection. Gautier used cutting-edge lyrico-narrative poetics to design a vernacular poetic identity that appropriated the performance traditions of minstrelsy and endowed them with Davidic power and saintly authority to fit his humble monastic frame.

Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts

Alison Stones

Résumé

Cet essai s'adresse aux questions de production et de réception des manuscrits de Gautier de Coinci en particulier en ce qui concerne les manuscrits enluminés dont la peinture fournit souvent une base relativement solide d'attribution et de datation. Les prières constituent une catégorie à part dont la diffusion diffère de celle de manuscrits contenant la totalité des miracles.

Some twenty-nine manuscripts contain illustrations to all of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), to selected miracles, or to the prayers attributed to him, and more than eighty copies are unillustrated — or at least contain no illustrations in their *MND* selections.[1] Sometimes the illustrations accompanying other components of a manuscript will shed light also on where a prayer by Gautier was said or one of his miracles was read, and I draw on these manuscripts to supplement, at times, what can be determined from the illustrated *MND* manuscripts. Whereas much attention has been devoted to literary and musical aspects of *MND* manuscripts, only a few of them have been mentioned in the art-historical literature, and there has been no attempt at a comprehensive overview of the distribution of the illustrated manuscripts, nor indeed of the manuscripts of the textual tradition as a whole. There are enormous differences among the illustrated copies, in illustrative format, pictorial emphasis, and

[1] Appendix I gives a list of all the manuscripts of Gautier de Coinci texts; Appendix II lists those containing music; Appendix III lists the copies containing illustrations of the *MND*; and Appendix IV is a provisional List of Attributions. All are found at the end of this volume.

material selected for illustration, even among those that are complete copies of *MND* and those where more than one copy was produced in the same artistic environment or by the same artist. I am less concerned here with comparisons of iconography — overall, the illustrations in each manuscript, despite their differences, reflect very closely what the text says but are not copies one of another — than in an attempt to plot, as far as possible, where these manuscripts come from and what their artistic context was. I adopt an approach similar to my studies of the manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes and of individual manuscripts, Wace's *Vie de sainte Marguerite* and the *Roman de la Manekine*. As in those earlier studies, I am greatly indebted to my collaborators in literature, and in this case in music as well, and acknowledge with gratitude how much I have learned from working with them.

Any attempt to plot the production — and hence also the reception — of the illustrated copies will be successful only insofar as it is possible to identify stylistically related manuscripts. Some searches have proven more fruitful than others, and questions remain that future research may be able to solve if and when more parallels come to light. Some manuscripts have had to be left out altogether for lack of comparanda. For several more I have had to limit my remarks to tentative suggestions in the footnotes to Appendix IV, whereas others may be firmly assigned to easily recognizable stylistic groups and at times the artists can be found working in other manuscripts. A few have been extensively worked on by other scholars. I summarize some of my general findings here and offer a more detailed outline of the artistic context of the manuscripts in the Soissons group.

The Earliest Manuscripts

How early are the earliest *MND* manuscripts, and from where? It is hard to prove that any of the surviving copies date from the lifetime of Gautier who died in 1236. But the earliest dated copy, MS M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163, written in 1266, is certainly not the earliest manuscript, although Ducrot-Granderye identified its text as the closest, among what survives, to Gautier's original. Written by Guillaume, monk of Morigny, OSB (Dioc. Orléans),[2] it is unusual in containing two

[2] On fol. 226^{v}, 'Expicit liber domine Galteri prioris de Vi scriptus per manus Guillelmi monachi mauriginacensis Anno domini M cc. lx sexto.' Vi is Vic-sur-Aisne, and the priory of Sainte-Leocade there is the establishment of which Gautier de Coinci was prior until his death in 1236. See E. Gaillard, 'Les prieurs de Sainte-Léocade de Vic-sur-Aisne', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Haute-Picardie,* 4 (1926), 165–68. The manuscript entered the Bibliothèque du Roi

full-page miniatures, of the Virgin and Child facing Christ in Majesty with the Evangelist Symbols and a tiny clerical figure at the feet of Christ (Figs 1 and 2). The full-page miniatures are painted on an added bifolio, but the same artist was also responsible for the foliate initials, whose hybrid faces show clear affinities with the faces of the full-page miniatures, so the book was evidently conceived as a whole. The full-page miniatures form a prefatory sequence reminiscent on the one hand of the full-page emphasis on the Genealogy of the Virgin, absent in this copy of Gautier's miracles but found in MSS D and L, Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 (Fig. 3) and Paris, BNF, fr. 22928 (Fig. 4);[3] they also recall the swearing pages of civic manuscripts such as Customaries, of which several examples survive from south-western France, where full-page images of Christ and the Virgin were the pages on which city councillors swore their oaths of office — with the result that these pages are badly damaged (Fig. 5).[4] The prefatory pages in BNF fr. 2163 serve to authenticate the miracle collection that follows in the way that the prefatory swearing pages validate the laws and customs that follow, and the people who swear to abide by those laws. Full-page illustration of Gautier's miracles is otherwise confined to I Mir 10, the miracle of

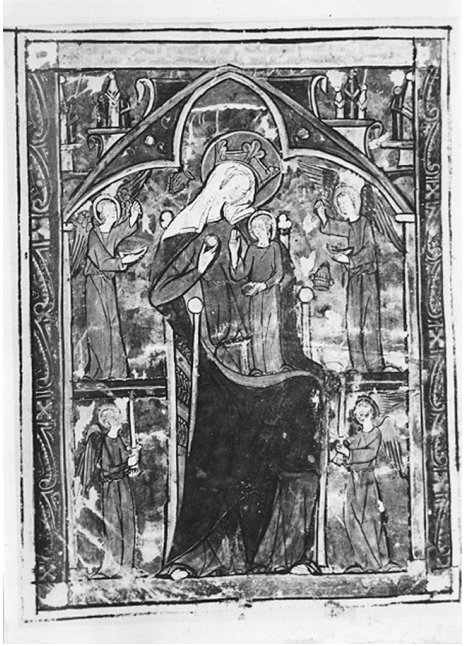


Figure 1. Virgin and Child enthroned. MS M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163, fol. 1v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

between 1645 and 1682 because it is absent in the 1645 inventory of Pierre and Jacques Dupuy but listed in that of Nicolas Clément in 1682, as no. 7987; binding with the arms of Louis XV.

[3] For the Genealogy of the Virgin and related texts, see the article by Collet in this volume.

[4] Such as Cahors, Archives Municipales, 1 (on deposit at the Bibliothèque municipale), *Régistre consulaire (Te igitur)* of Cahors, ed. by P. Lacombe and L. Combarieu, *Le Te igitur* (Cahors: A. Laytu, 1874–88); Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, 42, *Costuma d'Agen*, in Occitan, ed. by A. Mouillié, 'Coutumes, privilèges et franchises de la ville d'Agen', *Recueil de la Société académique d'Agen*, 1st series, 5(1850), 237–343.

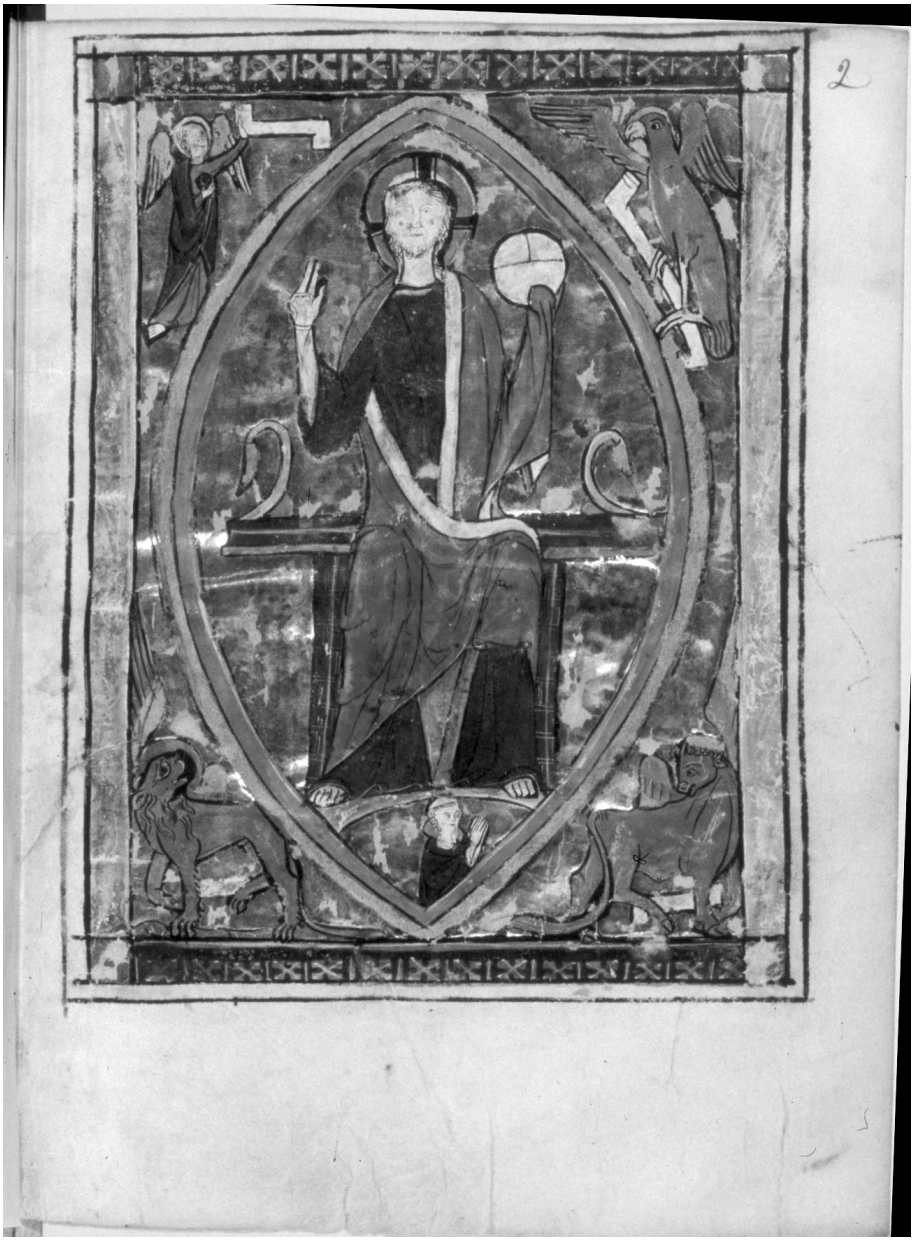


Figure 2. A clerical figure at the feet of Christ in Majesty with the Evangelist Symbols. MS M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163, fol. 2r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

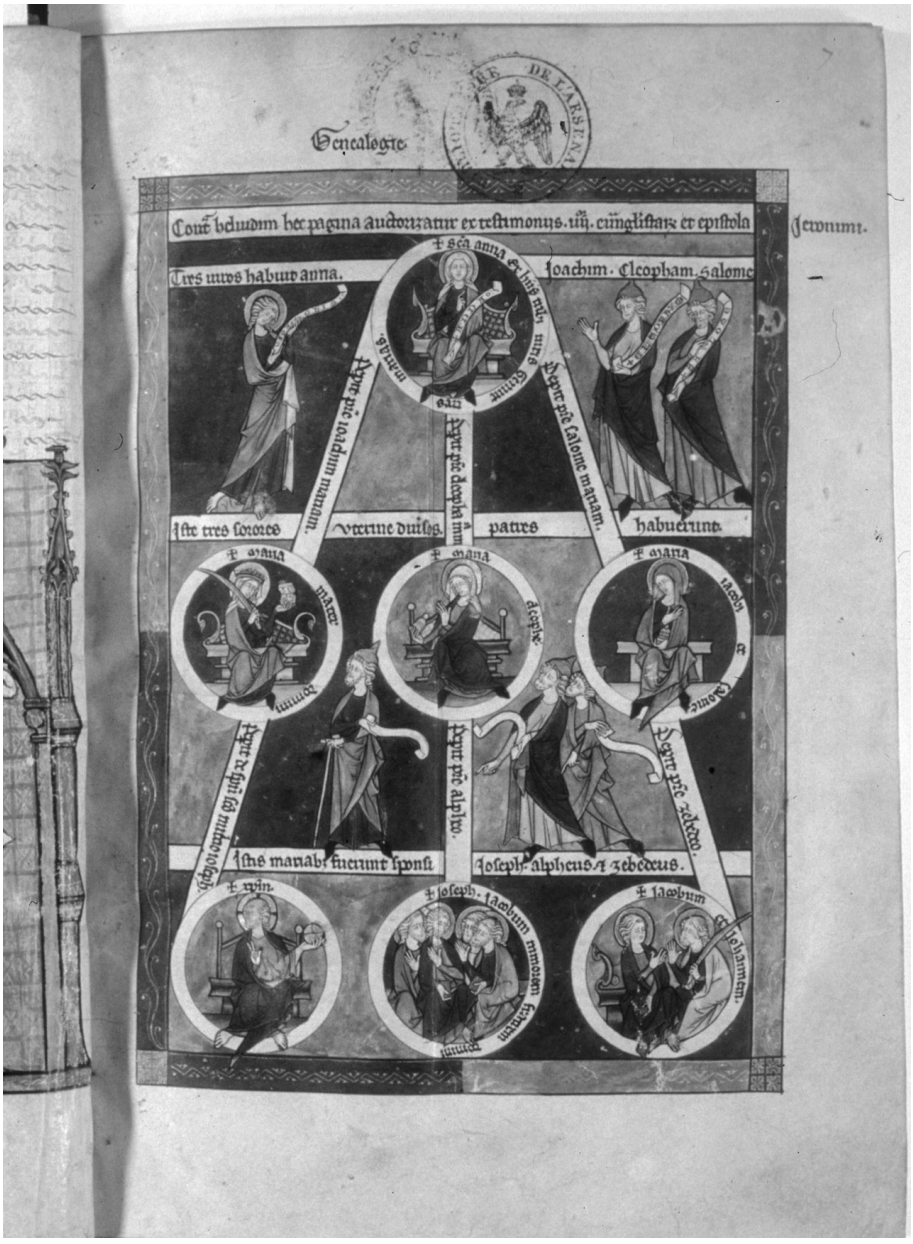


Figure 3. Genealogy of the Virgin. MS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517, fol. 7r
(photo: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

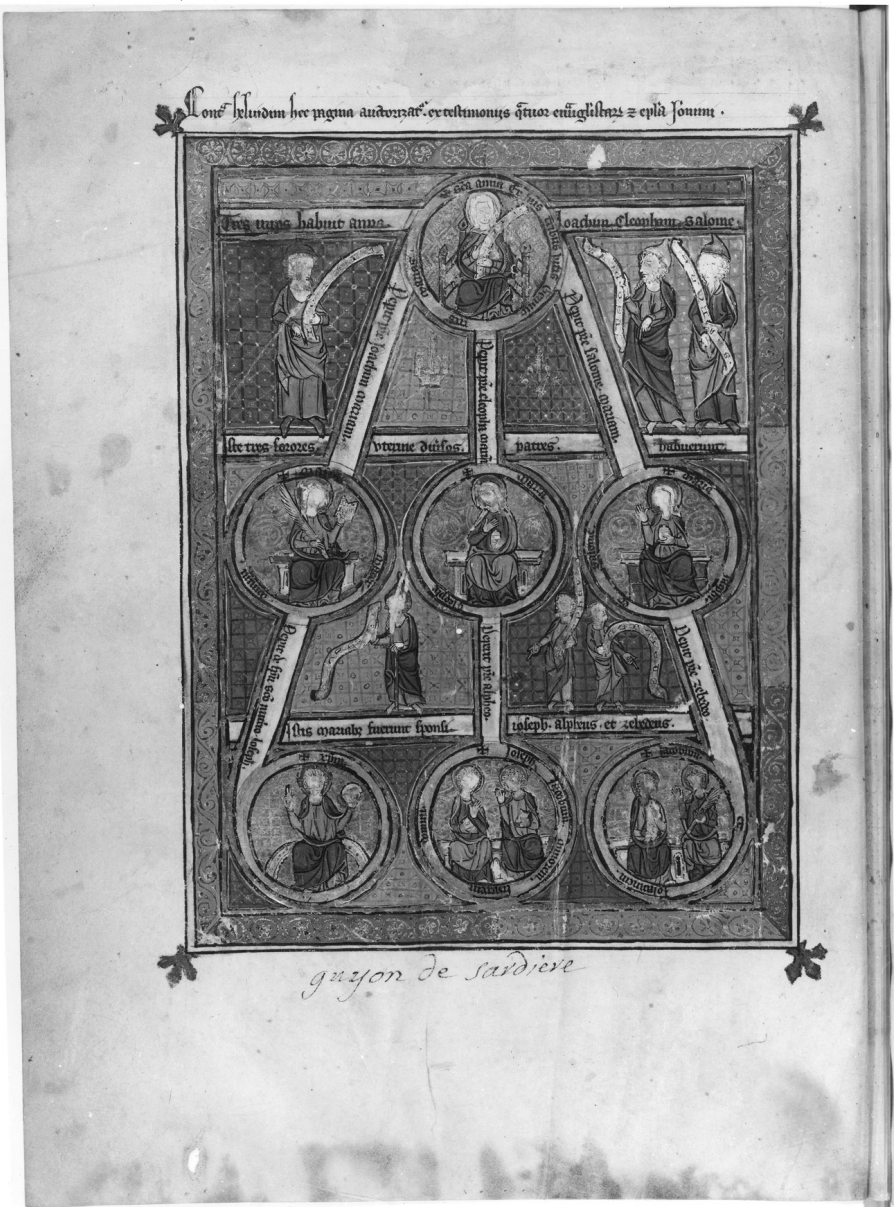


Figure 4. Genealogy of the Virgin. MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 0v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 5. Swearing Page: Virgin and Child enthroned between angels. *Costuma*, Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, 42, fol. 8r (photo: author)

Theophilus, but in the context of illustrated psalters not in the context of the *MND* manuscripts, and so I leave the Theophilus tradition aside here.[5]

Vitzthum was at a loss for how to classify BNF fr. 2163 stylistically and grouped it with Rouen, BM, 305, which also contains a full-page pair of miniatures — but these are clearly in the style of Matthew Paris and have nothing to do with BNF fr. 2163 other than sharing a similar full-page format.[6] Indeed the miniatures in BNF fr. 2163 are extremely difficult to fit into any kind of pattern and are not matched elsewhere in the Gautier de Coinci illustrative tradition as it now stands (allowing of course for the possibility that prefatory miniatures might have disappeared). This is all the more surprising as the book must surely have been made in the orbit of Vic-sur-Aisne and Soissons because the text is, for Ducrot-Granderye, the most reliable of the surviving copies, yet stylistically these miniatures bear no relation to the important cluster of other copies of Gautier that were also made — if a few years later — in Soissons, Noyon, or Laon: Paris, BNF, fr. 25532 (MS N), St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9 (MS R), BNF fr. 22928 (MS L). Sed-Rajna has produced the best parallel to date for BNF fr. 2163: the Tree of Life page in the Hebrew Miscellany, London, BL, Add. 11639;[7] but the Hebrew manuscript is itself difficult to place and many other artists participated in its production, so the problem of location is not solved by the parallel.

The absence of narrative illustration in BNF fr. 2163, other than for the full-page miniatures, is interesting in relation to what Gautier says in his epilogue (II Epi 33 in Koenig's edition) about sending the first copy of his miracle collection to Robert de Dive, Prior of Saint-Blaise and Abbot of Saint-Eloi, Noyon, for annotation and illustration:

> Il m'est avis que bien l'avoi
> Quant tout premier l'envoi a lui
> Quar ne connois certes nului
> Plus volentiers de lui ne lise
> Me qui plus tost le contrescrise

[5] Another unusual instance of a full-page miniature of the Virgin as intercessor in the context of a miracle is a leaf attributed (wrongly) to Branner's Guines Atelier, Sandra Hindman, *Medieval and Renaissance Miniature Painting* (Akron, OH: Ferrini, 1988), no. 4. To me this looks like a Douai or Arras product.

[6] Images available on Enluminures, <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr>.

[7] Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, 'The Paintings of the London Miscellany, British Library Add. MS 11639', *Journal of Jewish Art*, 9 (1982), 16–30 (p. 23, fig. 8). See also the facsimile, *The North French Hebrew Miscellany (British Library Add. MS. 11639)*, ed. by Jeremy Schonfield (London: Facsimile Editions, 2003).

Ne qui miex le sache atourner
Flourir, ne paindre, n'aourner
Livres or tost, va t'en, va t'en,
Va a Noion, plus n'i aten.
Bien sai que jor et nuit la bee
Robert qui m'a m'amour robee.[8] II Epi 33, vv. 98–108

Busby notes that the rubric to the Epistle to Robert in this copy also refers to the sending, 'Incipit epistolam domini Galteri qui misit librum istum domine Roberti de Diva, priore sancti Blasii, postea abbate sancti Eligii Noviomentis' (fol. 198r). The Morigny manuscript can be read as a fair copy of Gautier's plain original, whereas the fully illustrated copies mentioned above would correspond to what Gautier hoped Robert would produce — although none of them can be dated to Robert's abbacy.

Of the three fully illustrated copies, N, R, and L — BNF fr. 25532; NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9; BNF fr. 22928 — the earliest is MS N. Its text is written above the top line of the horizontal rulings (atl), whereas in the other two copies the first line of writing is below the top line of ruling (btl). Neil Ker has identified the change in scribal practice from 'above top line' to 'below top line' as a significant criterion in the dating of English manuscripts in the thirteenth century, where the change occurs before the middle of the century.[9] There is to date no full study of the practice in French manuscripts,[10] but it is significant that, in the corpus of

[8] DG, pp. 145–46; Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols, Faux Titre, 221–22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. 744.

[9] Neil Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', in *Richard Irvine Best Memorial Volume*, ed. by Myles Dillon, special issue, *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13–16. For the fifteen manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes that are written atl, see Terry Nixon, 'Catalogue of Manuscripts', in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), II, 1–43, noting the absence of dated manuscripts from which to chart the emergence of the feature in France. As Nixon states (p. 7, n. 18), the *Roman de Troie*, Paris, B. Ars., 3340, written in 1237, is atl. The earliest Chrétien manuscript written btl is Paris, BNF, fr. 12560, mid-thirteenth century (ibid., Cat. 15).

[10] Some manuscripts from the region of Tournai and Arras written atl are the missal of Tournai Cathedral *c.* 1267, Tournai Cathedral, 11 (where the notation is in Hufnagel); the Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Brussels, BR, II 1396 (Books 1–9) / London, BL, Add. 25441 (Books 17–24) and *Speculum naturale*, Brussels, BR, 18465 (Books 1–8), owned by Saint-Martin, Tournai (OSB); Paris, BNF, lat. 18134, *Libellus de Beata Virgine Maria* and other texts (written in part atl), owned by Saint-Martin, Tournai; Arras, BM, 448, Missal of Marchiennes (OSB) or Hamage-lès-Marchiennes; New York, Public Library, 4, Bible (written in part atl); London, BL, Add. 78830 (ex-Cron Collection), Prosper of Aquitaine etc., written by Iohannes dictus Campions. The psalter for a lady of Meaux, Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 353, is written

Figure 6. Gautier as cleric kneeling before the Virgin and Child. MS G, Paris, BNF, fr. 1530, fol. 1r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Gautier de Coinci manuscripts, only three are written atl.[11] These are contenders for pride of place as being the earliest extant copies; they are all manuscripts that are illustrated, whereas the other unillustrated copies lack the atl feature and are unlikely therefore to antedate the three copies that were written atl.[12] Of these three, the earliest is MS G, Paris, BNF, fr. 1530 (Fig. 6). Although the first and last folios in the opening quire (fols 1 and 8) are written in a much more formata hand than the rest, the atl feature is consistent throughout the manuscript. Its single historiated initial A on fol. 1r depicts Gautier as cleric kneeling before a very large Virgin and Child. The Virgin, uncrowned, with veiled head, gestures towards Gautier; the Child holds a round object and blesses Gautier. Traces of *Muldenfalten* in the draperies suggest that this copy dates well before 1250 — and these features are not found in the earliest of the Soissons-Noyon-Laon group, BNF fr. 25532. A possible stylistic cognate for BNF fr. 1530 in the region of Soissons might be the Cosmography of Eustache de Lens, Soissons, BM, 3

atl in part and was most likely made in Paris, and Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 100, a Bestiary in Latin, perhaps made in Reims, was written atl: see Alison Stones, 'Some Secular Illustrated Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections', in *The Cambridge Illuminations*, ed. Stella Panayotova (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). Of importance in relation to *MND* MS G is Soissons, BM, 3, discussed below; and the Soissons-Noyon-Laon cluster of Gautier de Coinci manuscripts are illustrated by the same artists as Valenciennes, BM, 396–97, Papias *Vocabularium* and other school texts, discussed below.

[11] I could not tell from the microfilm whether the binding fragment MS 3, Charleville, BM, 271, is written atl or btl; its script and decoration place it among the early manuscripts.

[12] A possible exception is the fragment MS 30, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 20001, fol. 3, a fragment of a bifolium. It does not preserve the top line, but its careful script with capitals touched in red is not without resemblance to MS M, BNF fr. 2163, written in 1266; possibly MS 30 is earlier. I thank Marie-Pierre Laffitte for looking at it with me.

(Fig. 7);[13] and a cutting in a private collection in London, showing a seated monk or cleric in an A initial may also be relevant here. I have compared the sparse illustration in Soissons 3 with elements in the Old Testament Picture Bible, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 638, which I attribute to the region of Cambrai towards the end of the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[14] Like BNF fr. 1530, Soissons 3 is written atl. One other *MND* manuscript contains a similar historiated initial — MS F, Paris, BNF, fr. 986, also opening with a historiated initial of Gautier before the Virgin and Child — but there the Virgin turns away from Gautier towards the text (Fig. 8), and the writing is btl.[15] Stylistically there is no trace of *Muldenfalten*, and the illustration is hard to place stylistically though DG thought it textually affiliated with MS L, and Busby identified the dialect as that of the Soissonnais.[16]

Figure 7. Cosmography of Eustache de Lens, Author writing, Soissons, BM, 3, fol. 1r (photo: author)

[13] Anne Bondeël-Souchier, 'Un texte retrouvé: La "Cosmographia Moysi" d'Eustache de Lens', *Scriptorium*, 50 (1996), 123–32.

[14] Alison Stones, 'Questions of Style and Provenance in the Morgan Picture Bible', in *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press), pp. 112–21 (p. 115).

[15] DG, p. 62, n. 2 reports that Poquet (p. xxii) noted the presence in MS F of portraits of the Comtesse de Blois, Marie d'Avesnes, wife of Hugues de Châtillon, and Ade de Grandpré, married in 1220 to Raoul de Nesles. They were no longer in the manuscript when DG examined it. Ade de Grandpré is an ancestor of Raoul de Soissons, husband of Comtesse (her proper name) de la Table, see MS Add-23. A double portrait of identifiable noble ladies at this date (*c.* 1250 or earlier) is without parallel so far as I know. For later examples, see Alison Stones, 'Some Portraits of Women in their Books, Late Thirteenth–Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Livres et femmes*, ed. by Anne-Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

[16] See Appendix IV, note 4.

Figure 8. Gautier before the Virgin and Child. MS F, Paris, BNF, fr. 986, fol. 1r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

MS D, B. Ars. 3517–18, the third atl manuscript, is also something of a stylistic puzzle. Its full-page genealogy of the Virgin page (Fig. 3), mentioned above and paralleled only in BNF fr. 22928 (Fig. 4), is by a different artist than the rest. It is certainly an insert, though it is roughly contemporary with the rest of the manuscript. While it is not by the artist of BNF fr. 22928, the design is similar and it does show close affiliation to the best quality Soissons painting of a generation earlier than BNF fr. 22928, represented by the first artist in the Papias *Vocabularium*, Valenciennes 396–97, and the Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, Laon, BM, 426 and Paris, BNF, lat. 6448C, mentioned below in relation to the artist of MS N, BNF fr. 25532. The rest of the illustrations in B. Ars. 3517–18 are unrelated stylistically to the genealogy page and are themselves probably the work of two artists, one responsible for the Old Testament prophet standing under an arch and facing the genealogy page (Fig. 9) and the other for the three framed miniatures in the body of the text: I Mir 10, Theophilus, fol. 15r; II Pr: Gautier as hooded monk in black habit, seated writing, fol. 140r bis (Fig. 10); II Mir 9, Empeeris de Rome: King and Queen embracing, fol. 148r.[17] The orange frames with circle motifs (Fig. 10) or acanthus borders (fol. 15r) are somewhat reminiscent of the designs in part of *MND* MS 17, Paris, B. Ars., 3516, for which a date *c.* 1268 and a provenance in Saint-Omer have been proposed;[18] but the faces are badly rubbed and the attribution remains tentative. The prophet figure on the other hand, with his exuberant curly hair (Fig. 9), is somewhat reminiscent of one of the artists in the psalter-

[17] Not mentioned in the *Catalogue général*, nor in DG, p. 41.

[18] This important literary and devotional miscellany has received monographic study by Claudia Guggenbühl, *Recherches sur la composition et la structure du ms. Arsenal 3516*, Romanica Helvetica, 118 (Basel: A. Franke, 1998). See Appendix IV, note 18.

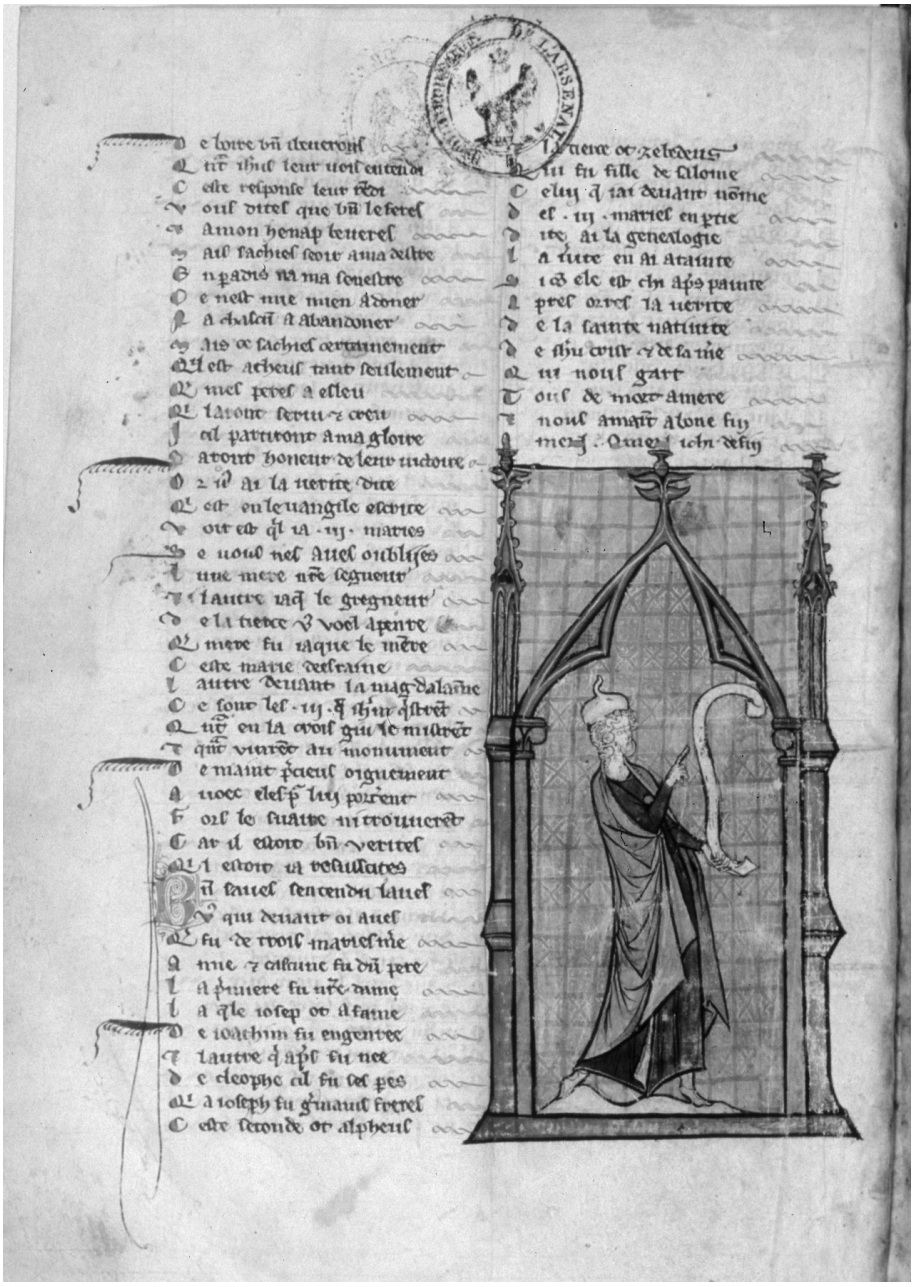


Figure 9. Old Testament prophet. MS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517, fol. 6v
(photo: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

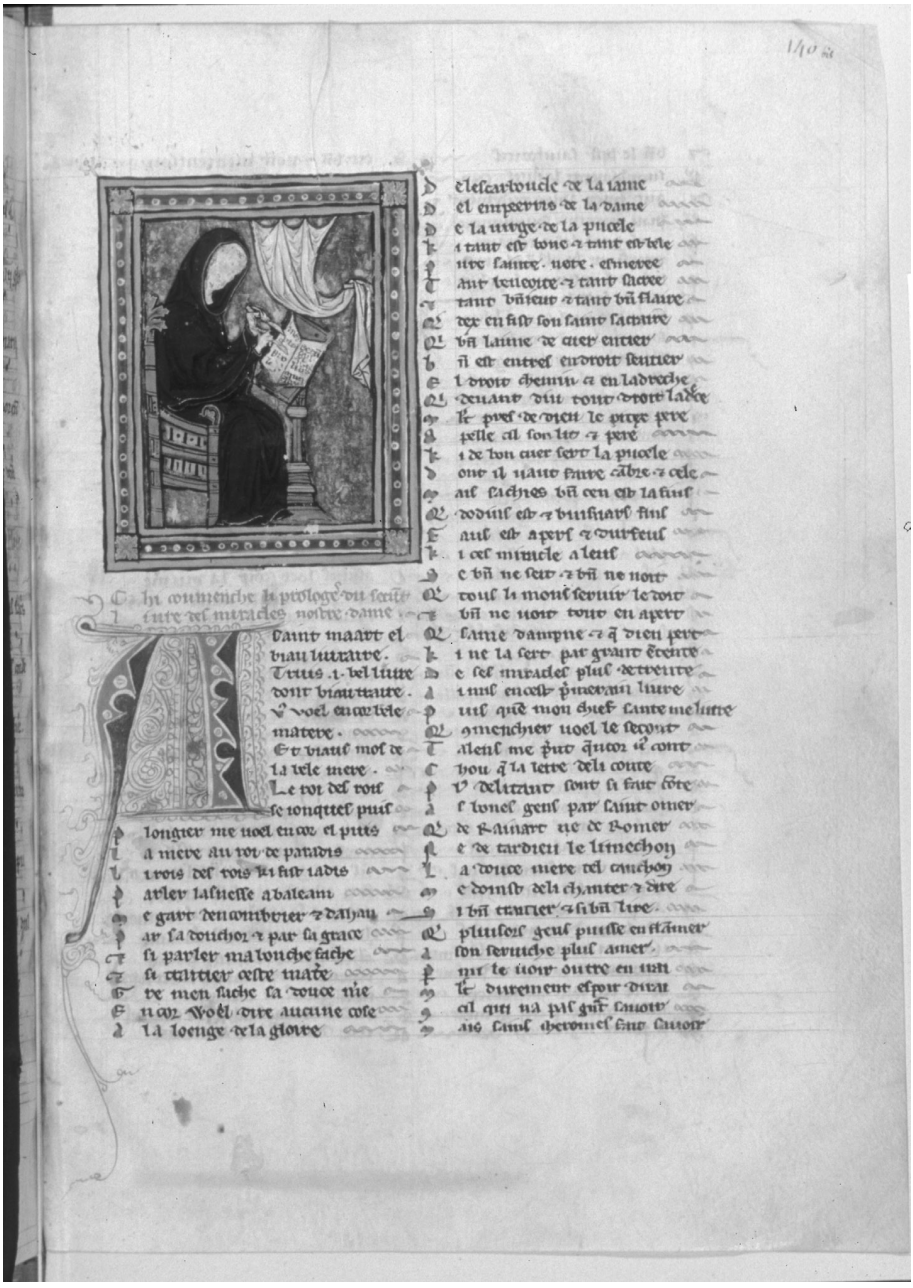


Figure 10. Gautier as hooded monk in black habit, seated writing. MS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517, fol. 140r bis (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

hours of Amiens use, Philadelphia, Free Library, Widener 9.[19] Whether this means that MS D was illustrated by itinerant artists is also unclear.

The Soissons-Noyon-Laon Group

The atl feature in MS N, BNF fr. 25532, is one indication that it is the earliest among the fully illustrated copies, earlier than MSS R and L to which it is most closely related; the same artist also worked on MS R. In MS N, most of the illustrations take the form of historiated initials. Often two or even three episodes are crammed into these initials, breaking out on occasion into a rectangular format, as though the artist was too constrained by the limited space of the initial and had begun to experiment with a multicompartment format. He would further exploit the multicompartment format in his next copy, MS R, NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9.[20] This time he worked almost exclusively in a rectangular, multicompartment miniature format. In BNF fr. 25532 he worked alone, but in St Petersburg he had a collaborator, a superior artist (Painter B), and the two of them shared out the work.[21] It would seem that, although his work is less distinguished artistically, Painter A is the older artist and the one directing operations, because his work is found in the largest miniatures at the beginning and the end of the manuscript: the large opening miniature showing the Virgin and Child enthroned, flanked by Joachim and Anna, illustrating the genealogy of the Virgin (fol. 1^{v}, Mokretsova and Romanova, colour pl. 114), and the large miniature of men and women before a huge statue of the Virgin and Child on an altar, illustrating the last miracle, II Mir 32 (Mokretsova and Romanova, colour pl. 142), together with the *Aves*, *O beata et intemerata*, II Sal 35, and *Regrets*; but Painter B did the last two miniatures. While

[19] Alison Stones, 'The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context', in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Busby, Nixon, Stones, and Walters, II, 227–322 (pp. 251–52, figs 73–76); *Leaves of Gold, Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. by J. R. Tannis (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), pp. 54–56, no. 11.

[20] Inna P. Mokretsova and Vera L. Romanova, *Les Manuscrits enluminiés français du XIIIe siècle dans les collections sovietiques, 1270–1300* (Moscow: Isskustvo, 1984), Cat. no. VIII, pp. 102–47; Tamara Voronova and Andrei Sterligov, *Manuscrits enluminés occidentaux du VIIIe au XIVe siècle à la bibliothèque nationale de Russie de Saint Pétersbourg: France, Espagne, Angleterre, Alemagne, Italie, Pays-Bas* (Bournemouth: Parkstone; St Petersburg: Aurora, 1996), p. 67.

[21] The division of labour is as follows: Painter A: fols 1^{v}, 45^{v}–76^{v}, 131^{r}–168^{r}, 230^{v}–262^{r}; Painter B: fols 3^{r}–40^{r}, 81^{r}–127^{v}, 179^{r}–217^{v}, 264^{r}–277^{v}.

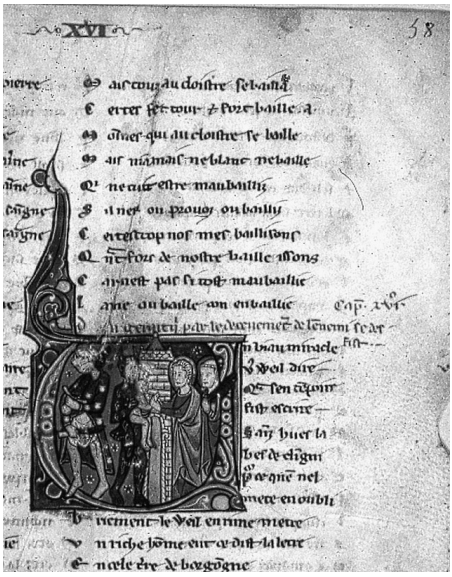


Figure 11. I Miracle 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*. MS N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 58r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 12. I Miracle 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 93v (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

the historiated initials are the work of Painter A, both artists worked on the multicompartment miniatures. In his maturity, Painter B may have done the illustrations in *MND* MS L, BNF fr. 22928, where his controlled treatment of the subjects, it must be admitted, is extremely boring compared with the lively effect of BNF fr. 25532, with the figures bursting out of their historiated initials.

A comparison of the three versions of I Mir 25, the Santiago pilgrim who cuts off his genitals, shows a two-part scene in MS N, BNF fr. 25532, fol. 58r (Fig. 11): a U initial shows on the left the pilgrim with shells on his cloak cutting off the offending member, while on the right a devil hands his soul to Sts James and Peter, the latter holding keys. This is expanded in MS R, NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9, to a four-part miniature, but the shell-cloak is lacking as the pilgrim holds the offending member while cutting himself in the neck; the saints' attributes are also lacking but the pilgrim is shown becoming a monk (Fig. 12, fol. 93v). And BNF fr. 22928, also a four-part miniature, again omits the saints' attributes but shows the pilgrim becoming a monk (Fig. 13). Thus the end of the story can be included in the

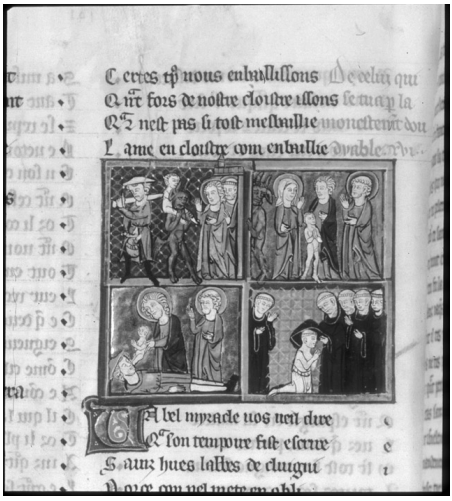


Figure 13. I Miracle 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*. MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 101v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 14. Latin miracle of the pregnant abbess. Paris, BNF, lat. 17491, fol. 42v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

expanded four-compartment format, but the liveliness of the cramped historiated initial, with its details of costume and attributes, is not necessarily compensated for in the later copies. This miracle is one that is also told, earlier, of St James and is one of several miracles borrowed by Gautier from other miracle collections. If the Santiago miracle collection is illustrated only later in monumental works of art and not in the manuscripts, other miracles borrowed by Gautier are depicted in the context of Latin miracle collections and in the vernacular *Vies des Pères* tradition. For instance, the Pregnant Abbess, *MND* I Mir 20, is one that is also told in the Latin miracle collections of Ildefonsus and is illustrated in the Parisian miracle miscellany Paris, BNF, lat. 12593 (*c.* 1260) and in Paris, BNF, lat. 17491, which I think was most likely made at the Norman Benedictine abbey of Jumièges (Fig. 14).[22] Again, the treatment of this miracle in

[22] These two Latin miracle collections also include the Chartres, Rocamadour, Laon, and Soissons miracles of Hugues Farsi, all of which were mined by Gautier for his vernacular collection. For some similar borrowings in Arras manuscripts, see Appendix IV, note 15. For a useful summary of the various versions of Marian miracles in Latin, French, Occitan, and English, at the

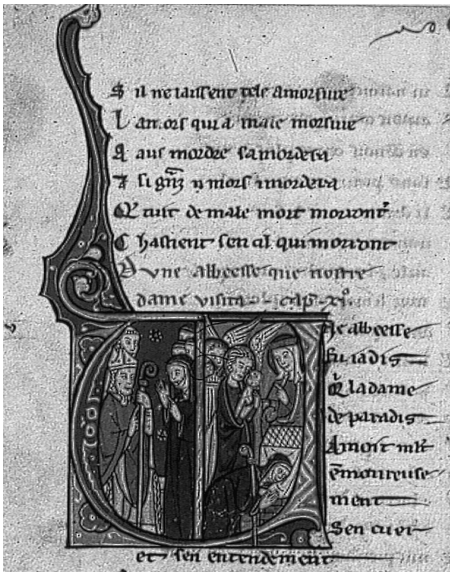


Figure 15. I Miracle 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*. MS N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 49v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

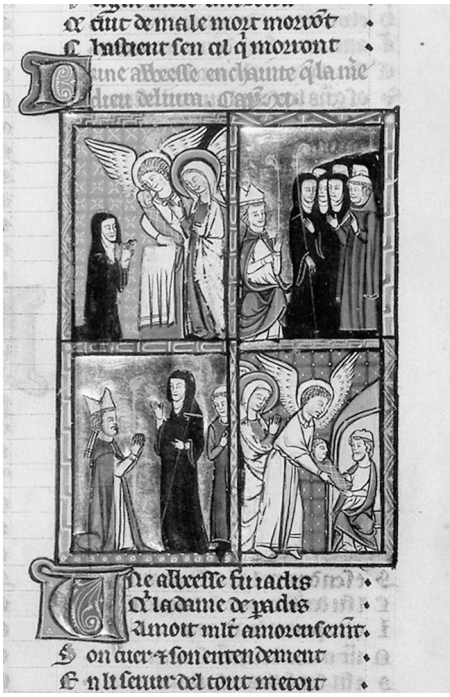


Figure 16. I Miracle 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*. MS R, St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fol. 84v (photo: St Petersburg, National Library of Russia)

MSS N, R, and L shows the expansion of the format from the historiated initial of N (Fig. 15) to the four-part miniatures in R and L, but with a certain loss of dramatic effect (Figs 16, 17).

Both Painter A and Painter B can be traced in other works, and MS R, NLR Fr. F. v. XIV 9, is not their only collaborative effort. Painter A is characterized by a lively treatment of figures, with supremely ugly, long grinning faces, and his palette includes mid-blue, orange, yellow for background and foliage motifs, and liquid gold for garments and crowns, especially those worn by the Virgin, and for other important objects like pyxes and shrines. He may have begun his career in the psalter with calendar and Office of the Dead of Soissons use, Le Mans, MM,

British Library, see H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883–1915), II, 586–94.

157,[23] where similar figures are found, and where the *Beatus* initial is subdivided into four compartments, foreshadowing the extensive use of subdivided historiated initials in BNF fr. 25532. A large Bible in three volumes, Sotheby's 5.vii.2005, lot 48, also belongs to this early phase.[24] Painter A is certainly the artist of the missal of Soissons in Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 128,[25] and of the one historiated initial in the Cistercian missal from Vauclair, Laon, BM, 228.[26] Painter A's ugly grinning faces also appear in the minor initials in the earlier volume of the Gradual of Vauclair (O. Cist., Dioc. Laon), Laon, BM, 241,[27] where the opening historiated initial is by a superior artist — perhaps Painter B (Fig. 18). Painter A clearly reappears as the artist of the second of a two-volume elementary grammar book — a schoolmaster's luxury copy of Papias, Fulgentius, and other grammarians, Valenciennes 396–97. As noted above, the Papias volumes were written atl, like BNF fr. 25532, and the penflourishing, often elaborate, is the same in both volumes, but the illumination is by two hands, divided by volume. Painter A did the second volume, Valenciennes 397, illustrating Papias initials Q–Z.[28] Four are historiated, with scenes from the Infancy of Christ:

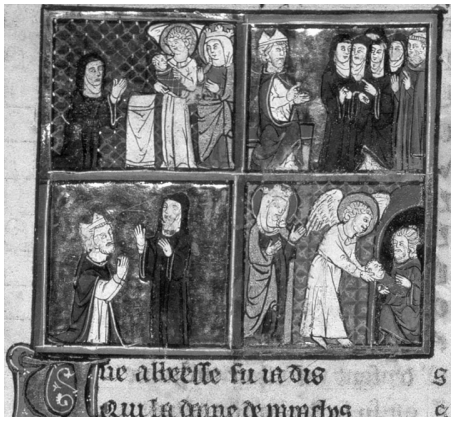


Figure 17. I Miracle 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*. MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 91r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

[23] Victor Leroquais, *Les Psautiers manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols (Macon: Protat, 1940–41), I, 240–42, no. 201.

[24] Wrongly attributed 'probably Paris, mid-thirteenth century' in the *Catalogue général*.

[25] Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, I: *France 875–1420*, 2 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), I, 99–103, no. 42.

[26] Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols (Paris: Protat, 1924), II, 46, no. 231.

[27] Édouard Fleury, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon, étudiés au point de vue de leur illustration*, 2 vols (Laon: Fleury 1863), II, 47–53, nos L and LI, pls 34–35.

[28] The second volume starts with P, but that initial is a fifteenth-century replacement.

Figure 18. Cistercian Gradual of Vauclair. Laon, BM, 241, fol. 1r (photo: author)

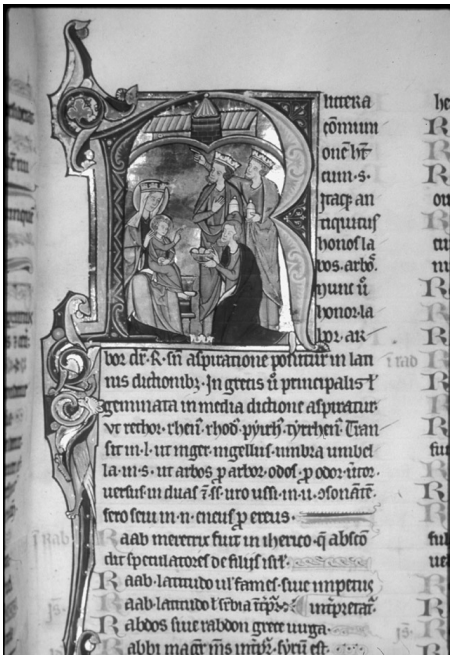


Figure 19. Adoration of the Magi, Valenciennes, BM, 397, fol. 43r (photo: author)

Q, the Nativity (fol. 37r); R, Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 19, fol. 43r); T, Massacre of the Innocents (where Herod is the epitome of tyranny) (fol. 90v); V, Flight to Egypt (fol. 105v). X, Y, and Z are foliate initials with hybrids. The painter of the first volume of the Papias may have been Painter B at the beginning of his career. The subjects of the initials in the first volume focus on pedagogy, masters at desks before open books or teaching students, often meting out capital punishment in the form of a beating on hand or back. Masters disputing with other masters, or with Jews or evil persons, extend the range of subjects depicting masters at their teaching task. Of particular interest in volume one is an illustration which departs from the usual master-student iconography. It is the subject for the initial G (Fig. 20, fol. 125v), which shows a woman with loose hair disputing with masters. The text for this initial explains that the shape of letter G is similar to C, so an image of St Katherine (Catherine) disputing with the doctors would be perfectly appropriate, and adds an unexpected dimension to the otherwise masculine emphasis of the teaching images which clearly refer to the grammar-school level of

instruction. Katherine's loose hair adds a negative note to her characterization, however, in that she is presented neither crowned nor modestly veiled, and so she is an ambiguous figure at best and misogynistic overtones can certainly be detected in her portrayal, despite the presence of the Dove at her ear. Valenciennes 396–97 was owned by Saint-Amand (OSB, Dioc. Tournai), while an eighteenth-century note on fol. 1[r] of BNF fr. 25532 says the manuscript was given to Notre-Dame Paris by the monks of Saint-Médard, Soissons, the monastery where Gautier ended his days as prior. BNF fr. 25532 was a much-used copy, as witnessed by pages where not only the miniatures but the ink of the text is rubbed, indicating favourite use; and some images of statues of the Virgin — tiny details that might have enjoyed an after-life as amulets or talismans — have been cut out and carefully replaced with blank parchment (fols. 52[r], 68[r], 162[v], 166[r], 194[v]) or not repaired (fol. 56[v]); on one folio an excision was not completed but left cut marks around the statue (fol. 93[v]). In another instance (fol. 168[r–v]), the missing text on the other side of the page has been recopied in a writing style and colour of ink that closely resembles the original. Already by the fifteenth century leaves had been excised and at least one quire reordered, as notes on various folios attest. And wicked people in the initials have often been defaced, and pious ones as well, the former as 'punishment', the latter probably the victims of pious kissing. This was a book that elicited strong responses. One would like to know by whom and when, and who took the trouble to repair the excisions.

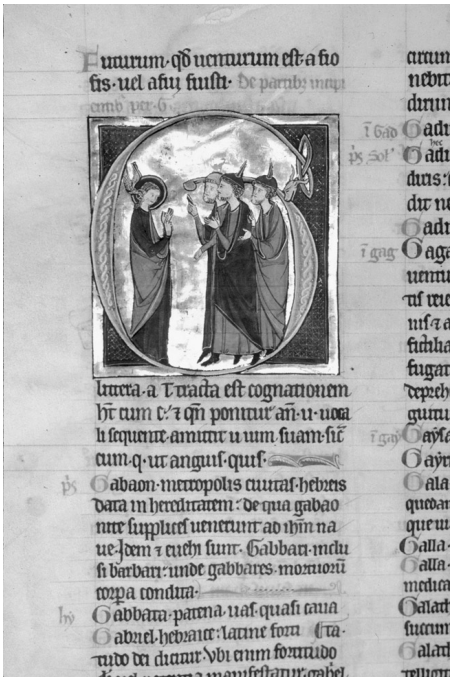


Figure 20. St Katherine disputing with masters. Valenciennes, BM, 396, fol. 125[v] (photo: author)

Painter B seems thereafter to have gone on to enjoy an independent, and perhaps an itinerant, career. The unusual painted cover of the Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne, Châlons-sur-Marne, BM, 45, is likely also be his work; its portraits of bishops, abbots, and nuns are reminiscent of many elements in Painter B's *MND*

work (Fig. 21).[29] A different kind of book altogether is his copy of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, Laon 426 (Fig. 22) and Paris, BNF, lat. 6428C (Fig. 23), two surviving volumes of a rare illustrated copy of this work, much less popular than the *Speculum historiale* of the same author, of which illustrated copies abound — but none by Painter B has survived.[30] They would seem to fall early in the artist's career, which means they were made not long after the composition of the text, *c.* 1240–55, and just conceivably within the lifetime of the author who died in 1264 (but, unlike the Valenciennes Papias, they are written btl). They must have become separated in the Middle Ages since the Paris volume was in the papal library by 1423 and perhaps earlier,[31] while there is no trace there of the Laon volume, which came to the BM, Laon, from Laon Cathedral. Painter B's work on a larger scale is found in the noted missal of Soissons, Sotheby's 18.vi.1996, lot 61 and 2.xii.98, lot 2, which has a full-page Crucifixion miniature, portrayed in an architectural frame reminiscent of the Cambrai, MM, 153–54 missals of the 1290s,[32] and perhaps the model for them. Painter B is also the artist of the psalter of the Augustinian canonesses of Sainte-Elisabeth, Genlis (Dioc. Noyon), Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2689, which includes a full-page sequence of miniatures of saints including a miniature of St Elizabeth being

[29] Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols (Paris: Protat, 1937), I, 120, pls XXXVIII–XXXIX; *Manuscrits à peintures du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*, ed. by Jean Porcher (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955), p. 45, no. 96.

[30] First reunited by Alison Stones in 'A Note on Some Re-discovered Vincent of Beauvais Volumes', *Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter*, 26 (2001), 10–13. Only one other illustrated copy of the *Speculum naturale* is known, the two recently rediscovered volumes at the Collège Notre-Dame de Bonne-Espérence at Vellereille-lez-Brayeux near Binche in Belgium, comprising volumes III and IV. I have attributed them to the Maître au menton fuyant; see Alison Stones, 'A Note on the Maître au menton fuyant', in *Huldeboek Maurits Smeyers*, ed. by Hubert Cardon and Dominique Van Wijnsberghe (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 1129–42.

[31] Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñiscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1991), I, 523, II, 943; Baudouin Van den Abeele, 'Vivre et connaître', in *Vivre au moyen âge, un autre millénaire* (Saint-Gérard: Abbaye de Saint-Gérard de Brogne, 2000), pp. 88–96 (p. 93). On the Paris volume, see Cristel Meier, 'Bilder der Wissenschaft: Die Illustration des "Speculum maius" von Vinzenz von Beauvais im enzyklopädischen Kontext', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 33 (1999), 252–86 (pp. 267–70, figs 57–59).

[32] Leroquais, *Sacramentaires et missels*, II, 173–75, nos 357 and 358.

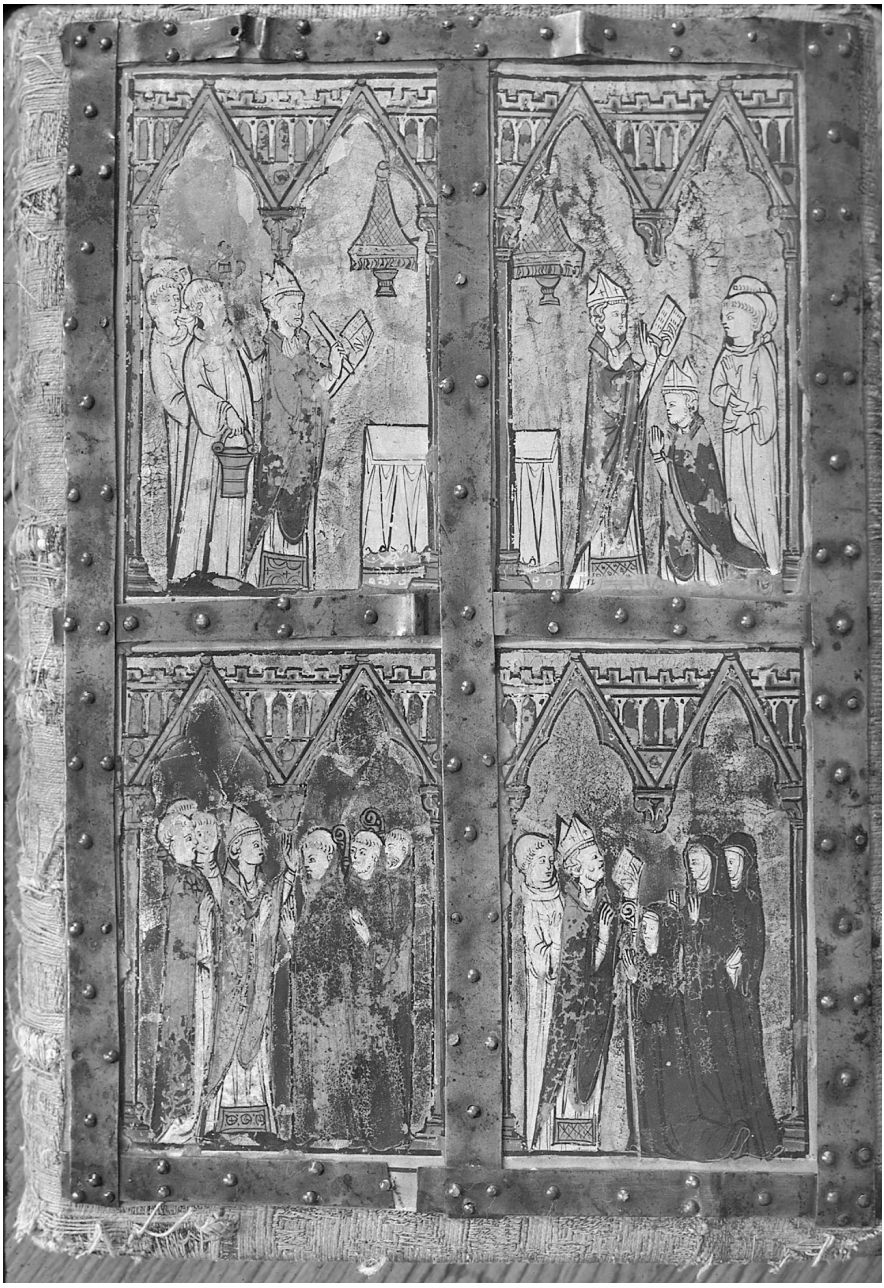


Figure 21. Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne, Châlons-sur-Marne, BM, 45, front cover (photo: author)

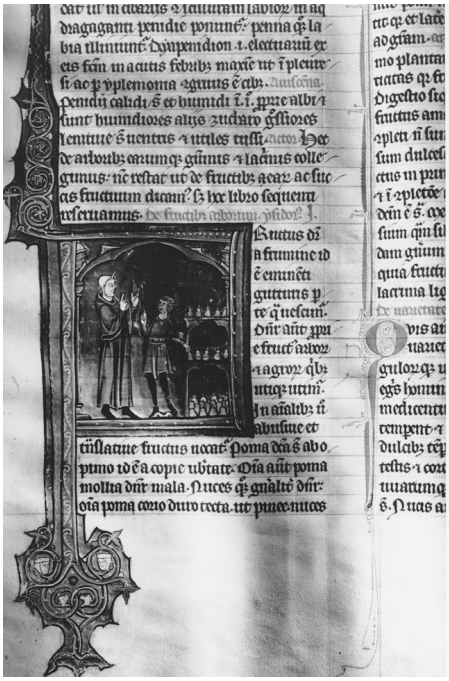


Figure 22. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*. Laon, BM, 426, fol. 135r (photo: author)

Figure 23. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*. Paris, BNF, lat. 6428C, fol. 1r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

flagellated and a Virgin and Child enthroned (Fig. 24).[33] Another psalter, of indeterminate use, Paris, BNF, lat. 16272, is also related.[34]

[33] Amédée Boinet, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève à Paris*, Bulletin de la société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, 5 (Paris: BSFRMP, 1921), pp. 36–39, pl. XII. This manuscript with its full-page miniatures of her Life, and of other saints, is one of the earliest manifestations in France of the cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary (widow in 1227 of Ludwig IV, son of Hermann Landgraf of Thuringia (1202–35); Elizabeth became a Franciscan Tertiary, died in 1231 at 24, and was canonized in 1235). Her cult was also celebrated in the late thirteenth-century at Cambrai where a chapel was dedicated to her, for which two offices were composed by Pierre, canon of Saint-Aubert, Cambrai, between 1286 and 1298 (Barbara Haagh, *Two Offices for St Elizabeth of Hungary, 'Gaudeat Hungaria' and 'Letare Germania'*, Musicological Studies, 66 (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1995).

[34] Leroquais, *Psautiers*, II, 123–34, no. 349. The one full-page miniature, very close stylistically to the St Elizabeth series, depicts St Katherine breaking the wheels of torture.

Figure 24. Virgin and Child enthroned. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2689, fol. 10r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève)

Of note in MS L is the use of the heraldic motifs of *castle or on gules* and *fleur de lis or on azur*, found on the genealogy page and also, in gold on gold, on the background of the Archbishop Ildefonsus miniature, I Mir 11 (fol. 57^{v}). Quite what they mean is not clear — perhaps they are an allusion, albeit very discrete, to the marriage of Blanche de France, daughter of Louis IX, and Ferdinand de la Cerda, Infant of Castile, in 1269; at Ferdinand's death in 1275, Blanche returned to Paris. But these dates would seem too early for this manuscript,[35] and the heraldic references too oblique to be significant marks of ownership; but they may have been copied from an earlier version that was made for Blanche, or for someone in her entourage.

The unillustrated MS O, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969 has also been attributed to Soissons,[36] and the eighteenth-century MS Add-10, Paris, B. Ars., 3123, copies texts found only in MSS N and R. Two more unillustrated copies, MSS A, Blois, BM, 34, and 29-bis, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 11198, are similar in general layout to the 'Soissons' cluster, particularly to MS L, BNF fr. 22928. Exactly how they fit into the group remains to be determined. Whereas there is much to suggest that all these books were produced in Soissons, for Gautier himself ended his career at the monastery of Saint-Médard, the artists certainly worked on manuscripts made for use in or near Noyon and Laon as well as on those for use at Soissons, and one related manuscript (Valenciennes 396–97) comes from Saint-Amand in the Diocese of Tournai. Was it the artists or the books which moved? And were the craftsmen monastic or lay? The evidence is inconclusive. At all events, the three fully illustrated 'Soissons' copies — if indeed Soissons was the centre of production, rather than Noyon or Laon — were very significant pivots for the artistic activity of their two major artists.

The Rest of the Province of Reims

Some twenty copies or partial copies may be attributed to various centres in the ecclesiastical province of Reims, of which the Soissons-Noyon-Laon cluster is a part. Artistic activity was widespread at all the suffragan bishoprics in the province, particularly in the second half of the thirteenth century: almost all the *MND* copies produced in the region were made in that period, the exceptions being the

[35] The later section, fols 300^{r} to the end, containing the St Jerome texts, is later than the main body of the manuscript, perhaps *c.* 1300.

[36] Busby, *Codex and Context*, p. 580.

two Tournai copies: MS 9, Brussels, BR, IV.119, made for Gilles li Muisis, Abbot of Saint-Martin, Tournai, containing II Prière 37; and the fifteenth-century Book of Hours of Tournai, containing the same prayer, owned in the sixteenth century by the Pignon family. Whereas the complete MS I, Paris, BNF, fr. 1536, and the partial MS 18, Paris, BNF, fr. 375, may be attributed to Arras with some degree of certainty[37] (similarly the partial MSS 17, Add-18, h, and 28-bis to Saint-Omer or Thérouanne),[38] there is room for debate as to exactly where most of the other manuscripts were made: there was much flexibility of movement in the second half of the thirteenth century, particularly between Tournai and Cambrai, and between Cambrai and Thérouanne, whether by books, artists, or patrons, so that it is not always possible to be sure about exactly where a manuscript was made.

Paris

By the last quarter of the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth century there is more evidence for localizing *MND* manuscripts, especially in Paris where successive well-known illuminators — the Hospitaller Master, the Méliacin Master, the Maubeuge Master, the Sub-Fauvel Master, and Jean Pucelle and their assistants included *MND* copies among their products and counted royal and noble patrons among their clients. Some were complete *MND* copies; others contained selections of miracles or prayers. The most famous of the Parisian complete *MND* manuscripts, MS S, the 'Soissons Manuscript' was certainly in royal possession by the time of Jean le Bon when it was among the booty seized, with impeccable taste, by the English at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. As is well known, it was most likely made *c.* 1329 for Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philippe VI, and illuminated by Jean Pucelle or a member of his entourage.[39] It is possible that MS d, Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24, together with the related *Vies des Pères*, Paris, BNF, fr. 183, is the copy for which Charles IV paid Thomas de Maubeuge on 30 April 1327;[40] and it is possible, if less likely, that MS g, Paris, B. Ars., 5204,

[37] Stones, 'Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts'.

[38] MS 17, B. Ars. 3516, has a calendar of Saint-Omer at the beginning. Saint-Omer was in the Middle Ages the site of a collegiate church and the monastery of Saint-Bertin, whereas it was in the bishopric of Thérouanne, a city destroyed by Charles V in the sixteenth century. Both places were important for manuscript production.

[39] For analysis and references, see Nancy Black in this volume.

[40] Caution is required as the secundo folio and last folio incipits of the manuscript do not quite match what the documents say; see Appendix I, note 27.

is part of the copy purchased on 18 January 1328 by Mahaut, Countess of Artois, from the same dealer.[41] What Mahaut did own is MS 22, Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, a literary miscellany with a single *MND* component, the Prayer of Theophilus, marked with a single-column miniature of Theophilus before the Virgin and Child.[42] Mahaut succeeded Robert II as Countess of Artois in 1302, and her book-buying activities are documented from that year until her death in 1329, whereas MS 22 was most probably made a generation earlier, *c.* 1280–90. This suggests that Mahaut inherited it from her father, also a noted bibliophile. As has long been recognized, BNF fr. 12467 is a sister manuscript to *MND* MS 16, Paris, B. Ars., 3142, which also includes the Prayer of Theophilus with a similar illustration.[43] They stand at some distance, stylistically, from the *Roman de Méliacin*, Paris, BNF, fr. 1633, as Avril has noted,[44] largely on account of the smaller scale in which the figures are painted, which means that the characteristic expansive but chinless faces of the figures are considerably less prominent than in the major work of the Méliacin Master. They are better matched among the lesser artists whose work is found in the Breviary of Philippe le Bel, Paris, BNF, lat. 1023, alongside the qualitatively very superior frontispiece and the major psalm initials which are traditionally attributed to Master Honoré to whom Philippe le Bel made a payment in 1296.[45] One of the partial *MND* manuscripts may, however, be attributed to the Méliacin Master: MS o, Paris, BNF, fr. 2193. This and other Parisian manuscripts were made for unknown patrons, including the three copies illustrated by the Hospitaller Master — one of them a complete copy, MS H, Paris, BNF, fr. 1533, the other two containing only a few of the miracles, MSS p, Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, and 19, Paris, BNF, fr. 837, which has only two of the prayers — and other partial copies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In one copy, MS r, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586, the scribe signed his name: 'Nicolas servus amoris'. Three of the Parisian partial copies were owned by religious establishments: MS 22-bis, Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 by the Dominican nunnery of Poissy, founded by Philippe IV le Bel in 1297, where II Dout 34,

[41] But there is no proof; see Appendix I, note 29.

[42] See Appendix IV, note 38.

[43] This relationship was noted by Georg von Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1907), p. 55. For other references, see Appendix IV, note 37.

[44] *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328*, ed. by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998), no. 176.

[45] *L'Art au temps des rois maudits*, ed. by Gaborit-Chopin, no. 174.

Doutance de la mort was the *MND* component; MS 28, Paris, BNF, fr. 24748, a priest's prayer manual containing II Prière 37, was owned by the abbey of Saint-Victor, to which in 1424 its prior Johannes Lamasse gave MS 27, Paris, BNF, fr. 24436, containing II Prière 40 at the end of a miscellany including *Le voyage de Jean Mandeville*, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, and antifeminist tracts, written in part in Liège by Ogier de Caumont in 1396. But other copies were in the hands of laymen, such as the Hours of Paris use that includes II Prière 40, MS Add-11, Paris, BNF, fr. 13167, where a coat of arms may eventually point to the owner.

The East, South, and West

What is significant in relation to the distribution of *MND* manuscripts in the rest of the country is that only two complete copies, MSS T (Besançon, BM, 551) and E (Paris, BNF, fr. 817), fall into these regions; all the other copies contain selected miracles or prayers as their only *MND* component. Both of the complete manuscripts are problematical. Whereas MS E contains the name of its scribe, Marguerite de Chauvigny, her identity is uncertain. For Ducrot-Granderye she was a noble lady who copied the manuscript in her second widowhood in 1465 at her home in Chauvigny in the Berry, while for the editors of the last component in the manuscript, the *Vie de sainte Cristine*, Ott and Collet, she was a nun, for the former a Cistercian, for the latter possibly a Carthusian, both basing their assertions on the presence of the letters OC after her second signature. Collet thinks the language points to the east rather than to Berry, and has traced the watermarks to paper made in Italy and at Chambéry.[46] MS T is the most problematic manuscript in the entire corpus. It is the copy that is the most fully illustrated of all: with 186 illustrations for Book I alone, to say nothing of the blanks left for illustrations never painted in Book II, in its incomplete state it already contains more than twice as many illustrations as its next contender, the 'Soissons' manuscript. It is also the only manuscript to scatter illustrations within the miracle narratives rather than to cluster them at the beginning. Its text, however, is undistinguished in the textual tradition; its script is written btl, so although the illustrative format consists of historiated initials and single-column miniatures as in MS N, it is not a contender for consideration as a particularly early copy, nor as a copy particularly faithful to Gautier's original. The script is by two or three scribes of which the first is the most distinctive, using a light brown ink, displaying significant southern features: prescissa minims and rounded letter forms offering some

[46] See Appendix IV, note 62 and Appendix VI *sub nomine*.

similarity to the script of the Costuma of Agen and to the (probably later) work of Amigotus in the breviary of Agen and the missal of Clement V.[47] And the language is not Occitan, as is the case of the II Prière 37 in MS 11, London, BL, Egerton 945, made for a Franciscan nun of Périgueux who was probably a member of the Talleyrand-Périgord family, Counts of Périgord;[48] nor is the language an identifiable hybrid form as is the case of the Lyon hagiographical miscellany, MS l, Paris, BNF, fr. 818.[49] Two artists are at work in the Besançon manuscript, their labours corresponding to the two major scribal divisions, but both are distinguished by the number of discrete scenes devoted to individual miracles; unlike the clusters of multicompartment miniatures characteristic of the Soissons-Noyon-Laon group, these artists distribute their illustrations throughout the textual narrative. Hand 1 gives no fewer than twenty-seven illustrations in his elaborate playing-out of I Mir 10, the Theophilus legend, a number without parallel anywhere; and hand 2 gives eleven for I Mir 18, Femme de Rome (whose beginning is missing),[50] and thirteen for I Mir 44, Leocade. The first, superior, artist generally adopts the format of miniatures with architectural frames and, occasionally, landscape elements, while the second, presumably an assistant, gives

[47] Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 2511 / Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 130 / Sotheby's 18.vi.1996, lot 13: F. Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé du bréviaire choral W. 130 de la Walters Gallery: le ms. N.a.lat. 2511 de la BNF', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 55–56 (1997–98), 123–34, to which may be added London, BL, Add. 42132, written by Amigotus (A. J. C., 'no. 63. Fragments of an Agen Breviary', *British Museum Quarterly*, 5 (1930–31), 88–89), reunited with the Walters, Paris, and Sotheby's fragments (the latter now in a private collection in London) in Stones, 'Amigotus and his Colleagues: A Note on Script Decoration and Patronage in Some South-western French Manuscripts, *c.* 1300' (forthcoming). Avril has attributed to the same scribe part of the missal of Clement V, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51, and the Bible, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Bibl. 2o 8 (*L'Art au temps des rois maudits*, ed. by Gaborit-Chopin, pp. 330–32, no. 230), and Derolez has characterized the script of McClean 51 as 'southern formata' (Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 116, pl. 51). Neither Avril nor Derolez mention the other half of Clement's missal, Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro B 76, discussed by M. Dykmans, S.J., 'Le missel de Clément V', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 86 (1972), 449–73; Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, II: *De Rome à Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981), pp. 192–93, 254, 339–50 (MSS Ca, Cl); and none of these authors knew that the scribe's name is Amigotus.

[48] See Appendix IV, note 71.

[49] See Appendix IV, note 53.

[50] Discussed briefly by Kathy Krause in these essays.

a historiated initial at the beginning of a sequence and medallions set in squares for the body of his illustration, often ending a sequence with a miniature. Both artists accompany the historiation by borders, those at the beginning, by hand 1, displaying an amazing variety of motifs derived from the Labours of the months, standard in calendar illustration, and Bestiary animals and birds — a most unusual array of border motifs, significantly different from the often obscene hybrids and activities characteristic of northern manuscripts in the same period. The palette and figure style of both artists are similar, with highly burnished plain gold backgrounds and a palette based on blue, pink, black, and grey, only occasionally using a muddy yellow-green (fol. 51^{v}). Faces have wide-open eyes; figures are treated in summary fashion with little modelling. Localization is difficult.[51] MS T is a very special case which merits more attention than it has received to date. Its fifteenth-century ownership, attributed on the basis of the arms on the binding to Philippe de Hochberg, comte de Neuchâtel (1454–1503), offers a likely clue as to its provenance. Philippe occupied a number of administrative posts in southern France, notably those of gouverneur et grand sénéchal de Provence in 1493 and lieutenant général du roi en Languedoc in 1503. He died in Montpellier.[52] It is tempting to speculate that he acquired the manuscript in Languedoc or Provence at this time. What remains to be clarified is its passage back to the east, where it surfaces first in the possession of François-Charles Sonnet, sixteenth-century jurist and man of letters of Vesoul. Then by 1694 it had entered the collection of Abbé Boisot of Besançon and was among the books bequeathed by him to the city. Sonnet had studied in Paris but returned to Vesoul as a jurist and died there. His nephew, also a bibliophile, was appointed to a theological post at the chapter of Besançon, and Boisot also held ecclesiastical office in Besançon a generation or so later. So, while it is likely the book found its way from Vesoul to Besançon with Sonnet's nephew Claude-François, the question remains as to how the book migrated from Provence or Languedoc to Vesoul.

The Prayers[53]

Whereas many of the *MND* manuscripts both complete and incomplete were made for, and owned by, religious establishments and individuals, the prayers in

[51] For some conflicting suggestions, see Appendix IV, note 67.

[52] See Appendix VI *sub nomine*.

[53] See Appendix V.

particular elicited an especially widespread readership among the populace at large and frequently circulated independently of the rest of the *MND*, whether as a cluster (II Prières 37, 38, 39, 40), or one or two of them only. The textual context varies as well — from part of the *MND*,[54] to books of hours, to literary and/or devotional miscellanies.[55] Most interesting is *MND* MS 21, Paris, BNF, fr. 2495, where II Prière 37 is squeezed in on a blank half-leaf between two epic poems written a century or so earlier. If Ricketts characterized II Prière 37, the Prayer of Theophilus in its Occitan version, as 'a woman's prayer',[56] many other cases show that it was read, and said, by men, and not only by the eminent cleric Gilles li Muisis, Abbot of St Martin's Tournai, for whom it was also the only *MND* component he chose to include among his manuscript of his own works, *MND* MS 9, Brussels, BR, IV.119; it was also chosen by laymen like Gautier de Châtillon d'Autresche (MS 1, Cambrai, MM, 87), in the context of the book of hours made for himself and his wife, and by Robert d'Artois (most likely) in his literary miscellany (MS 22, BNF fr. 12467). Gautier de Châtillon's manuscript is of particular importance because it is the only one in the entire manuscript tradition to illustrate the words of the text, 'porte de paradis', by showing the Virgin Mary standing at a door, facing the kneeling donor (Fig. 25); and further down among the minor initials accompanying the prayer is a heraldic initial containing the arms of Gautier and his (unfortunately not otherwise documented) wife who was most likely a member of a cadet branch of the house of Brabant since her arms are *sable a lion argent* (Fig. 26).[57] In this context it is not without interest that Gautier de Châtillon was a notary of Vic-sur-Aisne — the very place where Gautier de Coinci's priory was located, suggesting the later Gautier wished to accord the prayer of the poet a special place in the decorative scheme of his manuscript, a prayer book unusual in so many other respects, as Adelaide Bennett has shown. Furthermore, Gautier de Châtillon's manuscript is one that uses the form 'Gemme' as the opening word of the prayer of Theophilus, the form also found in the manuscript that for Ducrot-Granderye is the most reliable — MS M, BNF

[54] Not all the 'complete' *MND* manuscripts contain all the prayers: of the seventeen complete manuscripts (see Appendix I), only six include one or more prayers (see Appendix V).

[55] The prayers appear not to have migrated to England, as they are not among those edited by Charity Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected Texts Translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman French and Middle English*, Library of Medieval Women (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2006).

[56] See Appendix IV, note 71.

[57] See Appendix IV, note 12.

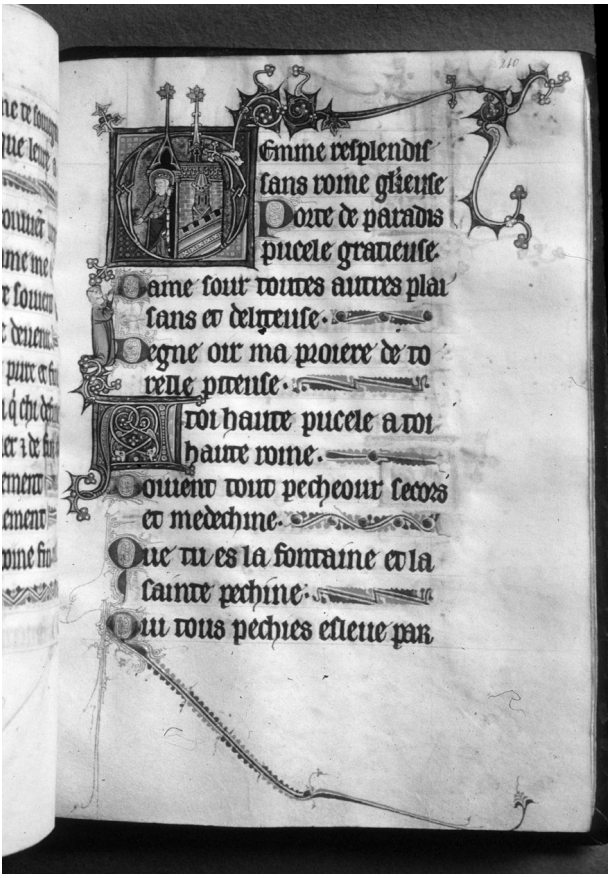


Figure 25. Virgin Mary standing at a door, facing the kneeling donor. Cambrai, MM, 87, fol. 210r (photo: author)

fr. 2163. A total of seven copies transmit the 'Gemme' version, all from the northeast or from Paris; in one hybrid copy, MS v, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113, the scribe wrote '[]emme', to which the wrong capital letter was supplied, D instead of G, and a wrong rubric, to *Chantepleure* instead of Prayer of Theophilus; but the twenty-six other copies, more widespread in their distribution, all give the more prosaic 'Dame' instead of 'Gemme'.

If the heyday of the miracles was the last third of the thirteenth to middle of the fourteenth century, beginning with the monasteries, embraced by the royal family and by lesser lay figures, the prayers were what assured Gautier's reputation

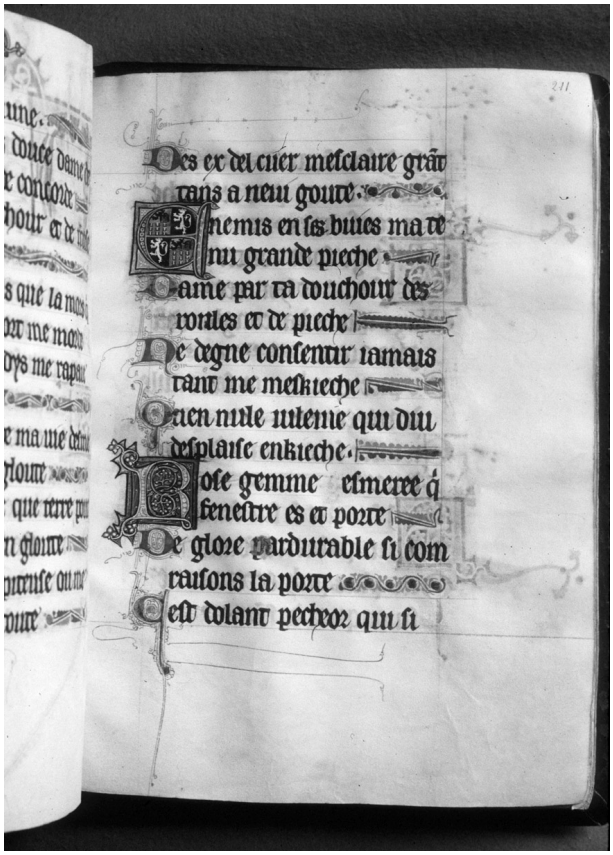


Figure 26. Heraldic initial, arms of Gautier de Châtillon and his wife. Cambrai, MM, 87, fol. 211[r] (photo: author)

well into the late fifteenth century in clerical and secular circles alike. And the list of owners in Appendix VI shows that interest in all the Gautier manuscripts continued well into the modern period.

Words and Music

L'*ANNOMINATIO* CHEZ GAUTIER: VOCABULAIRE ET SYNTAXE

Pierre Kunstmann

Abstract

In this chapter, I study the *annominatio* (in a broad sense: paronomasis and polyptot) in Gautier's works, from different points of view (morphology, syntax, and semantics). I show the strategic location and the particular function of this figure in the narrative. The *annominatio* is mainly an ornament, a jubilant exercise that emerges from the words of the miracles.

S'il est une signature,[1] une marque de fabrique qui permet de reconnaître quasi infailliblement un miracle de Gautier de Coinci, c'est bien cette figure de style que la rhétorique classique appelait *annominatio*. Je me propose, dans ce chapitre, d'étudier ce jeu avec les mots, cette explosion du vocabulaire des points de vue morphologique, syntaxique et sémantique; je m'attacherai aussi à la place de la figure dans le corps du récit ainsi qu'à sa fonction.

J'entendrai ici l'*annominatio* au sens large, c'est-à-dire incluant la paronomase (qui rapproche des vocables se ressemblant par le son mais différant par le sens) aussi bien que le polyptote (où le mot revient, dans une même phrase, sous une autre forme grammaticale ou sous la forme d'un dérivé). Il s'agit, dans un même passage, d'une série de mots apparentés par les sons qu'ils ont en commun.

[1] Jean-Louis Benoît, *L'art littéraire dans les 'Miracles de Nostre Dame' de Gautier de Coinci: Un art au service de la foi* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1999) p. 513. Je n'ai pu malheureusement prendre connaissance de cet ouvrage qu'après ma présentation au colloque de Pittsburgh.

L'exemple le plus célèbre de la littérature française médiévale est celui du roman de *Tristan*:

> Si vus ne fussez, ja ne fusse,
> Ne de l'amer rien ne sëusse.
> Merveille est k'om la mer ne het
> Que si amer mal en mer set,
> E que l'anguisse est si amere!

Ce sont les vers 39–43 du ms. de Carlisle, transcrits dans Walter 1989; l'éditeur traduit: 'Si vous n'étiez pas là, je ne me trouverais pas ici, et je ne connaîtrais rien de l'amour (l'amertume, la mer). Il est étonnant que quelqu'un qui connaît un mal si amer en mer, et qui se sent si amèrement oppressé, ne haïsse pas la mer (l'amour).'[2]

Cette figure, si caractéristique de notre auteur, doit être distinguée de constructions qui en sont proches et qui souvent l'annoncent, l'amorcent et lui permettent de se développer.

C'est le cas de la succession, à la rime, de mots de même famille:

> Et nepourquant s'ont il tant d'ire
> Et de pitié qu'en larmes **fondent**
> Et de duel faire se **confondent**. II Mir 9, vv. 932–34[3]

Peut-être faut-il voir dans ce cas un degré zéro de l'*annominatio*. Mais dès qu'on dépasse la simple paire de vers, on est aussitôt en présence de notre figure:

> Come chaon frïent et **fondent**
> Quant son saint non tot ne **confondent**.
> Por ce les a si **confondus**,
> Les frïeuleus, les **enfondus**,
> Que toz il mondes les **confont**.
> Por ce qu'il il fisent et **font**
> Et qu'il n'ont foi ne **fondement**,
> Les feri Diex le **fondement**;

[2] *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français. La saga norroise*, éd. par Philippe Walter, Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1989), p. 333.

[3] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, éd. par V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Genève: Droz, 1955–70), IV, 339. J'indique, comme référence, les numéros du livre, du texte et des vers suivant le système adopté par Koenig 1966, mais aussi les numéros du tome et de la page de cette édition, ce qui permettra au lecteur de retrouver plus facilement ces passages dans la version électronique (base TFA).

Por ce sont il tout **enfondu**,
Flestre et fronci, fade et **fondu**. I Mir 13, vv. 83–92[4]

Notre figure est à distinguer aussi des simples rimes équivoquées:

S'uns de celz vient **qui estudïent**,
'Ne te conois. **Qui es tu?' dïent**. I Mir 11, vv. 1091–92[5]

Vers semi-holorimes, si l'on peut dire . . . Celles-ci sont parfois de véritables énigmes:

La vois au riche toz tanz monte;
Si montans est qu'ele seurmonte
Et trespasse toute **musique**.
Il povres a le piz **mu si que**
Veoir ne puis en nul endroit
Comment il puist chanter a droit. I Mir 11, vv. 773–78[6]

Si le mot à la rime apparaît aussi dans l'entourage immédiat, on assiste à un début d'*annominatio*:

Qui a **argent**, qui a avoir
Quanqu'il covoite en puet avoir.
Covoitiez est partot **argenz**:
Et loinz et pres partot **art genz**.
Plus done **argenz**, plus done avoirs
Que bones meurs ne grans savoirs. I Mir 11, vv. 737–42[7]

Si l'on considère maintenant le corps du texte, il convient de distinguer notre figure de la simple répétition de mots, sans effet stylistique:

Conscïence, c'en est la somme,
Est il forz **frainz** dont il preudome
Sont **refrené** et retenu.
Ne voi si viel ne si chenu,
S'il n'a ce **frain**, se Diex me saut,
Qui tost n'ait fait un malvais saut. I Mir 10, vv. 693–98[8]

Aucun effet stylistique particulier n'est produit par la reprise de *frain* ou le passage à *refrené*.

[4] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 104.

[5] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 47.

[6] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 35.

[7] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 33.

[8] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, I, 92.

L'*annominatio* doit aussi être distinguée de la simple expression du degré d'intensité par figure étymologique, que ce soit en corrélation consécutive:

> Sainz Esperites il atempre
> Si **devote devocïon**
> Et si **poingnant compunctïon**
> Dedens son cuer que sanz sejor
> Ses pechiez pleure nuit et jor. I Mir 10, vv. 726–30[9]

ou sans corrélation (épithète de nature, doublée d'un cas de figure étymologique)

> [...] Tes **renoians renoieries**
> Et tes **pullentes pullenties**? I Mir 10, vv. 793–94[10]

Dans l'exemple suivant, par contre, on entre en terrain adnominatif: le groupe nominal est suivi d'une construction verbe-objet en miroir, de type chiasmatique, avec segmentation différente (*norri ce*) et alternance temporelle (*norri* vs *norrist*):

> Car c'est la **norrisanz** norrice
> Qui alaita et *norri ce*
> Qui tout le mont paist et *norrist*. I Mir 10, vv. 2065–67[11]

Si l'on veut distinguer différents types d'*annominatio* chez Gautier et tenter une classification, on peut considérer deux axes: celui des mots eux-mêmes sur lesquels joue l'auteur et celui de la place de ces mots dans le cadre du mètre.

Prenons le premier cas: le poète peut jouer sur une ou plusieurs séries lexico-sémantiques. S'il s'agit de la même série (un tour de force!), la figure a valeur intensive:

> [...] S'en la pullente pullentie
> De la pullente t'enpullentes,
> Es santines d'enfer pullentes
> Seraz pullens enpullentés
> Por tes pullentes pullentez. I Mir 21, vv. 158–62[12]

Je cite ma traduction: 'Si tu t'empuantis de la puante puanteur de cette puante, tu seras, puant, empuanti au fin fond de l'enfer puant pour ton puant empuantisse-

[9] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, I, 94.

[10] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, I, 98.

[11] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, I, 174.

[12] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 203.

ment.'[13] La phrase offre, sur cinq vers, neuf occurrences de mots provenant du même étymon **putulentus*: cinq occurrences de l'adjectif *pullent* (une par vers) dont une en emploi substantif, deux occurrences du verbe *enpullenter* (pronominal dans la protase, hypothèse; accompli, forme composée dans l'apodose) et deux de substantifs (*pullentie* et *pullenté*, ce dernier étant, semble-t-il, un hapax.[14] À l'état de puanteur de la jeune épouse correspondent les marques de puanteur du nouveau marié, tout cela menant infailliblement à la puanteur de l'enfer. Intensité certes, mais 'emploi quasi tautologique' comme le remarque O. Collet.[15]

S'il s'agit de plusieurs séries, on peut avoir un effet de contraste et d'opposition ou, au contraire, d'accord et d'assimilation. On peut avoir affaire à des familles étymologiques; mais le lien n'est pas toujours sensible: *chant / deschanter / enchanter* forment plutôt trois séries malgré leur origine commune. Il s'agit le plus souvent de champs dérivationnels. Il faut aussi considérer l'aire sémantique des mots; ainsi *chair* s'emploie par opposition à poisson, par exemple, mais aussi à esprit, âme; *ardoir* est lié à la notion de destruction, mais aussi à celle de ferveur.

Le deuxième axe de classement est celui de la place des mots. Le jeu peut porter seulement sur les rimes, comme c'est le cas dans ce quatrain des *Salu Nostre Dame*:

> Ave virge Marie. Mout se fait bon **amordre**
> A ton service faire, foi que je doi **a m'ordre**,
> Car qui bien s'i aüse et qui bien s'i **amort**
> L'anemi a tüé et le dyable **a mort**. II Sal 35, vv. 165–68[16]

Les strophes de la prière suivante sont même fondées sur l'*annominatio*:

> Pucele en cui prise **forme a**
> Il formerres qui tout **forma**,
> A toi servir mon cuer **enforme**.
> Mout est cil biax et bien **formez**
> Qui de t'amour est **enformez**,
> Car de touz biens iés tu la **forme**. II Prière 38, vv. 7–12[17]

[13] Pierre Kunstmann, ed., *Vierge et Merveille: Les miracles de Notre-Dame narratifs au Moyen Age* (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1981), p. 93.

[14] TL présente aussi trois autres substantifs: pullentine, attesté au XIIIe, pullentise et pullentor, du XVe — le choix ne manquait pas . . .

[15] Olivier Collet, *Glossaire et index critiques des œuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 227 (Genève: Droz, 2000), p. 184.

[16] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, IV, 552.

[17] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, IV, 585.

Le jeu peut au contraire porter sur l'ensemble des vers (intérieur et fin de vers):

> **Murmure** pas tant n'i puet croistre.
> Petit avient que grant **murmure**
> En grans cloistres n'en grans **murs muire**. I Mir 11, vv. 2112–14[18]

Pour montrer comment l'*annominatio* se présente en contexte, je retiendrai deux exemples. Voici le premier:

> Se la servomes soyr et main
> De vrai corage et de cuer fin,
> Ja a la vie n'a la fin
> Dou feu d'enfer n'arommes garde.
> Feuz d'enfer n'a pooir qu'il **arde**
> Celui ne cele qui s'***aart***
> A il servir, par saint **Maard**.
> Ou feu d'enfer n'iert cil ja **ars**
> Qui a s'amor s'iert bien ***aars***.
> Pour Dieu, pour Dieu, que n'i **ardons**!
> A il amer noz ***aardons***.
> A il se fait bon ***aardoir***,
> De il amer devons **ardoir**.
> Por Dieu, chascuns si s'i ***aarde***
> Que de s'amor jor et nuit **arde**. II Mir 25, vv. 498–512[19]

Dans le contexte il s'agit du 'feu d'enfer', expression à double sens puisqu'il s'agit, par métaphore, du feu qui consume le corps (mal des ardents) aussi bien que de celui qui tourmente l'âme. Notre-Dame en préserve, ou en guérit, ses serviteurs, qui n'auront plus rien à craindre en ce domaine. Le passage précédant l'*annominatio* se termine sur le mot *garde*, à valeur dysphorique ('crainte'), mais dans une proposition négative. S'y associe une forme du verbe *ardoir* 'brûler'. S'ouvre alors une variation, à la rime, sur la base phonique AR-D/T/S, mettant en jeu morphologie et sémantique. Sont tressés deux fils de sens que permet la paronomase *ardoir/aardoir*. *Ardoir* est la forme courante d'infinitif en ancien français (*ardre* étant plutôt rare); par contre *aardoir* est une forme rare (c'en est ici la première attestation) par rapport à *a(h)erdre* (qui rime avec *perdre* chez Gautier). Il est manifeste que Gautier ne l'utilise que pour les besoins de la rime: dans l'édition Koenig, la base AARD- n'apparaît qu'en fin de vers, appariée aux formes du verbe *ardoir* ainsi qu'au nom propre *Maar-d/t/s*. C'est justement

[18] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 85.

[19] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, IV, 264.

l'invocation à saint Médard qui permet de remédier à l'impair (le premier *arde* n'a pas vraiment son pair) dans la suite régulière 'brûler/s'attacher à'. L'*annominatio* commence par le subjonctif *arde* et se termine par la même forme, mais dont le sens est subverti: il ne s'agit plus de destruction, mais d'aspiration, de désir, bref d'attachement — ce qui nous ramène à *aardoir*. La tournure négative des six premiers vers cède, après l'appel à Dieu et l'exclamation, à la forme affirmative des cinq vers suivants et *ardoir* glisse, par figure, dans le champ positif de son concurrent. C'est ainsi que se termine le miracle du pied coupé de Robert de Jouy. Or ce texte a été plagié, ou réutilisé: il a été intégré, en effet, dans la collection des *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres* de Jean le Marchant (miracle XXX), dont j'avais jadis procuré une édition et qu'on peut lire sur le site Web du LFA.[20] Pour cacher le larcin, il fallait remplacer *par saint Maard*, et c'est un banal *de bonne part* qui remplit la même fonction . . .

Le second exemple que je veux commenter présente un type tout différent: l'*annominatio* n'est pas limitée aux mots à la rime, mais sature tout le passage.

> Luez que la croce ont en la main,
> Mielz se reprenent a la ***char***
> Que il bons buez ne fait au **char**.
> Tost set leur **chars** ***char*** **encharchier**
> Tost a leur **chars** jor de **charchier**;
> Tant **encharche** de ***char*** leur **chars**
> D'aus porter est **charchiez** uns **chars**;
> De ***char*** leur **chars** tel **charche encharche**
> Que l'ame en a trop **charchant charche**.
> L'ame la ***char*** tient a **eschar**,
> Mais la ***char*** crie adez '***char*** ! ***char*** !'
> L'ame la ***char*** heit com ***charoigne***.
> N'est nus sages qui sa ***char*** oigne.
> Prelat leur ames **escharnissent**
> Quant del delit de la ***char*** n'issent. I Mir 11, vv. 1622–36[21]

L'extrait s'insère dans un passage sur la pappelardie, situé dans la deuxième moitié du long miracle 11 du premier livre (2356 v.), consacré à Ildefonse et Léocade de Tolède. Les évêques hypocrites et gloutons, une fois leur indigestion passée, se remettent 'à manger de plus belle',[22] c'est-à-dire retournent à la viande, au boeuf,

[20] Laboratoire de Français Ancien, <www.uottawa.ca/academic/arts/lfa>.

[21] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 67.

[22] Collet, *Glossaire*, p. 418.

avec plus d'ardeur que le bon boeuf ne reprend le collier pour tirer le char. L'homonymie (partielle car les déterminants soulignent la distinction de genre) permet le jeu sur deux séries lexicales, la famille étymologique de *char* 'aliment' et celle de *char* 'véhicule'. Si, pour la première (*carnem*), la dérivation se réduit au seul *charoigne*, il convient de remarquer deux procédés supplémentaires: le glissement sémantique de 'viande' à 'chair' à partir du vers 1631 (j'interprète ainsi le vers suivant: 'Mais la chair crie aussitôt: "De la viande! de la viande"') et l'éclatement de *charoigne*, mot 'dévalisé' en *char* et *oigne*, raccourci saisissant qui montre à quoi aboutit le soin excessif du corps, à la pourriture. Pour la deuxième série (*carrum*), sont dérivés du mot de base *charchier*, *charche*, *charchant*, *encharchier*. Mais *char* se développe aussi en *eschar*, ouvrant une troisième série marquant la dérision; *escharnissent* connaît le même sort que *charoigne*, un découpage parallèle en *char n'issent*, pour clore le passage. Cet extrait se caractérise également par un degré de saturation très élevé: vingt-huit occurrences de mots en jeu, en contact, pour une longueur de quatorze vers. Les vers 1627 et 1629 présentent même une saturation complète si l'on excepte les mots grammaticaux.

La figure qu'est l'*annominatio* peut s'étendre sur un nombre de vers de longueur très variable. La gamme, d'après mes relevés, irait chez Gautier de deux à dix-neuf vers. Voici le passage minimal:

> Trop **durement** leur **durtez *dure***:
> Il sunt plus **dur** que pierre **dure**. I Mir 11, vv. 241–42[23]

Deux vers, certes, mais cinq occurrences, ce qui constitue un record de saturation chez Gautier. Le passage le plus long que j'aie pu repérer est le suivant:

> Abbé sont mais tuit ahurté
> A felonnie et a **durté**.
> Qui en dur cloistre vit et ***dure***
> Mainte **durté durement *dure***
> Souvent il convient **endurer**.
> En **dur** cloistre ne puet ***durer***
> Nus qui n'est **durs** plus que **Durans**.
> Tant par est **durs** as **endurans**
> Que merveille est comment cil ***durent***
> Qui si **durez durtez endurent**:
> Trop i a dur **endurement**.
> Cloistres est **durs** si **durement**
> Nus, tant soit **durs**, ne l'**endurroit**
> N'un tout seul jor ja n'i ***durroit***

[23] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, II, 14.

Se Diex n'aidoit a l'**endurer**.
Toz tanz ou ciel doivent ***durer***
Tuit cil qui por Dieu l'**endurront**.
Si feront il: il i ***durront***
Et seront tant com Diex ***durra***.
Beneois soit qui l'**endurra** ! I Mir 43, vv. 541–60[24]

Il met en œuvre les mêmes séries lexico-sémantiques, durée et dureté (j'ai adopté la suggestion d'O. Collet de faire de *Durans*, au v. 547, un nom propre, le parangon des durs, le dur des durs), et se trouve en queue de miracle; le degré de saturation y est aussi très élevé (trente occurrences pour dix-neuf vers).

En fait, si l'on tenait compte de l'enjambement possible d'une pièce à l'autre, le passage le plus long serait celui-ci:

Qui que vos **chant chançons** polies
De risees et de folies,
Je ne veil pas **chanter** tex **chans**,
Car trop i a pleurs et ***deschans***:
L'ame sovent pleure et ***deschante***
Dou **chanteür** qui tex **chans chante**.
Qui l'anemi velt **enchanter**
De la grant dame doit **chanter**
Dont jor et nuit il angle **chantent**.
Dyable endorment et **enchantent**
Tout cil qui **chantent** sen doz **chant**.
Or escoutez comment j'en **chant**. I Pr 2, vv. 63–74[25]

Amors, qui seit bien **enchanter**,
As pluisors fait tel **chant chanter**
Dont les ames ***deschantent***.
Je ne veil mais **chanter** tel **chant**,
Mais por celi novel **chant chant**
De cui il angle **chantent**.
Chantez de il, tuit **chanteür**.
S'**enchanterez** l'**enchanteür**
Qui sovent nos **enchante**.
Se de la mere Dieu **chantez**,
Tous **enchantanz** iert **enchantez**.
Buer fu nez qui en **chante**. I Ch 3, vv. 1–12[26]

[24] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, III, 212.

[25] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, I, 22–23.

[26] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, I, 24.

Il se situe vers le début de l'œuvre, constituant le finale du second prologue du premier livre et les deux premières strophes de la chanson qui le suit. Si l'on additionne les deux parties, on obtient vingt-quatre vers, avec trente-quatre occurrences de mots tirés d'une même racine, celle du chant, et répartis en trois groupes (*chanter*, *deschanter*, *enchanter*).

La base phonique la plus fréquente est FIN (six occurrences d'*annominatio*, même sept si on inclut la *Vie de sainte Christine*). Elle joue sur deux séries lexicales:

- fin sf ('terme'); finer; finement sm; definer; definement;
- *fin* adj ('très réduit / pur'); affiner; finement adv;

Ainsi pour la coda du premier miracle de Notre-Dame de Soissons:

> Pour les joies qui n'aront **fin**.
> S'eles bien servent de cuer ***fin***
> Celi qui espure et ***affine***
> Toz cialz qui l'aimment d'amor ***fine***,
> Chascune si ***affinera***
> Que de ***fine*** **fin finera**.
> Ci leur depri mout ***finement***,
> Quant saront mon **definement**,
> ***Finement*** prïent l'***afinee***
> Joie me doinst qui n'iert **finee**.
> Diex, qui seur toz est purs et ***fins***,
> Si ***finement affint*** leurs **fins**
> Que, quant venra au **definer**,
> De ***fine*** **fin** puissent **finer**. Amen. II Mir 22, vv. 233–46[27]

Il s'agit, au terme de cette vie, dans la plus grande pureté, d'atteindre le but suprême: le salut éternel.

Cette base est immédiatement suivie de la matrice PORT (cinq occurrences), qui met en jeu les séries suivantes:

- porter (sans déplacement)
- portee (résultat de l'action)
- porter (avec déplacement), aporter, emporter, comporter
- *deport*, *soi deporter*, *deportant* ('joie')
- port (de paradis)
- PORTE (du ciel)

Voici, par exemple, les derniers vers du miracle *D'un abbé qui nagoit en mer*:

> Fiche ton vent en nostre voile,
> Qui tost nos maint et tost nos **port**

[27] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, IV, 199–200.

Au grant rivage et au grant **port**
De paradis, ou se ***deportent***
Tuit cil qui ci honeur te **portent**.
Nus ne te puet honor **porter**
Tu ne le faces ***deporter***
Au roi que tes ventres **porta**.
En toi servir grant ***deport*** a,
Car dou ciel iez fenestre et PORTE.
Buer fu **portés** qui s'i ***deporte*** ! I Mir 35, vv. 204–14[28]

Base particulièrement importante, si j'ose dire, privilégiée même, puisque, comme l'a souligné B. Sgaravizzi, 'c'est le radical qu'il a choisi pour ouvrir et clore la double série de ses miracles':[29] les douze premiers vers du premier miracle du premier livre (*Comment Theophilus vint a penitance*) et les huit derniers vers du dernier miracle du second livre (*Le myracle qui desfendi les samedis Nostre Dame*).

Pour la personne qui veut faire connaître l'oeuvre de Gautier en dehors du cercle de spécialistes, que faire de ces jeux verbaux? Sont-ils traduisibles? L'opération ne pose pas de gros problème quand il s'agit du même champ lexico-sémantique (c'est le cas de la variation sur *pullente*, examinée plus haut). Elle est certes plus difficile, mais encore réalisable quand on est en présence de deux ou plusieurs champs, à condition que les ressemblances entre les deux séries existent dans la langue cible: français moderne *se marier / Marie*. Ainsi pour le passage suivant, situé une vingtaine de vers après l'*annomination* à partir de *pullente*, je cite ma traduction dans *Vierge et Merveille*: 'Il s'écarta du siècle pour se marier à Marie. Le moine ou le clerc qui se marie à ma dame sainte Marie fait un bien grand mariage; mais ceux qui se marient aux Marions sont trop mal mariés. Par les Marions et les mariées, leurs âmes sont bien mal mariées! Pour l'amour de Dieu, évitons les mauvais mariages. Laissons Marots et Marions afin de nous marier à Marie qui ses maris au ciel marie'. À noter que j'ai fondu *malmariez* et *mesmarïent*. La transposition complète devrait être possible également en italien et en espagnol. Mais en anglais ce serait plus difficile, car on ne pourrait garder le substantif masculin *ses maris* et les prénoms avec diminutif (*Maros*, *Marions*). D'ailleurs la paronomase est réputée intraduisible . . .

Il importe d'examiner la distribution de cette figure dans le recueil de Gautier. Rappelons d'abord qu'elle apparaît dans les chansons, saluts et autres prières aussi bien que dans les miracles proprement dits. La première chanson est même fondée

[28] *Miracles*, éd. par Koenig, III, 59.

[29] Cité dans Benoît, *L'art littéraire*, p. 514.

sur cette figure: elle présente six paires de strophes, chaque paire offrant une *annominatio* sur une base différente — de CHANT dans les deux premières strophes à FIN dans les deux dernières.

Le premier miracle commence, comme nous l'avons vu, par un jeu sur la base PORT et se termine par une autre sur la base CORD. Notre figure est d'ailleurs de règle dans la queue des miracles: en principe chaque miracle se termine par une (et parfois même deux) *annominatio*. Je ne connais que trois exceptions. La première n'en est pas vraiment une: il s'agit des quatre miracles qui se produisent lors du voyage des clercs qui portent la châsse de Laon pour lever des fonds en vue de la reconstruction de la cathédrale. Il n'y a d'*annominatio* qu'à la fin de la série, ce qui prouve que les quatre morceaux ne devraient pas être séparés mais forment un seul récit. Mais pour les deux autres exceptions, je ne trouve pas d'explication: il s'agit du miracle de Sardenay et de celui de l'impératrice de Rome, le plus long du recueil. Reste que notre figure, marque de fabrique de l'auteur, en est aussi, à ces exceptions près, la signature attendue à la fin de chaque miracle.

Ce jeu verbal apparaît aussi, mais de façon inégale, à l'intérieur des miracles. Si dans le premier, les deux occurrences d'*annominatio* se situent à des moments cardinaux de l'aventure de Théophile (une variation sur la base COINT pour marquer le changement de comportement du héros après le miracle de Satan, puis une seconde sur FIN à la dernière apparition de Notre-Dame), dans le second les nombreuses occurrences, une vingtaine, ne concernent nullement ce qui arrive à Ildefonse, mais relèvent toutes de développements satiriques où l'auteur se laisse entraîner par sa verve.

Robert Clark examine ailleurs dans ce volume la fonction de l'*annominatio* chez Gautier. Pour ma part, cette figure constitue essentiellement un ornement, d'ordre morphologique, syntaxique et sémantique, un exercice, un tour de virtuosité, une acrobatie verbale (l'équivalent, sur un autre registre, des différents tours que le jongleur de Notre-Dame exécute devant la statue de la Vierge), une vocalise jubilatoire — l'inverse de la séquence (paroles sur les vocalises de l'Alleluia) — vocalise jubilatoire qui jaillit des paroles du miracle.[30]

[30] Un retour, du texte au jubilus. Comme l'indique O. Cullin, celui qui jubile ne se sert pas de paroles, mais de sons continus; la jubilation est 'le médium du coeur et de l'âme exprimé par la voix sans mots articulés: non articulis verbis sed confusa voce proferimus'. Olivier Cullin, *Brève Histoire de la musique au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), p. 56.

Gautier's Wordplay as Devotional Ecstasy

Robert L. A. Clark

Résumé

Cet article analyse l'utilisation intense que Gautier de Coinci fait de la figure de rhétorique appelée *annominatio* afin de déterminer le rôle qu'elle exerce dans la composition des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*). Les exemples les plus étendus de cette figure qui, sauf quelques exceptions, interviennent à la fin de ses récits, relèvent typiquement d'un ou plusieurs de trois registres: narratif, satirique et lyrico-mystique. Utilisant le concept de 'liminalité' élaboré par l'anthropologue Victor Turner pour étudier le dernier, cette réflexion suggère que le développement offert par le procédé d'*annominatio* permette de fondre la signification de termes particuliers ou d'expressions en de vastes unités sonores qui abolissent l'espace et le temps au profit d'une contemplation mystique. À travers ses jeux de mots, Gautier a tenté de favoriser auprès de ses lecteurs ou auditeurs une appréhension non rationnelle et extatique des miracles qu'il relate.

Readers who may have only a passing acquaintance with the work of Gautier de Coinci have doubtless been struck by the importance of wordplay in his miracle narratives and songs. While my own acquaintance with Gautier had been limited primarily to source texts for the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, on one occasion I had chosen one of Gautier's *MND Miracles* to translate with a group of students who were *débutants* in their study of Old French. It was more or less smooth sailing until we reached the end of the text, when suddenly it fairly exploded into elaborate verbal embellishment of baffling complexity, especially when compared to the relatively straightforward relating of the legend. They were, if you will, 'coincé par Coinci'. It is perhaps this classroom experience that led to my interest in Gautier's wordplay. I offer here a

modest *tour d'horizon* of one aspect of Gautier's poetics, his extensive use of the rhetorical figure of *annominatio*, after which I will analyze some of the different functions of such wordplay in his work.[1]

The topic of Gautier's wordplay is of course vast and complex since it appears throughout the corpus and in numerous passages of considerable rhetorical complexity. For this reason I have chosen to limit myself primarily to the narrative texts, leaving aside the *chansons*. Aside from practical considerations, there is another reason why I wish to concentrate on the miracles as opposed to the *chansons*. Poetry *is*, essentially, wordplay, the shaping of metre and sound in accordance with a set body of rules for the purpose of communicating an idea, a desire, or a sentiment. Both the *chansons* and the miracles are, of course, poetry, but in the miracles there is another critical element: narrative. I focus on *annominatio* in the narrative legends because I am especially interested in what the former brings to the latter, how it enhances the story, what kind of work it does in the context of telling a story, what tensions it brings to the text. We shall see that there is no single or simple answer to these questions, but I will argue that the use of extended *annominatio* in Gautier belongs to one or more of three registers: narrative, satirical, lyrico-mystical. In my discussion of the third type I will have recourse to the concept of liminality as developed by the British anthropologist Victor Turner to argue that Gautier uses extended *annominatio* to foster a contemplative or ecstatic mood in the reader-listener at the conclusion of these tales.

Passages of extended *annominatio* serve as a coda to all but a handful of the miracle narratives — or, to expand the musical analogy, a coda *cum* cadenza in which the author shows off his masterful virtuosity in a display which at first might strike one as gratuitous in that these verbal pyrotechnics do not in fact do anything to advance the narrative, which has reached its point of resolution before the 'fireworks' begin. All but a handful of the *Miracles* — by my count, only five — end with these highly stylized codas; and indeed, one of their functions is to signal to the reader-listener that, having completed the narrative proper, Gautier will soon bring his tale to conclusion after a crescendo of rhetorical effects. In two

[1] E. R. Curtius offers the following definition of *annominatio*: 'By *annominatio* [. . .] the rhetoric of Antiquity understands the bringing together not only of various inflectional forms of the same word and its derivatives but also of words perfectly or approximately homophonous': *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series, 36 (1953; repr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 278. Curtius cites examples from classical and medieval Latin as well as from Dante, Calderón, and Hofmannsthal (pp. 278–80) noting that the figure 'occurs with extreme frequency in Spanish mannerism' (p. 280).

of the *Miracles* that do not end this way, Gautier signals that, even if he has reached the end of one narrative, he is continuing on to the next one. Thus, in Book I at the end of Miracle 38, *De l'orison Nostre Dame*, he announces:

> Por ce que mielz vos doie plaire,
> Encor vos en volrai retraire,
> Se j'ai loisir et se je puis,
> Un biau miracle que j'en truis. I Mir 38, vv. 343–46[2]

And then he leads into the following miracle. There is no coda here but rather, to use another term equally applicable to musical and dramatic composition, a segue, as indicated by the rubric of *MND* Miracle 39 (*De cele meisme orison*). Similarly, in Book II at the end of *De l'empereris qui garda sa chasteté*, which forms a unit with the following text, *Des nonains de Nostre Dame de Soissons*, the last line serves as a bridge to the following text: 'Parler encore veil de ma none' (II Ch 9, v. 3980). Finally, three relatively short miracles in Book II (*Comment li horfevers fu renluminez*, *Des marcheans qui offrirent a Nostre Dame deniers et puis li tollirent*, and *Comment la fiertre fu boutee hors de l'eglyse*) conclude with no rhetorical flourishes (II Mirs 14–16). This is doubtless because Gautier conceived of them as part of a larger unit, a cycle of short texts devoted to the *fiertre Nostre Dame* of the church at Laon.

To be sure, there are cases where the extended use of *annominatio* occurs in the course of a given narrative and not at its conclusion.[3] Indeed, such passages within the narrative can be quite effective, as in the *Miracle de l'empeeris de Rome* where the heroine answers her brother-in-law's declaration of love:

> Ja, se Dieu plaist, a nul jor ge
> Cure n'aurai de tel amer.
> En tele amor a trop d'amer.
> Tele amors est dure et amere.
> Bien me disïez, biaus doz frere,
> Que vous m'amïez durement:
> Frere, sachiez seürement
> Que l'amours est voyrement dure
> Qui l'ame ardoir fait en l'ardure
> Qui dure autant com Diex durra.
> Ja mes cuers certes n'endurra,

[2] All references are to Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. F. Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70).

[3] In my analysis I have not considered pairs of couplets in which the rhyme words are closely related terms, as in the example from I Pr 1, where the rhyme words are *formee*::*enformee* / *forme*::*forme* (vv. 111–14).

> Ne li doz Diex ja ne l'endurt
> Si dure amors entre nous durt. II Mir 9, vv. 320–32

The wordplay in this passage works on several different levels. The *amer*::*amer* rhyme, of course, evokes the Tristan story, to which the brother-in-law has just made reference a few lines above (vv. 299–300) and its use in the Empress's mouth here allows her to remind her suitor of the unhappy circumstances of that romance. She then pointedly extends this verbal reference in the rhyme *amere*::*frere*.[4] Finally, Gautier picks up *dure*, the term he has linked with *amere* in line 323, and allows the Empress to develop the implications of the love he is proposing: prolonged suffering followed by eternal damnation. On a more technical level, we see a kind of cascading effect in the way one set of verbal play is relayed by another. These dense clusters of sounds, rather like similes in Homeric verse, can signal a rhetorical shift or a slowing down of the narration. There is a very rich intertextual play in this passage. On the one hand, Gautier's reader-listeners would have been prompted, one can assume, to read the Empress's unhappy situation against that of Yseult, even though there is in fact little similarity between the two stories. Within the narrative itself, one can see the wordplay as an effort on the part of the Empress to awaken the memory of the Tristan matter in her brother-in-law's mind in a desperate effort to drive home her point about the folly of his love interest in her. Through elaborate wordplay, she draws out her answer, which evokes through rhetorical artifice the torturous *durée* of damnation to which her words refer.

Satirical uses of extended *annominatio* are many in the *Miracles*, and for the sake of brevity I will evoke only a few of these. The first of these, in which Gautier's satirical verve is directed against the simony of rich prelates, occurs in Miracle 11 of Book I, *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*:

> En chardonal douceur n'a point,
> Car chardonax com chardonz point.
> Volentiers voir vers chardon n'ail;
> Non fas je voir vers chardonail.
> Cil qui ne done as chardonalz
> Poignant trueve com chardon auz.
> Li chardonal tost eschardonent
> Les eschars qui don eschars donent.
> Maint preudome ont eschardoné.
> Chardonal sont en chardon né;

[4] The 'Tristan rhyme' is subsequently echoed throughout the remainder of the narrative. See vv. 1391–92, 1815–18, 1843–44, 1847–48, 2715–16, 2905–08, 3481–84.

Por ce poignent comme chardon
Touz celz qui donent eschars don.
Qui tel chardon vielt enpoignier,
S'il li empli bien le poignier
Hui li remplisse les deux poins!
Des chardonalz n'est mie poins
Qui sovent done grans poignies. I Mir 11, vv. 891–907

Here Gautier attacks the cardinals in multiple word plays on *chardonal* (cardinal), *chardon* (thistle), *eschardoner* (to prick with thistles), and *eschars* (cheap or stingy), with further playing on *point-point* (none and sting) and *poins-poignies* (fist-fistfuls). The dense thicket of Gautier's prose thus represents the *li rouges diex*, as he calls the cardinals, as inhabiting a dreadful bramble where the stingy get 'stung'. In a somewhat similar vein, at the end of *D'un moigne qui fu ou fleuve*, those who wallow in lechery are like sows wallowing in a mud pit (or ducklings bobbing around on top of it), swallowed up in a swirl of variations on *boe*, *borbier*, *borbeter*, etc.:

Le porcel resamble a la truie:
Quant plus se soille et plus s'enboe,
Tant li plaist plus et siet la boe.
En fiens et en borbier habite
Qui se soille, qui se delite
En l'orde boe de Luxure.
Qui son cuer i plonge et sa cure
Bien est semblans a la chanette
Qui toute jor borbe borbete.
Borbeter va son destorbier
Et bien borbete en ort borbier
Qui tel borbier va borbetant.
En luxure a de borbe tant
C'on doit celui com orz beter
Qui vielt tel borbe borbeter.
Clers qui en tel borbier s'enborbe
Ou puis d'enfer en l'orde borbe
Plongiez en emborbez sera,
Toz jors com boz borboutera. I Mir 42, 624–42

In these two examples, the verse takes on not only an aural but also a kinetic quality: the dense clusters of repeated sounds help us visualize the incessant stinging of the thistles or the endless wallowing of lecherous clerks or of their counterparts in the animal world.

I have suggested through these examples that in these passages of elaborate wordplay the aural and visual come to the fore. The senses seem to take precedence over sense; the words come so thick and fast that meaning becomes lost in

the swirl of sound and images. In some cases Gautier creates a humorous or satirical effect; in others, the aura of sound created brings the reader-listener into another time and space, that of contemplative meditation. This effect is perhaps most apparent in the *chansons*, many of which are characterized by an extreme density of play on lexically related words. In similar fashion, the two prologues to Book I contain several examples of this kind of play. Thus, in the first prologue, extended wordplay on *puis*, *puisier*, *puisiere*, etc., draws the reader-listener into the mystery of Mary's miraculous powers. If one contemplates her name, he writes, one finds a *mers*, not a *puis*, a sea that, like the grace she bears, is boundless: 'Marie est mers que nus n'espuise' (v. 49). Further on in the first prologue, play on the word *forme* and its variants and the elaborate play on *amer*, *mere*, *mort*, *morsure*, etc., evoke the mystery of Mary's role in the redemption. The linking of words from very different registers, such as *mere* and *amer*, is not just a matter of gratuitous rhetorical effect. There is also the linking of meaning that lies at the heart of Gautier's endeavour to celebrate the mysteries of the Redemption: Mary is, as it were, the antidote to the bitterness of death, which she nullifies though a connection that is established here not only through meaning but through rhetorical juxtaposition.

These mysteries invite mystical contemplation, not rational understanding, and the sonorous aura of Gautier's language in these passages draws us into a deep mystical space. Plenitude of sound signifies plenitude of meaning but, paradoxically, through wordplay, the meaning of individual words or utterances is de-emphasized as they are subsumed into larger sonorous units in which time and space are suspended in the service of mystical contemplation. Through wordplay Gautier seeks to create in the reader-listener a non-rational, ecstatic response to the miracles narrated in his text. They create a feeling in the reader-listener that the late anthropologist Victor Turner referred to as liminality. Drawing on the work of Arnold van Gennep, Turner theorized liminality as the critical, transitional stage in ritual actions, such as rites of passage.[5] Turner described liminality as a state of being 'betwixt and between' and located it in the unstructured spaces that occur between an individual's or group's participation in clearly defined social structures. During the liminal phase, social structures are negated or reversed by ritualistic actions, thereby creating a space in which rites of passage occur and bonds of *communitas*, or a commonality of feeling, are reinforced.

[5] Van Gennep's model for rites of passage uses the terminology *rites de séparation* (*préliminaires*), *rites de marge* (*liminaires*), *rites d'agrégation* (*post-liminaires*). See his *Rites de passage* (Paris: Nourry, 1909), pp. 13–15.

Liminality is furthermore a dangerous state, for it is here that ritual participants come into contact with the sacred, often through role-playing in which everyday social roles are suspended.[6]

Although Turner's work among African tribes focused on communal ritual, I have argued elsewhere that his theories may also be fruitfully applied to private devotional practices.[7] Among these, I would not hesitate to include private or shared reading or singing of the texts of Gautier de Coinci. The ludic elements in Gautier's texts project the reader or singer or listener into a liminal space-time that is non-rational, non-spatial, non-temporal. Occurring as they so often do at the end of the miracle tales and after the end of the narration proper, they mark a threshold, or limen, beyond narrative across which Gautier's language draws the reader into an ecstatic realm. Through extended wordplay, distinctions between verbs and nouns fall away, tenses succeed each other in such rapid succession that time itself is confused and suspended. Turner called liminality the 'subjunctive mood' of socio-cultural action,[8] a characterization that seems particularly apt with reference to the many codas of the miracles in which *annominatio* is deployed in service not of relating a tale but of elating the reader-listener.

A particularly fine example of how *annominatio* can be deployed to enhance a state of liminality — in this case, dreaming — is the *Miracle de l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage* (I Mir 21). In this version of the Clerk of Pisa legend, the clerk is pressured by his wealthy family to take a wife, to which pressure he acquiesces. On the day of the wedding celebration he goes to say his customary devotions to Nostre Dame, and while saying his prayers, he dozes off, at which point Mary appears to him in two visions in which she fiercely berates him for his betrayal in terms that, in any other woman's mouth, would be a natural enough response to being unceremoniously abandoned by one's fiancé. The use of *annominatio* occurs in the second of the two visions:

> Bien t'ont dyable fannoié
> Et avulle, fait Nostre Dame,

[6] For a useful discussion of liminality, a key concept in Turner's work, see his 'Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors', in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press), pp. 23–59.

[7] Robert L. A. Clark, 'Constructing the Female Subject in Late Medieval Devotion', in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 160–82 (pp. 172–73).

[8] Victor Turner, 'Social Dramas and Stories about Them', in *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), pp. 61–88 (p. 84).

Quant tu por ta chaitive femme
M'as renoié et degerpie.
S'en la pullente pullentie
De la pullente t'enpullentes,
Es santines d'enfer pullentes
Seraz pullens enpullentés
Por tes pullentes pullentez. I Mir 21, vv. 154–62

In effect, Nostre Dame is asking: what could you possibly see in that *low* woman that you didn't already have in my exalted self? But one effect of the rhetorical display here is to elevate her discourse above what could appear to be a jealous rant of a fairly common sort. Another effect of liminality at work here can be related to the sort of reversal or levelling that Turner observed in tribal rituals marked by 'ritual humiliation, stripping of signs and insignia of preliminal status, ritual levelling, and ordeals and tests of various kinds'.[9] The function of ritual actions of this type in Turner's model was, as we have noted, to reverse or negate societal structures so that individuals or groups could move from one state to another. The dressing down that the canon receives at Nostre Dame's hands is certainly a humiliating passage that serves to break his projected transition from a clerical to a married state. While not ritualized in the strict sense of that word, it is an encounter with the sacred marked by a high degree of rhetorical formality that, like the dream itself in which it occurs, sets it apart from the mundane and the everyday. Finally, the effect of this intervention is to secure the clerk in his affections for Nostre Dame, a feature that we can relate to the *communitas* created by ritual actions: they serve to strengthen the bonds between and among the participants. In sum, the vision has all of the hallmarks of liminality as theorized by Turner, and Gautier brackets the passage and enhances it through the extended use of the *annominatio* figure.

I have already noted the passage in the *Miracle de l'empeeris de Rome* in which there is extended play on the words *dur* and *durer*. The same words are called into play at the end of three other miracles in Book I, including the *Miracle dou soucretain que Nostre Dame visita*:

Tant con veschi, tant con dura,
Vaines penre tant endura
Que merveille ert comment duroient
Si genoil, qui tant enduroient;
Por la douce dame endurerent

[9] Turner, 'Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors', p. 53.

Mainte durté tant con durerent.
A agenouillier bien s'endure
A nus genolz sur pierre dure
Cil qui bien l'aimme durement.
Certes tout dur endurement
Sont por li doz a endurer.
Toz cialz fera vivre et durer
Es joiez qui sanz fin duront
Qui a servir bien l'enduront. I Mir 31, vv. 273–86

Here, we can admire the way Gautier leads us from the past definite *dura*::*endura*, to the imperfect *duroient*::*enduroient*, back to the perfect *endurerent*::*durerent*, to the present *s'endure*::*dure*, to the intemporel infinitive *endurer*::*durer*, and finally, to the ecstatic vision of the endless future with *duront*::*enduront*. Certainly, there is a drawing upward and forward, here through the manipulation of verb lections, that is executed with consummate skill. But at the same time, the ecstatic vision that Gautier creates here draws his reader-listener upward and forward through the dense clusters of repeated sounds and the aura they create. This is not narrative progression through time; it is a visionary progression out of time or, more properly, a falling away of worldly time as it cedes to eternity.

In conclusion, the use of extended *annominatio* in Gautier de Coinci's narratives operates in several different registers, creating a broad range of effects. With few exceptions, it is non-narrative and, even in those instances when it occurs within a narrative context, it marks a suspension in the action. It most frequently occurs after the conclusion of the narrative proper, where it serves to create a tension between the temporality of narrated events and the atemporality beyond the narrative frame. The reader-listener is thus not allowed to rest at the end of a miracle; rather, she is drawn out of linear time into time after time, or time beyond time. This suspension of time is not, incidentally, unlike the suspended states of sleeping or dozing in which the characters encounter the sacred and experience miraculous visions, but even those moments remain part of the orderly progression of narrated events. The passages characterized by extended *annominatio* that conclude the narratives do not describe or relate mystical or ecstatic vision to the reader-listener as do the narratives themselves. Rather, as with rituals, they realize this state through wordplay that allows the reader-listener to participate in the divine mysteries.

Appendix

Annominatio *in Book I of Gautier de Coinci's* Miracles de Nostre Dame

Bold numbers indicate a final line of text.

Ref. from Koenig		**Terms in the *annominatio***
I Pr 1	39–50	puisier::espuisier / puis::puis / puisieres::espuisieres / espuisa::puis A / puis::puis / espuise::puise /
	111–14	formee::enformee / forme::forme
	135–48	amer::amer / amerement::mere ment / amere::mere / :amorta / morse::demorse / morsure::mors sure / sa mort::desamort
	311–24	trais::trais / traite::traite / atraie::retraie / traions::retraions / traire a::traira / traire::retraire / trait::trait
I Pr 2	65–**74**	chans::deschans / deschante::chante / enchanter::chanter / chantent::enchantent / chant::chant
I Mir 10	1–12	deporter::porter / porta::deport a / deport::deport / portee::aportee / depors::pors / aporte::porte
	581–88	cointement::acointement / cointes::aconites / desacointiez::acointiez / cointe::desacointe
	1297–1304	fin::fin / afinee::finee / fins::fins / fine::fine
	2025–32	recoevrent::oevrent / recovré::ovré / ovra::recovra / recovrer::ovrer
	2077–**92**	misericors::cors / recordent::acordent / misericorde::racorde / descordez::encordez / racort::acort / racorda::encorda / cordonz::concordons / cordes::concordes
I Mir 11	807–24	bestornez::tornez / bestornent::tornent / bestorné::torné / bechier::bec chier / bechant::bec chant / [be dur::be dur] / abé mol::B mol / moles::moles / amoloient::mol oient
	893–902	voir vers chardon n'ail::voir vers chardonail / chardonalz::chardon auz / eschardonent::eschars donent / eschardoné::en chardon né / chardon::eschars don
	1377–84	renardie::pappelardie / pappelart::pappe lart / pappelardie::pappelars die / appapelardirai::pappelars dirai
	1541–50	noie::oie / renoiés::noiez / Noion::noion / mois::Noiemois / noions::Noions
	1623–36	char::char / encharchier::charchier / chars::chars / encharche::charche / eschar::char / charoigne::char oigne / escharnissent::char n'issent
	2107–12	croistre::cloistre / cloistriere::cloistre iere / cloistre::croistre

Ref. from Koenig		**Terms in the *annominatio***
	2177–90	commande::mande / son mandé::sont mandé / commant::commant / commander::demander / mandent::commandent / commandez::mandez / commant::comant
	2327–**56**	robe::enrobe / desrobé::lobé / lobes::robes / [avoir::avoir] pareille::apareille / aparillie::desparillie / apareillie l'a::appareille la / despareillent::s'apareillent / menbree::ramenbree / desmenberai::ramenberrai / desmenberra::ramenberra / menbrer::menbrer / desmenbrast::menbrast / menbra::menbra / menbre::menbre
I Mir 12	131–**42**	duré::aduré / dure::endure / durer::endurer / endurt::durt / endurement::durement / Roie::endurroie
I Mir 13	83–**92**	fondent::confondent / confondus::enfondus / confont::font / fondement::fondement / enfondu::fondu
I Mir 14	87–**94**	chanta::chant a / chanter::enchanter / chant::chant / chante::enchante
I Mir 15	113–**24**	ploie::emploie / emploier::ploier / emploia::ploia / desploiez::emploiez / desploit::s'aploit / emploite::esploite
I Mir 16	9–16	teche::conteche / entechiez::pechiez / entechié::pechié / contecha::entecha
	184–**198**	:delivrance / delivres::livres / delivrent::livrent / livrés::delivrez / livra::delivra / livrer::delivrer / livre::livre / livrez::delivrez
I Mir 17	165–**76**	acointier::desacointier / desacointoit::acointoit / cointement::acointement / desacointa::acointe a / acointiez::desacointiez / acointe::cointe
I Mir 18	55–64	partir::partir / partie::departie / popars::pars / departi::parti / part::depart
	719–**30**	est pure::espure / et purra::espurra / espures::pures / espurement::purement / puré::espuré / puree::puree
I Mir 19	561–**72**	demors::mors / mordre::desamordre / sa mort::s'amort / amorsure::morsure / amordera::mordera / morront::m'orront
I Mir 20	395–**406**	affaire::faire / faite::mesfaite / affaita::fait a / mesfait::fait / façons::mesfaçons / face::face
I Mir 21	158–62	:pullentie / enpullentes::pullentes / enpullentés::pullentez
	184–**96**	:maria / marie::Marie / est marïez::mesmarïez / mesmarïent::marïent / marïees::mesmarïees / mesmarïons::Marïons / Marie::marie
I Mir 22	467–**76**	fausse::fausse / faus seroit::fausseroit / faussera::faus sera / faus seront::fausseront / faussomes::somes

Ref. from Koenig		**Terms in the *annominatio***
I Mir 23	61–**68**	deservir::servir / deservent::servent / deserviront::serviront / serve::deserve
I Mir 24	225–**34**	bailla::baille a / baille::baille / mesbaillis::baillis / mesbaillissons::baille issons / mesbaillie::baillie
I Mir 25	197–**208**	atorna::retorna / torne::retorne / retors::tors / torner::torner / retornons::atornons / destornera::tornera
I Mir 26	193–98	retorné::torné / retorne::atorne / retornee::tornee
	217–**24**	penssent::porpenssent / penser::penser / pensees::pensees / despensse::pensse
I Mir 27	109–16	fetart::tart / affetardons::affetart dons / tarde::fetarde / fetardie::fetars die
	133–**42**	seant::messeant / siet::dessiet / deserra::serra / seoir::seoir / sïent::sieent
I Mir 28	273–**88**	porter::aporter / deportent::enportent / aporterent:: deporterent / deportant::aportant / reporters::aporters / deport::emport / deporte::porte / raportent::enportent
I Mir 29	257–**72**	honeur::deshoneur / honeure::deshoneure / deshoneront::ouneront / deshoneurent::honeurent / honoré::Honoré / eure::eure / aourons::onorons / honoree::aouree
I Mir 30	122–**30**	:confortes / reconfortas::confort as / fort::confort / desconforter::conforter / desconforte::conforte
I Mir 31	253–60	atorné::retorné / tornoit::bestornoit / tornez::retornez / retorna::torna
	273–**86**	dura::endura / duroient::enduroient / endurerent::durerent / endure::dure / durement::endurement / endurer::durer / duront::enduront
I Mir 32	242–**52**	:sejornons / sejornent::ajornent / a jornee::sejornee / sejor::jor / ajorneront::sejorneront / ajorner::sejorner
I Mir 33	153–**60**	salu::salu / salue::salue / salus::salus / saluant::salu ant
I Mir 34	207–**16**	descombrez::aombrez / aombre::ombre / emcombrer::aombrer / descombrent::aombrent / saint ombra a::saim s'aombra
I Mir 35	205–**14**	port::port / deportent::portent / porter::deporter / porta::deport a / porte::deporte
1 Mir 36	315–**24**	gardons::gardons / me gart::regart / garda::garda a / regarder::garder / garde::garde
I Mir 37	853–**60**	assota::sot a / assote::sote / assotant::sot tant / sot::sot
I Mir 39	311–**20**	secorre::corre / cors::secors / sequeurt::queurt / sequeure::queure / secorra::corra

Ref. from Koenig		**Terms in the *annominatio***
I Mir 40	307–**18**	apenra::penra / aprent::prent / aprise::aprise / apresure::mespresure / sousprennent::aprennent / apraigne::espreigne
I Mir 41	364–**80**	:embracier / brace::enbrace / embracie::bracie / bracent::enbracent / embracie::rebracie / bras::Ferabras / brace::rebrace / bracier::embracier / enbracent::bracent
I Mir 42	632–**42**	:borbete / destorbier::borbier / borbetant::borbe tant / orz beter::borbeter / s'enborbe::borbe / emborbez sera::borboutera
I Mir 43	542–**60**	:durté / dure::dure / endurer::durer / durans::endurans / durent::endurent / endurement::durement / endurroit::durroit / endurer::durer / endurront::duront / durra::endurra
1 Mir 44	121–26	menbre::ramenbre / desmenbré::menbré / menbrast::desmembrast
	837–46	muguelias::mugue li as / enmuguelïee::mugue lïee / mugue::mugue / s'enmuguelïent::son mugue lïent / enmuguelit::son mugue lit
	875–**82**	destendus::retendus / tende::entende / tendre::tendre / estendi::di

Gautier de Coinci est-il un compositeur?

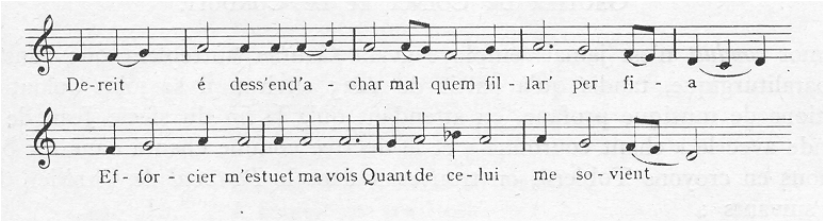
Frédéric Billiet

Abstract

This study examines the musical works of the *trouvère* Gautier de Coinci by confronting the points of view of musicologists, philologists, ethnomusicologists, and performers in order to grasp the role of musical invention in his work. Since the work of Jacques Chailley, researchers such as Joseph Duggan have clearly established the distinction between two traditions of interpretation: on the one hand, vocal performance as a search for continuity in the tradition, and on the other hand, vocal composition, which would be the creation of a memory text, underlain by a system of improvisation. The techniques of centonisation and contrafacture facilitated the improvisation of melodies for poems. In this light, the *trouvères* would be interpreters. In addition, scribes had to make delicate choices when writing down the melodies, following the preferences of patrons and local practice and retaining only the basic sonorities of a particularly well adapted version. In the majority of the cases, the versions of the melodies retained for the poems of Gautier de Coinci express a real respect for his prosody. This virtuoso of literary contrafacture seems, according to the terms of Andrew Lawrence-King, to have 'relished the physicality of forming sounds with the voice of a poet-singer'.[1] Yet, the works of Gautier de Coinci remain in the world of orality, even his polyphonic pieces. The *trouvère* had a sense of the potentialities of writing, which would make it possible to represent sounds in a graphic space, but he remained a poet-singer, even as music was freeing itself from the dominion of words, in favour of pure number and sound.

[1] Andrew Lawrence-King, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, CD Harmonia Mundi, HMU 907317, livret p. 11.

En ce début de XXIe siècle, le trouvère Gautier de Coinci est élevé au rang des compositeurs par la volonté d'interprètes de renom qui lui consacrent des albums[2] pour la plus grande joie des mélomanes. Ce phénomène artistique et commercial, qui a déjà assuré une solide réputation de compositrice à Hildegard von Bingen, doit cependant être nuancé par une étude précise des œuvres telles qu'elles sont transmises par les manuscrits conservés. En effet, si Gautier de Coinci est reconnu comme un grand poète, il ne bénéficie pas de la même admiration pour ses compositions musicales[3] qui passent souvent pour de simples adaptations. Mais, 'de tels *contrafacta* (emprunts et réarrangements) furent si prisés dans l'esthétique médiévale qu'il est souvent impossible de distinguer l'original de sa subtile contrefaçon'.[4] Gautier emprunta autant qu'il inspira au sein d'un système de création collective[5] dans lequel, d'une manière générale, l'acte de composition tient plus de l'assemblage[6] que d'une recherche de création originale *ex-nihilo*. Son œuvre comprend des *contrafacta* de chants de trouvères, de mélodies de plain-chant et des conduits issus de l'école Notre-Dame, tandis que plusieurs mélodies des *Miracles* ont été repérées dans les célèbres manuscrits des *Cantigas de Santa Maria* et des *Carmina Burana*. Par exemple, la chanson *Esforcier m'estuet ma voiz* de Gautier[7] présente des similitudes mélodiques avec les cantigas *Aos seus acomendados*, et *Dereit édess'end'achar* comme le montre cette superposition réalisée par Jacques Chailley:[8]



[2] Voir la liste infra.

[3] John Haines recense 153 versions différentes des 22 mélodies des *Miracles*. John Dickenson Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[4] Lawrence-King, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, p. 18.

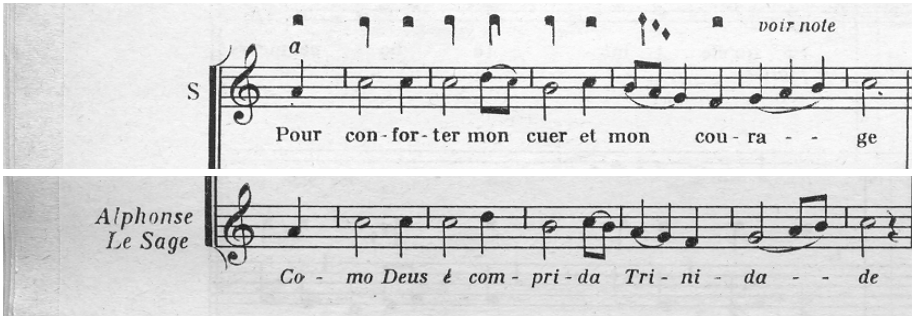
[5] Lire Constantin Brailoiu, 'Réflexions sur la création musicale collective', dans *Problèmes d'ethnomusicologie* (Genève: Minkoff reprint, 1973), pp. 135–47.

[6] Au sens étymologique de *cum-ponere*: poser ensemble, agencer.

[7] Enregistré par Diabolus in musica, *Rosarius*, CD Studio SM.

[8] Transcription de Jacques Chailley dans *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci (1177[78]–1236): Edition musical critique avec introduction et commentaires*, éd. par Jacques Chailley, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, 15 (Paris: Heugel, 1959), p. 45.

La mélodie de *Mere Dieu, virge senee* est, elle aussi comparable aux cantigas *Da que Deus m'amour*[9] et *Par Deus tal sennor*. De même, la chanson *Pour conforter mon cuer et mon coraige* s'apparente au cantiga *Ben pod'as cousas feas fremosas*. *Contrafactum* textuel de *Mout m'alegra douza vos* de Guilhem de Cabestanh, cette mélodie de Gautier sert de modèle au roi Alphonse X, dit Le Sabio, comme en témoigne la comparaison avec *Coma Deus é comprida Trinidade* dans le montage ci-dessous.[10]



Ces pratiques de réemploi de mélodies, inhérentes à la tradition orale occidentale,[11] posent la question du statut du compositeur au sens moderne du terme par rapport à celui d'interprète-créateur. Les trouvères sont connus pour leurs talents de poètes et, plus rarement, de 'trouveurs'[12] de mélodies en tant qu'acte individuel de composition. Or, les manuscrits, qui sont les seuls témoignages de la création musicale du XIIIe siècle, mêlent étroitement l'oralité aux exigences émergentes de l'écrit et de la mémoire. Dans les années 60 du siècle dernier, les musicologues ont d'abord consacré une grande partie de leurs études à rechercher 'une source originelle des sources'. Il s'agissait de retrouver la paternité des modèles, ou de proposer un archétype mélodique en comparant les sources avec leurs variantes souvent considérées comme des erreurs de copie par rapport à un hypothétique modèle. Il faut ici saluer l'immense travail réalisé par Jacques Chailley qui a pu comparer toutes les versions disponibles des chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci.[13]

[9] Enregistré par The Renaissance Players, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, CD Walsingham classics.

[10] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 118.

[11] Le succès des timbres cités dans les premières éditions de chansons populaires en est le témoignage.

[12] Néologisme attribué à Jacques Chailley.

[13] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley.

A partir de ce travail, suivi d'une relecture des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France[14] et d'une étude des travaux réalisés par les ethnomusicologues, nous avons cherché à replacer le travail musical de Gautier de Coinci dans le contexte de l'écriture musicale au temps où l'adaptation était un principe constitutif du répertoire musical médiéval.

Cette étude permettra aussi de mesurer la part de l'oralité dans le processus de création où se mêlent souvent la part de l'interprétation — 'composition-in-performance'[15] — et celle de la transmission.[16] Elle permettra aussi de répondre à la question volontairement polémique sur un acte d'invention qui n'est peut-être pas celui du compositeur, au sens moderne du terme.

La contrafacture — procédé qui consiste à créer un nouveau texte sur une mélodie existante - est un des principes constructifs fondamentaux du répertoire musical médiéval de tradition orale. Son origine est lointaine, s'inspirant des procédés qui ont permis la lente élaboration des répertoires liturgiques chrétien construits par centonisation et développés par les tropes.

La centonisation est un mode d'assemblage par juxtaposition de segments mélodiques, dénommés centons.[17] Puisés dans un répertoire de formules, limité et connu de chaque chantre, ces centons que l'on étire, contracte ou colle en fonction du texte à chanter apparaissent tels des 'clichés' mélodiques ayant valeur identitaire.[18] Cette technique permet de créer une pièce nouvelle ou de cantiller un texte. Elle est comparable à celle qui est pratiquée par les bardes yougoslaves[19] utilisant 'des formules toutes prêtes qui peuvent se rapprocher sur le plan de la prononciation et du sens remettant en cause la théorie de la recherche de l'archétype tel qu'il fut conçu par les spécialistes de la poésie classique écrite'.[20] Plus récemment, Joël

[14] Manuscrits conservés à Paris, BNF, fr. 817 (E), 986 (F), 1613 (K), 23111 (t) et 25532 (N).

[15] Lire la théorie de Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry, its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[16] Lire l'article de Leo Treitler, 'The Unwritten and Written Transmission of Medieval Chant and the Start-up of Musical Notation', *Journal of Musicology*, 10.2 (1992), 131–91.

[17] Ce mode *d'assemblage* mélodique a été étudié pour le chant grégorien par Dom Ferretti.

[18] Gérard Le Vot, *Vocabulaire de la musique médiévale* (Paris: Minerve, 2001), p. 41.

[19] *Recherches* effectuées par Lord et Parry et citée par Finnegan, *Oral poetry*, p. 63.

[20] Claire Couderc, *Le Cycle de Sainte Léochade de Gautier de Coinci* (Mémoire de DEA, Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), p. 16. Claire Couderc entreprend une thèse prometteuse sur l'interprétation entre écriture et oralité. Elle est ici remerciée pour ses remarques judicieuses.

Cohen a montré comment la mélodie de *Novel amor* de Rogeret de Cambrai se retrouve par phrases interverties dans la cantiga *Maravillosos et piadosos*.[21]

Le procédé de centonisation permet aussi d'introduire des refrains comme 'farcissure' au milieu de la narration. Ainsi, 'dans le roman de *Guillaume de Dole* (1200), le refrain n'est pas seulement le thème caractéristique d'une chanson, il renvoie aussi à d'autres chansons et se rattache à une riche tradition d'amour pastoral, de demoiselles dans les prés ou de dames dansant sous les verts oliviers'.[22] Gautier de Coinci insère dans *Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee — contrafactum* du *Il plus se plaint d'Amours* de Blondel de Nesle — différents refrains populaires dont les textes connus ont été soigneusement remplacés par des vers moralisateurs comme l'explique le poète:

'Mal ait cil qui me maria'
ce dïent en leur chançonnetes,
Mais entre giux et gabeletes
Les pluiseurs a certes le dïent,
Comment qu'entr'eles se marïent.
Hautement estes marïees :
Gardez ne soiez varïees,
Car Jhesu Cris, voz biax espous,
Set bien sanz vos taster le pous
Se vostre amour est vraie et nette.
Le commant de la chançonnete
Face qui est bien vraie amie :
'Pour Dieu, ne vos repentez mie,
Ce dist, de loiaument amer.'
En vostre ami n'a point d'amer,
Ainz est tres sades et tres douz
Vrais, bons et biaus et hauz seur touz.
Bien vos poez d'amors vanter
Et lïement devez chanter,
Vous cloitrieres, vos damoyseles,

[21] Joël Cohen, cité par Anne Azéma dans *Etoile du Nord*, Calliope 9525, livret p. 3.

[22] Voir aussi les interpolations musicales dans *Le jeu de Robin et de Marion* d'Adam de la Halle (1288) et sur le procédé d'interpolation les travaux de Sylvia Huot, Maureen Boulton et Ardis Butterfield: Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987); Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

As vois qu'avez plaisanz et beles :
'La fontenele i sort clere.
Bonne aventure ait ma mere,
Qui si bien me maria !'
Dire puet bien tele i a.
'La fontaine i sourt serie.
Jhesu Criz, il fiux Marie,
Tout entier ce cuer ci a.' II Chast 10, vv. 1096–1123[23]

Il est alors le précurseur de Gilles Binchois, auteur des 'Sainctes chansonnettes' au XVe siècle,[24] et des compositeurs de la Réforme qui n'hésiteront pas à 'convertir ces chansons de dissolution et de débauche que l'on oit tous les jours [. . .] en cantiques de piété, afin que ceux qui ont offensé Dieu par le chant mélodieux de ces airs, souvent impudiques, se servent des mêmes airs pour le loüer et pour reconnaître en même temps leur crime'.[25]

La centonisation et l'interpolation de refrains permettent donc une élaboration, orale improvisée ou notée, de mélodies qui semblent familières et qui donnent au texte savant des qualités de diffusion dans des milieux moins accessibles aux clercs lettrés. C'est probablement l'objectif de Gautier de Coinci, ou de son copiste, dans un contexte d'émergence des ordres mendiants qui n'hésitent pas à s'imprégner des techniques des jongleurs pour organiser des fêtes populaires dans les villes.[26] Ainsi, en l'annonçant dans son texte, Gautier de Coinci prolonge la chanson *D'une amor coie et série — contrafactum* d'une chanson sans refrain de

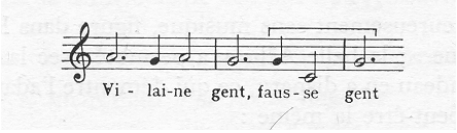
[23] Voir aussi l'édition de la *Chasteé as nonains* de Tauno Nurmela, *Le sermon en vers De la Chasteté as nonains de Gautier de Coinci, publié d'après les manuscrits connus*, Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae, B 38, 10 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1938).

[24] Exemples de 'sainctes chansonnettes' dans lesquelles Gilles Binchois substitue un texte latin au texte profane: *Virgo Rosa* contrafacture du rondeau *C'est assez*; *Ave corpus christi carum* contrafacture du rondeau *Adieu mes très belles*; *Ave dulce tu frumentum* contrafacture de la ballade *Je loe Amours*; *Rerum conditor* contrafacture de la ballade *Deuil angoisseux*.

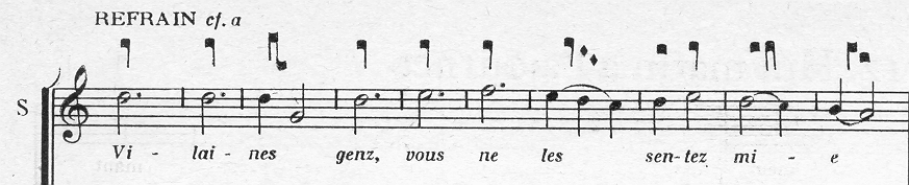
[25] 'Et comme autrefois on a fait, des Temples prophanes, dédiez aux Idoles, de superbes Eglises, que l'on a consacrées au Sauveur; de mesme ie me suis advisé, pour vous faire devotement passer les Advents qui approchent, de convertir ces Chansons de dissolution et de débauche, que l'on oit tous les jours dans la Ville de Paris, en Cantiques de piété; afin que ceux qui ont offencé Dieu par le chant mélodieux de ces Airs, souvent impudiques, se servent des mesmes Airs pour le loüer, et pour reconnoistre en mesme temps leur crime', pp. 8–9 de l'avertissement intitulé 'Aux ames pieuses' in François Colletet, *Noëls nouveaux et cantiques spirituels, composez et mis en lumière sur les plus beaux Airs de Cour et du temps*, 5e éd. (Paris: de Raffle, 1692).

[26] Lire François-Jérôme Beaussart, *Miracles et Mystères*, Trésors littéraires médiévaux du Nord de la France, 6 (Troesnes: Corps 9, 1989).

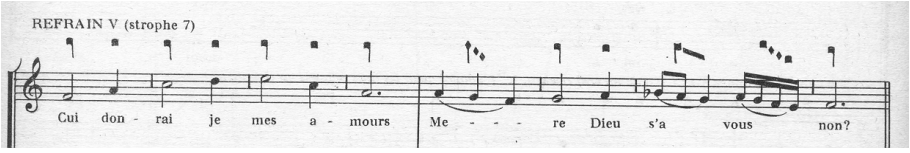
Gilles de (Viès) Maisons, *Je chant, c'est mout mauvais signes* — par le refrain 'vilaine gent' avec le saut de quinte caractéristique que l'on retrouve dans un motet du manuscrit de Montpellier:[27]



Voici un extrait du refrain inséré par Gautier de Coinci avec le saut de quinte:[28]



Dans la chanson *Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee*[29] déjà citée, Gautier introduit cinq refrains: Vous ne sentez, Pour Dieu traitez vous, Toutes les heures que je pense, En cuit je mieux valoir, Douce dame, quar m'amer, Cui donrai je mes amours.[30] Il suffit de chanter ce dernier refrain pour se rendre compte à quel point il se démarque du reste de la chanson par sa tournure mélodique facile à retenir, son style syllabique en premier mode rythmique et sa cadence légèrement ornée.[31]



[27] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 65. Le motet est numéro 98 dans Yvonne Rokseth, ed., *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle, le manuscrit H196 de la Faculté de médecine de Montpellier*, 4 vols (Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau lyre, 1935–39), II, 198: *Vilene gent, Ja ne lairons a amer / Honte et dolor et ennui et haschie / HEC DIES* (Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H196, fols 138^v–140^r).

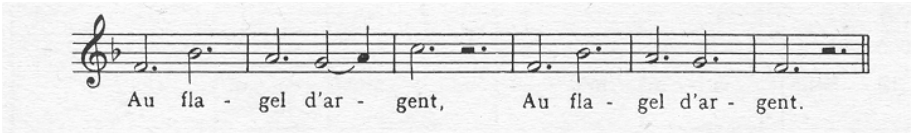
[28] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 137.

[29] Enregistré par Azéma, *Etoile du Nord*.

[30] Les vers 1 et 5 sont cités dans le *Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dôle*.

[31] Transcription de Chailley dans *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 146.

Enfin, la version d'*Entendez tuit ensemble, et li clerc et li lai* du manuscrit français Paris, BNF, fr. 986 contient des refrains dont *Au premier parent*, *Clere comme argent*, et *Au flagel d'argent* que l'on retrouve dans le jeu de *Robin et Marion* du trouvère Adam de la Halle:[32]



Cependant, il est aussi imaginable que ces refrains ne soient choisis que pour une lecture silencieuse et musicale de la chanson alors recouverte de paroles pieuses 'exorcisant' toutes les fautes possibles,[33] selon un principe de substitution semblable à celui que le trouvère Adam de la Halle utilise dans le texte entre Eve la pécheresse et Marie la Salvatrice.[34]

Le répertoire de chansons populaires profite aussi de cette technique de centonisation qui facilite la mémorisation. Cependant, les indices restent difficiles à trouver puisque l'interprétation de ce répertoire était essentiellement orale. Les premiers recueils notés de chansons dites populaires ont été réalisés à la fin du XVe siècle. Ils présentent une compilation significative de chansons de tradition orale dans lesquelles sont repérables les procédés de centonisation. Par exemple, la chanson *Adieu mes amours* comprend les phrases mélodiques juxtaposées mais dans un ordre différent de la chanson *Ils sont bien pelés*.[35] Il est ainsi possible de déceler dans les chansons des formules-types qui prouvent la construction orale de l'œuvre et il est possible d'en déduire que ces procédés traditionnels étaient déjà en usage à l'époque des trouvères.[36]

D'autres techniques utilisées à Limoges aux Xe–XIe siècles ont enrichi le répertoire liturgique. Il s'agit d'inventions poétiques puis musicales procédant par

[32] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 67. Cf. Frédéric Billiet, 'Itinéraire musical de la pastourelle de Robin et Marion de la fin du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XVIe siècle', *Reinardus: Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*, 14 (2001), 55–68.

[33] Lire le texte de Yasmina Foehr-Janssens dans ce volume sur l'histoire poétique du péché.

[34] Lire Anna Drzewika, 'La Fonction des emprunts à la poésie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 91 (1985), 33–51, 179–200.

[35] Cf. Frédéric Billiet, 'Témoignages de la contestation normande dans les chansons du Manuscrit de Bayeux', dans les actes du colloque *La contestation du pouvoir en Normandie (Xème–XVIIIème siècle), de la revendication à la répression*, à paraître aux Presses Universitaires de Caen.

[36] Lire Henri Davenson, *Le Livre des chansons: introduction à la chanson populaire française*, Les Cahiers du Rhône (Paris: Seuil, 1977).

introduction, interpolation ou addition de nouveaux éléments textuels ou mélodiques dans l'office grégorien comme en témoigne, pour l'exemple, le *Kyrie Regnum* de l'Abbaye de Saint-Evroult.[37] Les tropes désignent aussi 'les paroles que Notker et les notkériens ont écrites sur les neumes du dernier *Alleluia* du Graduel: c'est la *prosa*, ou son diminutif la *prosula*. En un sens, les tropes sont de véritables transgressions du texte sacré puisque la parole de Dieu en latin est progressivement commentée au moyen de paroles en langue vulgaire'.[38] Le mécanisme de mise en musique d'une poésie par juxtaposition de formule ou substitution des paroles est donc déjà éprouvé en suivant le principe notkérien selon lequel à chaque mouvement de la mélodie doit correspondre une syllabe. Cette transposition textuelle peut entraîner des variantes mélodiques et une modification du caractère de la pièce. Ainsi, la célèbre séquence latine *Dies Irae* a-t-elle été transformée en danse et en chanson populaire. *J'ai vu le loup* en est un témoignage probant.[39] Il est même possible de supposer — comme cela se pratique encore à Barcelone en Espagne — que les fidèles sortant de l'office pouvaient reprendre la séquence syllabique pour la transformer en danse.

Gautier de Coinci n'ignorait sans doute pas ce mécanisme qui pouvait lui permettre de 'populariser' son message. Si la mélodie de *Roïne celestre* semble adopter la forme d'une séquence latine, les chansons *Hui enfantez fu li filz Dieu* et *Virge glorieuse* (attribution douteuse) sont respectivement les *contrafacta* des séquences *Laetabundus* et *Ave gloriosa Virginum regina*, comme nous le montrerons ci-dessous.

Ces techniques de création par tradition orale de nouveaux textes sur des formules mélodiques ou de mise en musique de textes par des formules mémorisées vont se développer au XIIIe siècle dans le théâtre médiéval et dans les cénacles des trouvères et plus particulièrement dans les Puys, à l'occasion des joutes d'improvisation ou des jeux-partis.[40] Ces procédés d'invention, groupés sous l'expression *contrafactum*, 's'observent dans nombre de cultures orales du bassin méditerranéen et dans la culture populaire actuelle'[41] et s'élargissent progressivement à la polyphonie. Au XIIIe siècle, il est possible de repérer quatre types de

[37] *Kyrie Regnum* du manuscrit de l'Abbaye de Saint-Evroult, Paris, BNF, lat. 10508, fol. 11^r^.

[38] Le Vot, *Vocabulaire*, p. 216. Voir aussi le répertoire des épîtres farcies et des jeux liturgiques.

[39] Enregistré par The Baltimore Consort, *La Rocque'n'roll*, Dorian DOR 90177.

[40] Les concours organisés par les Puys ou les corporations de jongleurs sont répandus en Picardie du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Lire Kay Brainerd Slocum, '*Confrérie*, *Bruderschaft* and Guild: The Formation of Musicians' Fraternal Organisations in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Europe', *Early Music History*, 14, (1995), 257–74.

[41] Le Vot, *Vocabulaire*, p. 66.

contrafacta — contrafacture monodique, paraphrase monodique, paraphrase polyphonique (polyphonie sur *cantus-firmus*), contrafacture polyphonique[42] — tous utilisés dans les oeuvres musicales attribuées à Gautier de Coinci.

La contrafacture monodique est reconnue lorsqu'un texte nouveau est mis en musique par adaptation d'une mélodie existante selon une technique expliquée par Aristide Quintilien.[43] Au XIIIe siècle, les interprètes choisissent les mélodies dans des répertoires aussi différents que ceux des conduits, des séquences latines, des chansons savantes ou de chansons de caractère populaire[44] même s'il est difficile de distinguer, *a posteriori*, l'origine sociale des deux types de chanson.

Le conduit (*conductus simplex*), par sa simplicité et son syllabisme, est propice à la création de nouveaux textes. Le premier emploi du mot conduit en langue profane reviendrait à Gautier de Coinci qui le cite dans sa chanson *Qui que face rotruenge nouvele* (vers 12–13): '*Tant com vivrai, chasqu'an il doi de rente / Par fine amour chançonnete ou conduit*', ce qui lui donne l'occasion de rimer avec conduit et déduit (vers 13–14–15). Gautier semble donc avoir été le premier à employer le mot français 'conduit' pour traduire le latin *conductus*, de *cumducere*, littéralement 'mené avec', qui désignait un chant dont le rythme clair permettait à toute la procession de marcher du même pas.[45] A partir de 1225, le conduit figure déjà dans les énumérations de musique profane comme en témoigne *Le Roman de la Violette*: 'Cil jugleor vielent lais / Et sons et notes et conduis' (vv. 3086–87).[46]

L'Oeuvre conservé de Gautier de Coinci comprend quelques *contrafacta* de conduits: *Ma viele*[47] est le *contrafactum* du conduit monodique *O Maria, o felix*

[42] Les expressions retenues sont conformes aux propositions du *Dictionnaire de la musique*, tome II: *Les hommes et leurs œuvres, L-Z*, éd. par Marc Honegger (Paris: Bordas, 1970), p. 755.

[43] Aristide Quintilien, *Institutio oratoria*, IX, 2, 35: 'nomen ductum a canticis ad aliorum (canticorum) similitudinem modulatis'.

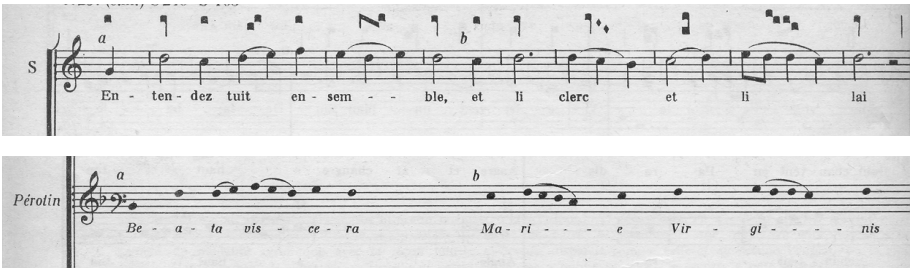
[44] Les mélodies sont probablement choisies en fonction de la structure, des mètres et des sonorités du texte poétique à mettre en musique.

[45] S'appuyant sur un passage du *De speculatione musice* de Walter Odington, Bryan Gillinghamp doute de l'aspect fonctionnel du *conductus* en tant que chant de conduite. Selon lui, il proviendrait du raccourcissement ou de la compression de la séquence. Cette dernière, au lieu d'être donnée par un chante-avant et un chœur en alternance ou en ronde (*rotabilis vel circumductus*), serait chantée de façon à développer deux mélodies, procédant ensemble pour former un conduit. Bryan Gillingham, 'A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus', *Musical Quarterly*, 75.1 (1991), 59–73 (p. 59).

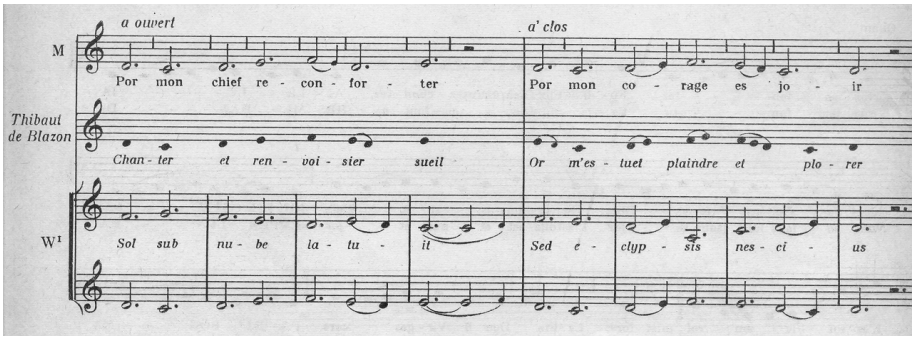
[46] Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers*, ed. by Douglas Labaree Buffum (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1928).

[47] Enregistré par Azéma, *Etoile du Nord*.

puerpera mais il s'agit de concordances métriques; *Entendez tuit ensemble, et li clerc et li lai* dans sa version monodique est construite sur la mélodie du *Beata viscera* de Pérotin[48] comme le prouve cette superposition des mélodies:[49]



Jacques Chailley constate aussi une similitude partielle entre la première partie de *Talens m'est pris orendroit*, et le conduit *Ave virgo sapiens et matura*.[50] Enfin, il ne faut pas omettre de citer que la chanson *Pour mon chief reconforter* est le *contrafactum* de *Chanter et renvoisier sueil* de Thibaut de Blason (†1229). Or, cette mélodie est probablement le *contrafactum* de la *vox principalis (cantus-firmus)* du conduit latin à deux voix de l'école Notre-Dame *Sol sub nube latuit* ou de sa version française de Gautier de Châtillon (Walter of Châtillons). La transcription de Jacques Chailley[51] présente donc de haut en bas: (1) la chanson monodique de Gautier copiée dans le manuscrit conservé à Paris, BNF, fr. 2163; (2) la chanson de Thibaut de Blason; (3) le conduit latin, la *vox principalis* étant notée sur la portée inférieure:



[48] Enregistré par l'ensemble Anonymous 4, *La bele marie*, Harmonia Mundi 907312; et par The Harp Consort, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, Harmonia Mundi 907317: conduit à 2 voix.

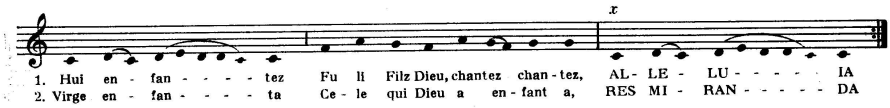
[49] Transcription de Chailley dans *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 148.

[50] *Annalecta Hymnyca* 45 b, n°60.

[51] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 154.

Cet exemple montre clairement que la tradition orale marque une préférence pour certaines mélodies modèles propices à l'adaptation. Il semble que le créateur de ces polyphonies ne disposait pas d'une grande liberté pour superposer les textes. Jérôme de Moravie insistera sur les contraintes verticales: 'Cependant le conduit est un chant consonnant complexe construit sur un même mètre, et qui reçoit aussi des consonances secondaires.'[52] On peut donc encore s'interroger sur l'acte de composer et préférer parler d'une démarche entre l'improvisation et la composition, ou comme le suggère Margaret Bent[53] un geste entre le 'plus ou moins composé'.

Certaines séquences latines célèbres se prêtent aussi au procédé de la contrafacture mélodique.[54] *Hui enfantez* est le *contrafactum* de la séquence *Laetabundus* de la messe de noël et dont chaque vers conserve la finale en 'farcissure' latine.



La musique du lai *Virge glorieuse*[55] est identique à celle de la séquence *Ave gloriosa Virginum regina* de Philippe le Chancelier, modèle du lai pieux français.

Le répertoire populaire garde encore des traces de pièces latines adaptées en français et les enfants de quelques villages de Picardie chantent toujours à Pâques, de ferme en ferme, le chant de quête *O fils des fils*, *contrafactum* du *O filii* grégorien.[56] La technique, dite du 'timbre', s'est probablement développée à partir de ces pratiques traditionnelles à la portée des enfants.

La contrafacture monodique pouvait aussi être réalisée à partir de chansons de trouvères mais avec de nouvelles paroles pieuses. C'est le cas le plus fréquent rencontré dans l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci puisque neuf sur vingt chansons pieuses correspondent à ce cas de figure. On peut citer par exemple: *Puisque voi la fleur novele*, *contrafactum* de *Au tens gent que reverdoie* de Gautier de Dargies ou de

[52] Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorium de musica meddii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum editit*, 4 vols (Paris: Durand, 1864), I: *Discantus positio vulgaris*, p. 96.

[53] Dans son article sur le *Res Facta* (New Grove, 2001).

[54] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 153.

[55] Ce lai n'est pas clairement attribuable à Gautier de Coinci. Jacques Chailley le considère comme apocryphe. Cf. *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 59.

[56] Enregistré par Les Ménestriers picards, *La vie musicale en Picardie au temps des Puys*, Cybélia CY 885.

Gontier de Soignies et *Amors, qui seit bien enchanter* (Sainte Leocadia en 1219), *contrafactum* de *Sour cest rivage* comme le rappelle Karen Duys dans sa remarquable communication.

Claire Couderc[57] signale avec pertinence que la chanson 20 du Cycle de Sainte Leochade — *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit* (I Ch 45) — se trouve dans cinq sources manuscrites parmi lesquelles figure une version qui utilise la mélodie de la chanson 21 — *Seur cest rivage* — trahissant peut être ce principe du *contrafactum* improvisé dont le copiste ne retiendrait qu'une des nombreuses versions possibles.

Le deuxième type de contrafacture, la paraphrase monodique, suppose à la fois un texte nouveau et certaines transformations mélodiques obéissant à des besoins de variation ou d'ornementation des notes importantes.[58] En voici quelques exemples:

Quant ces floretes florir voi, paraphrase de Vielart de Corbie, *De chanter me semant Amours*;

Qui que face rotruenge novele, paraphrase de Blondel de Nesle, *Bien doit chanter cui fine Amours adrece*;

Pour la pucele en chantant me deport, paraphrase d'une chanson profane de mal d'amour anonyme — *Destrois d'amours et pensis sanz deport* — transformée en chanson pieuse.[59] Cette mélodie est reprise par Pierre de Molins ou Gace Brulé, *Chanter me fet ce dont je crien morir*;

D'une amor coie et série, paraphrase de Gilles de Maisons, *Je chant, c'est mout mauvais signes*, le *contrafactum* étant plus rigoureux dans la deuxième partie;

Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee,[60] paraphrase de Blondel de Nesle, *Il plus se plaint d'Amours mai je n'os dire,* le *contrafactum* étant plus rigoureux dans la deuxième partie.

La paraphrase polyphonique (polyphonie sur *cantus-firmus*), troisième type de contrafacture, s'apparente à la précédente mais dans une version polyphonique. Le chant emprunté, doté d'un texte nouveau et de variations, reçoit une deuxième voix. Les mélodies syllabiques de conduits se prêtaient idéalement à ce traitement polyphonique car leur rythmique aidait aussi deux chanteurs ou plus à rester

[57] Couderc, *Le Cycle de Sainte Léochade*, p. 76.

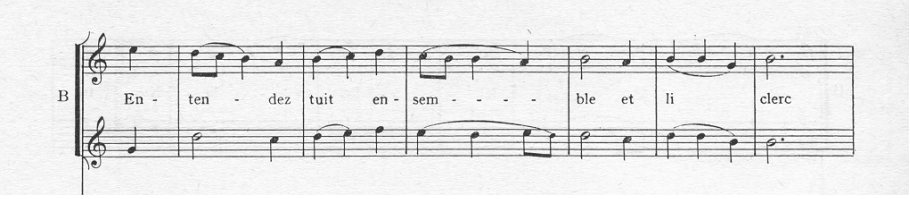
[58] Lorsque cette ornementation n'est ni mécanique ni systématique, on parle de paraphrase, en se référant toujours à Quintilien qui mentionne la paraphrase comme étant la transposition de certains topiques des vers à la prose dans un but pédagogique (I, 9, 2).

[59] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 51.

[60] Enregistré par Azéma, *Etoile du Nord*.

ensemble même s'ils chantaient des mélodies différentes. 'Pour obtenir un *conductus*, écrit Francon de Cologne dans son *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (*c.* 1280), il est besoin premièrement de choisir une belle mélodie, la plus belle qu'il se pourra. On ajoutera ensuite une mélodie (le déchant) en prenant garde d'une part à leur valeur propre et d'autre part aux consonances entre les voix.'[61]

Gautier aurait ainsi composé vers 1220 deux conduits, quasiment similaires, à deux voix dont le cantus firmus n'est autre que la mélodie du *conductus simplex Beata viscera* de Pérotin[62] précédemment citée: *Entendez tuit ensemble, et il clerc et il lai*[63] qui existe en contrafacture monodique et *De la sainte Leochade.* La voix de déchant de ce conduit est copiée dans cinq manuscrits. Voici la transcription du manuscrit de Bruxelles, BR, 10747:[64]



Il faut aussi citer *Amors, dont sui espris*, à deux voix, *contrafactum* de *Amours dont sui espris M'efforce de chanter* de Blondel de Nesle, auquel Gautier ou le copiste aurait ajouté le déchant du *Purgator criminum* d'un motet anonyme à trois voix.[65] Là encore, la création musicale procède plus de l'assemblage et Jean de Grouchy distinguera cette *musica canonica* qui suit les règles des consonances, de la *musica composita*, véritable construction polyphonique.

Enfin, la contrafacture polyphonique est la simple adaptation d'une polyphonie d'un texte à un autre. La chanson *Hui matin a l'ajornee* de Gautier est un *contrafactum* de la voix supérieure du motet *Hier matin a l'enjournee*, contrafacture polyphonique de deux des voix d'une clausule d'organum à 3 voix de l'école Notre-Dame sur le *cantus-firmus Benedicamus Domino* du 5e mode. Ainsi, la mélodie du *Benedicamus Domino*:[66]

[61] Coussemaker, *Scriptorium de musica meddii aevi*, I, 132.

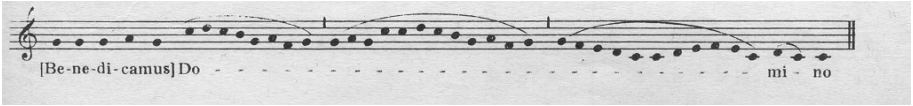
[62] Enregistré par Anonymous 4, *La bele marie*.

[63] Enregistré par The Harp Consort, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*.

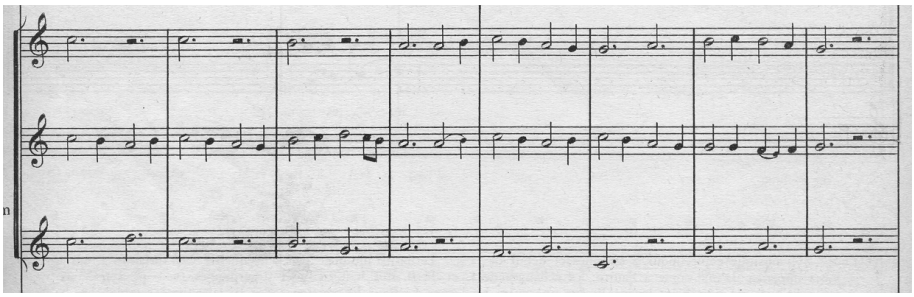
[64] Transcription de Chailley dans *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 71.

[65] Lire l'étude de Chailley dans *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 52. Oeuvre enregistrée par The Harp Consort, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*.

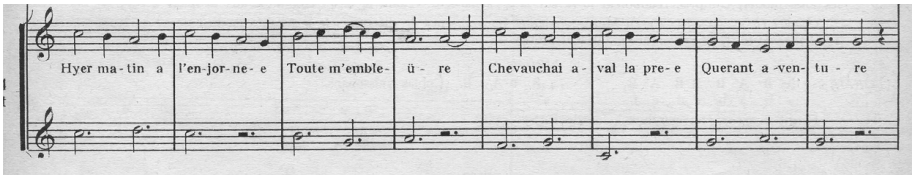
[66] Montage à partir des transcriptions de Chailley dans *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 138.



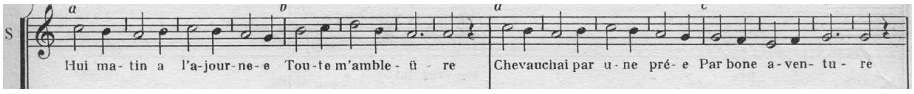
devient le *cantus-firmus* (voix inférieure mesurée) d'une clausule d'organum à trois voix:



dont les deux voix inférieures seront empruntés pour réaliser un motet à deux voix.



'La pastourelle *Hyer matin a l'enjournee* apporte un mélodieux contrepoint au plain-chant du *Benedicamus Domino [. . .]*. Isolant ce déchant de la teneur latine, Gautier en a fait aussi une pièce monodique dont il a habilement conçu les paroles religieuses d'après celles de la chanson profane':[67]



Cette étude confirme donc les impressions de Jacques Chailley parlant du rôle effacé de Gautier en tant que compositeur 'car il semble s'en être toujours tenu aux *contrafacta* de mélodies existantes'.[68] Cependant, le fait de replacer les *contrafacta* dans un système de composition vocale, incontournable au XIIIe siècle, permet de relativiser cette assertion dans la mesure où les manuscrits ne témoignent pas réellement du talent musical des trouvères. A cette époque, 'le

[67] Lawrence-King, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, p. 18.

[68] *Les chansons à la Vierge*, éd. par Chailley, p. 21.

statut de l'écrit oscille entre archivage, soutien de la mémoire et base de l'oralisation'[69] une sorte d'oralité mixte où 'les sujets lisent — et conçoivent — les textes à travers une grille fournie par la tradition orale'.[70] C'est la distinction entre deux traditions d'interprétations différentes que Joseph Duggan[71] formule clairement: la performance vocale comme une recherche de continuité dans la tradition, d'une part, et la composition vocale qui serait la création d'un texte de mémoire, sous-tendu par un système d'improvisation, d'autre part.

Les études conjointes des ethnomusicologues, des musicologues et des interprètes montrent que les notations du XIIIe siècle ne sont pas prescriptives et qu'une large part de liberté est laissée aux chanteurs, et donc à la composition vocale. Nous avons rappelé combien les techniques de centonisation éprouvées par les chantres, comme l'art de la contrafacture, participent d'une construction évolutive dans un 'véritable système s'appuyant sur des formules qui serait un véritable outil mémoriel'.[72]

Les trouvères sont donc des interprètes et les copistes ont certainement opéré des choix délicats, en fonction des commanditaires et des usages locaux, pour ne retenir que le canevas sonore[73] d'une version particulièrement adaptée. Dans la plupart des cas, les versions mélodiques retenues pour les poèmes de Gautier de Coinci manifestent un réel respect de la prosodie. Ce virtuose de la contrafacture littéraire semble, selon les termes d'Andrew Lawrence-King, avoir savouré 'un plaisir physique à former des sons avec la voix d'un poète-chanteur'.[74] Le poète-chanteur joue avec la musique de la langue — *cantus obscurior* — et n'a pas de difficulté à juxtaposer des formules bien adaptées pour rendre une cantillation naturelle plus mélodique ou à gloser par les moyens de la musique. Comme le démontre Gérard Le Vot dans son article sur le processus de création au Moyen Age, 'l'art de la *prononciatio* aidait au souple processus de la re-composition ornementale, soit que le chantre portât son attention au sens des mots et à leurs

[69] Couderc, *Le Cycle de Sainte Léochade*, p. 27.

[70] Paul Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), p. 243.

[71] Joseph Duggan, 'Oral Performance of Romance in Medieval France', dans *Continuations: Essays in Medieval French Literature and Language in Honor of John Grigsby*, éd. par Norris J. Lacy et Gloria Torrini-Roblin (Birmingham, AL: Summa, 1989), pp. 49–63.

[72] Couderc, *Le Cycle de Sainte Léochade*, p. 20.

[73] William Tallotte (Paris-Sorbonne) qui travaille actuellement sur le répertoire du hautbois nagasvaram (Inde du Sud), parle aussi de squelette sonore pour la notation Sagam à partir de laquelle les instrumentistes doivent improviser les ornements spécifiques.

[74] Lawrence-King, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, p. 19.

accents, soit qu'il marquât les pauses du discours afin de segmenter le flux mélodique'.[75]

Ainsi, s'appuyant sur les sources et sur les travaux récents de chercheurs intéressés par la transmission orale de la musique médiévale, 'les instrumentistes des temps modernes ont — ils reconstitué toute une panoplie de techniques d'improvisation. L'emploi du bourdon, du mouvement par quartes et quintes parallèles, du déchant improvisé, des formules de cadence et de l'hétérophonie (présentation simultanée de différentes versions de la même mélodie de base) confère aussitôt une riche texture à un air monodique'.[76] Les recherches menées par d'éminents musicologues ont donc permis d'interpréter autrement les oeuvres de Gautier de Coinci et les enregistrements récents méritent d'être écoutés.[77] Mais chacun sait que ce qui est ajouté à la mélodie, et que nul ne peut formellement attribuer à Gautier de Coinci, est un véritable acte de composition qui pourrait être réitéré sur d'autres poèmes pour lesquelles aucune notation musicale ne nous est parvenue.

Les trouvères ne sont donc pas des compositeurs au sens moderne du terme car la notion d'invention personnelle n'existe sans doute pas et parce qu'ils participent plus de la mise en musique d'un texte par des processus d'improvisation que de la recherche à 'com-poser' des textes au sens de les superposer dans une forme plus élaborée comme celle du motet. Pour certains d'entre eux, nous conservons des manuscrits avec des notations musicales et ils sont alors considérés comme des compositeurs tandis que d'autres, moins bien servis par les copistes ne seraient que des poètes. Cette injustice traduit ici le passage de l'oral à l'écrit, du 'plus ou moins composé au composé'. Le statut de compositeur commence seulement à se profiler lorsque certains auteurs, comme Guiraut Ricquier, expriment des plaintes contre certains jongleurs qui, par leur incompétence à improviser, dénaturent l'œuvre à transmettre. Mais c'est lorsqu'il prendra conscience des possibilités de réflexion et d'action sur le devenir musical que le compositeur s'affirmera.

Or, les œuvres de Gautier de Coinci gardent cette appartenance au monde de l'oralité, même dans ses polyphonies qui auraient pu faire de lui un des premiers maîtres dans l'art de la *musica composita* telle que la définira Jean de Grouchy. En effet, la conduite des voix répond encore aux exigences des règles de consonances — *musica canonica* — qui s'imposent aux interprètes lorsqu'ils improvisent en

[75] Gérard Le Vot, 'Apprentissage coutumier, processus de création et technique vocale au Moyen Age', *Analyse musicale*, 19 (1990), 62–71 (p. 63).

[76] Lawrence-King, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, p. 20, traduction d'Isabelle Demmery.

[77] Voir liste infra.

cantus super librum. Le trouvère pressent peut-être les potentialités de l'écriture pour 'intellectualiser, représenter des sons dans un espace graphique qui va permettre au musicien de prévoir de façon rigoureuse le devenir sonore'[78] mais il reste poète-chanteur alors que la musique s'émancipe de la puissance des mots. Le trouvère, 'homme de mots, tend à s'effacer pour laisser la place au musicien homme de sons et au compositeur homme de nombre'.[79]

[78] Le Vot, 'Apprentissage coutumier', p. 71.

[79] Le Vot, 'Apprentissage coutumier', p. 71. Gérard Le Vot applique cette formule au chantre.

Liste récapitulative des *contrafacta* de Gautier de Coinci d'après le travail de Jacques Chailley, *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci* (Paris: Heugel, 1959), complété par les notices du New Grove et du RISM (R). Les enregistrements disponibles sont indiqués.

Amors, dont sui espris (de chanter), 1/2vv, R.1546
[*contrafactum* de Blondel de Nesle, *Amours dont sui espris* (m'efforce), R.1545]

Amors, qui seit bien enchanter, R.851
[*contrafactum* de *Sour cest rivage*]
The Harp Consort, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, Harmonia Mundi 907317

De sainte Leocade, 1/2vv, R.12
[*contrafactum* de Pérotin, *Beata viscera*]; Anonymous 4
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*, conduit à deux voix

D'un amor coie et série, R.1212
[*contrafactum* de Gilles de Maisons, *Je chant, c'est mout mauvais signes*, R.1356]
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*

Entendez tuit ensemble, et il clerc et il lai, 1/2vv, R.83
[*contrafactum* de Pérotin, *Beata viscera*]; Anonymous 4
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*

Esforcier m'estuet ma voiz, R.1836
Diabolus in musica, *Rosarius*, CD Studio SM

Hui enfantez fu li filz Dieu, R.9246
[*contrafactum*: séquence *Laetabundus*]
Diabolus in musica, *Musica Magna*, CD Studio SM

Hui matin a l'ajornee, R.491a
[*contrafactum* de *Hier matin a l'enjournee*, motet 764]
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*; 14: conductus; 15: motet

Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee, R.520
[paraphrase de Blondel de Nesle, *Il plus se plaint d'Amours mai je n'os dire*, R.1495]
Anne Azéma, *Etoile du Nord*, Calliope 9525

Las! las! las! las! par grant delit, R.1644
Les musiciens de Provence, *Musique des trouvères et troubadours*, Arion ARN 68064

Ma viele, R.617a
[*contrafactum*: conduit monodique, *O Maria, o felix puerpera*]
Anne Azéma, *Etoile du Nord*
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*
E. Bonnardot, *Guillaume de Machaut et l'art des trouvères*, Calliope 9308
Guillaume de Machaut

Pour conforter mon cuer et mon coraige, R.20
[*contrafactum* textuel de Guilhem de Cabestanh, *Mout m'alegra douza vos*, PC 213.7; modèle pour Alfonso le Sabio, *Coma Deus é comprida Trinidade*]

Pour la pucele en chantant me deport, R.1930
[paraphrase sur: Pierre de Molins ou Gace Brulé, *Chanter me fet ce dont je crien morir* R.1429; anon., *Destrois d'amours et pensis sanz deport*, R.1932]

Pour mon chief reconforter, R.885
[*contrafactum* de Châtillon *Sol sub nube latuit*; Thibaut de Blason, *Chanter et renvoisier seuil*, R.1001]

Puisque voi la fleur novele, R.600
[*contrafactum* de Gautier de Dargies ou Gontier de Soignies, *Au tens gent que reverdoie,* R.1753]
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*.

Quant ces floretes florir voi, R.1677
[*contrafactum* de Vielart de Corbie, *De chanter me semant Amours*, R.2030]
The Harp Consort, *Miracles* (instrumental)

Qui que face rotruenge novele, R.603
[*contrafactum* de Blondel de Nesle, *Bien doit chanter cui fine Amours adrece*, R.482]

Roïne celestre, R.956; ed. in MGG 1
The Harp Consort, *Miracles*

Sour cest rivage, a ceste crois, R.1831
[*contrafactum* de *Amours qui set*]

Talens m'est pris orendroit, R.1845
[*contrafactum* du conduit monodique, *Ave virgo sapiens*]
The Harp Consort, *Miracles* (instrumental)

Enregistrements cités

The Harp Consort, *Miracles of Notre-Dame*, Harmonia Mundi 907317
Anne Azéma, *Etoile du Nord*, Calliope 9525
Les musiciens de Provence, *Musique des trouvères et troubadours*, Arion ARN 68064
Anonymous 4, *La bele marie*, Harmonia Mundi 907312
Diabolus in musica, *Rosarius*, Studio SM
Diabolus in musica, *Musica Magna*, Studio SM
Diabolus in musica, *Cantus firmus*, Enchiriadis EN 2005
ensemble Organum, *Le jeu des pèlerins d'Emmaüs*, Harmonia Mundi 901347
The Renaissance Players, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Walsingham classics
Le concert dans l'œuf, *Carmina Burana*, coll. romane
Les Ménestriers picards, *La vie musicale en Picardie au temps des Puys*, Cybélia CY 885
The Baltimore Consort, *La Rocque'n'roll*, Dorian DOR 90177
E. Bonnardot, *Guillaume de Machaut et l'art des trouvères*, Calliope 9308

L'Interprétation musicale du *Cycle de sainte Léocade*

Claire Chamiyé Couderc

Abstract

A cycle of three songs that appears at the end of the first book of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), the Cycle of St Leocadia, is contained in six manuscripts with musical notation (Brussels, BR, 10747 (B); Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 (D); Paris, BNF, fr. 22928 (L); Paris, BNF, fr. 25532 (N); St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIX 9 (R); Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (S)), all produced in the north of France in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Gautier's work reveals an author keen to break with tradition and to offer a message accessible to the largest possible public. This article will examine what motivated Gautier's break with tradition and the musical consequences of his choice, for in fact, the compositional context of the *MND* offers answers relevant to the configuration of the melodies, their transmission, and their interpretation. In particular, the comparison of the musical variants both demonstrates the lively dialogue between the oral and written traditions and allows us to highlight an improvisational system based on the medieval performer's memory.

Introduction

Le but de cette communication est de s'interroger sur l'interprétation, entre oralité et écriture, des œuvres médiévales profanes en s'appuyant sur les contingences musicales et historiques particulières à une époque précise et un lieu déterminé. Avec Gautier de Coinci, abbé de Saint-Médard de Soissons en Picardie émerge la veine féconde des chants à la Vierge, qui influencera aussi bien Rutebuef qu'Alphonse le Sage. Le *Cycle de sainte Léocade* est extrait des *Miracles*

de Nostre Dame (*MND*). Composé de trois chansons évoquant la sainte, il est contenu dans six manuscrits avec musique (Bruxelles, BR, 10747 (B); Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 (D); Paris, BNF, fr. 22928 (L); Paris, BNF, fr. 25532 (N); Saint-Pétersbourg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIX 9 (R); Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (S)), tous rédigés dans le Nord de la France, entre le XIIIe et le début du XIVe siècle.[1]

Nous serons amenés à nous interroger sur trois points: qu'est-ce qui pousse Gautier à rompre avec la tradition de son temps, c'est-à-dire, à écrire son œuvre en français? Quelles sont les conséquences de son contexte sur la configuration des mélodies? Et enfin, que peut-on en conclure quant à l'interprétation des mélodies à l'époque?

Qu'est-ce qui pousse Gautier à rompre avec la tradition de son temps?

Gautier et sa famille au sein de l'abbaye de Saint-Médard de Soissons

La chronique de Saint-Médard de Soissons,[2] qui est la source principale pour connaître des éléments biographiques sur notre auteur, mentionne les dates principales de la vie de Gautier de Coinci. Cette chronique du monastère aurait été écrite par son parent, Gobert de Coinci, moine de Saint-Médard également, venu après sa profession et son ordination le 3 novembre 1223, résider avec Gautier au prieuré de Vic.[3]

Gautier serait né en 1177 ou 1178 au village de Coinci à la limite du Tardenois et de l'Orxois. En 1193, à l'âge de 15 ou 16 ans, il entre au monastère de Soissons où il reçoit son apprentissage de son oncle, le prieur Gui. En août 1214, Gautier devient prieur de Vic-sur-Aisne, que l'abbaye possédait depuis 1194. C'est là-bas qu'il rédigea, en 1218, le premier livre des *MND*, à partir d'un manuscrit latin de la bibliothèque. Il achève le second livre vers 1227. Il revient à Saint-Médard de Soissons comme prieur claustral le 19 juin 1233 et meurt le 25 septembre 1236.

Gautier est issu de la noblesse du Soissonnais. Il semble avoir été en contact avec différents milieux: les cours du comte Raoul III,[4] de la comtesse de Blois, et

[1] Pour une discussion des manuscrits et leur datation, voir la contribution d'Alison Stones dans le présent volume.

[2] Paris, BNF, lat. 4998.

[3] Denis Defente, *Saint-Médard, trésors d'une abbaye royale* (Soissons: Somogy, 1996), p. 157. Cet ouvrage mentionne également les noms de Jérôme de Coinci, prieur puis abbé jusqu'en 1270, Pierre de Coincy qui aurait été prévôt et aumônier de la prévôté de Marizy vers 1275–76 puis procureur des moines de Saint-Médard. Cf. p. 164.

[4] Le prologue du Miracle 22 du livre II nous révèle les liens entre Gautier et l'épouse de Raoul III:

des religieux tels Berthe, l'abbesse de Fontevrault, Raoul de Saint-Éloi de Noyon, Robert de Dive, prieur de Saint-Blaise de Reims, puis abbé de Saint-Éloi après Raoul en 1230. C'est lui qui se chargeait vraisemblablement de la reproduction et de l'enluminure des manuscrits.[5]

La majeure partie des œuvres de Gautier de Coinci est signée: *Il prior de Vi*, ce qui les situe entre les années 1214 et 1233. Pour Chailley, Gautier se situe dans l'épanouissement de la lyrique des trouvères. Il serait le contemporain du Vidame de Chartres, de Bouchart de Marli, Roger d'Andeli, et Colin Muset.

Le *Cycle de sainte Léocade* comprend 2000 vers et trois chansons. Il est inspiré d'un 'fait réel' dont Gautier aurait été témoin, le vol des reliques de la sainte, conservées au monastère — précédé, chez Gautier, d'une vision du diable quelques nuits avant le drame — et retrouvées dans la rivière trois jours plus tard. Elles auraient été replacées à grands renforts de pompe et de processions, par l'abbé Milon de Bazoches, entre le 21 et le 25 mai 1219.

Le contexte

L'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci, qui a vécu sous le règne de Philippe Auguste, porte les marques des événements qui ont transformé la société. Ceux d'ordre religieux[6] en constituent le cadre le plus large, en particulier le conflit entre la tradition monastique et l'émergence de la pensée des écoles, telles l'école de Saint-Victor, l'école de Chartres et le mouvement cistercien. Ce conflit aboutit au renouvellement des méthodes théologiques.

L'émergence des ordres mendiants va accentuer la rupture entre les familles 'traditionnelles', auxquelles appartient Gautier, et les nouveaux ordres religieux,

Que la contesse Ade m'en prie
De Soissons, qui mout est m'amie
Et qui mout aimme de cuer fin
La mere Dieu, qui bonne fin
Il daint donner et bone vie,
Et mes cuers plus tost s'i raplie
Pour ce qu'avinrent a Soissons,
Ou me norri de ses poissonz,
De ses flaons et de ses miches
Mesire sainz Maars il riches. II Mir 22, vv. 15–24

[5] Defente, *Saint-Médard*, p. 157.

[6] Nous empruntons ces informations à l'article dont l'auteur n'est pas mentionné 'Gautier de Coinci dans son époque: quelques repères chronologiques', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 7–10.

qui s'implantent dans les villes. Ceux-ci utiliseront des moyens de communication à la fois intellectuels et populaires, allant jusqu'à s'imprégner des techniques des jongleurs. Le succès de ces familles modernes est lié également à la dévotion à la Vierge[7] et à l'utilisation de la langue des laïcs. Ces deux éléments sont les points communs aux deux traditions monastiques.

Ce rapprochement n'atténue pas cependant les contrastes. Beaussart remarque que, contrairement aux ordres mendiants, 'loin d'accorder une valeur quelconque à la vie séculière, même placée sous la protection de la Vierge Marie, Gautier de Coinci porte sur celle-ci un jugement pour le moins négatif et survalorise la vie monacale au moment même où cette dernière, tout au moins dans sa conception traditionnelle, se voit forcée de composer avec le siècle'.[8]

C'est la raison pour laquelle Gautier, en faisant la promotion de la vie ecclésiastique à travers les thèmes classiques du mariage mystique et de la purification de l'âme et du corps, en vient à élaborer un véritable catalogue de toutes les fautes possibles: adultères, grossesses illégitimes, déflorations, mutilations, suicides, incestes, infanticides, etc. L'unique réponse, fil rouge de toute l'œuvre, est la dévotion à la Vierge.

Ce descriptif minutieux s'inscrit dans un mouvement de transformation en profondeur de la société contemporaine. La révolution des villes et de leur organisation a déjà été maintes fois remarquée. Notons simplement l'évolution du statut des corps de métier qui renvoie aujourd'hui un prisme complexe de la période. D'après Spangenberg, une organisation nouvelle, que Gautier critique vigoureusement, succède aux trois ordres féodaux. Haut et bas clergé, médecins, marchands, avocats, banquiers prennent place dans les récits de Gautier, au même titre que les anciennes catégories sociales de la chevalerie et de la paysannerie.

> Il y avait toute une gamme de professions nouvelles qui, critiquées par Gautier, exigeaient des structures d'éducation nouvelles et en partie sécularisées. Pour les habitants, elle est

[7] 'Figure idéale de femme et de mère, substitut chrétien des héroïnes féminines issues du folklore païen et des romans courtois, la Vierge Marie — Notre Dame — va rapidement devenir un personnage majeur de l'imaginaire médiéval et de la religion catholique. Les dominicains et les franciscains vont développer les pratiques liturgiques en son honneur et propager son culte parmi le peuple, pour qui elle constituait déjà un personnage familier, en instituant un certain nombre de célébrations officielles: chandeleur, fêtes de l'annonciation. Marie devient à la fois l'objet de d'un culte fervent et un modèle de vie, notamment pour les jeunes filles.' François-Jérôme Beaussart dans *Miracles et mystères: la littérature religieuse au nord de la France*, textes présentés et trans. par François-Jérôme Beaussart, Micheline de Combarieu du Grès et Jean Subrenat (Troesnes: Corps 9, 1989), p. 17.

[8] Beaussart, *Miracles et mystères*, p. 44.

> une unité sociale qui se manifeste dans une administration et une défense communes et par des bâtiments comme le beffroi qui, à l'aide d'un rythme sécularisé du temps, servait à organiser la vie quotidienne. Elle attire et forme des mouvements religieux nouveaux qui ne s'organisent plus dans les limites des paroisses mais qui prennent en charge toute une ville. Nous y trouvons des organisations de coopérations qui, à la suite des structures socio-économiques dans les quartiers, regroupent souvent les gens d'un même métier.[9]

Spangenberg estime ainsi que le public des *MND* de Gautier se concentre dans la ville. Devenue un lieu de communication dominante, à travers la place du jongleur, elle pousse Gautier à interpréter la réalité sociale contemporaine et place d'emblée son œuvre en concurrence avec la littérature courtoise, qu'il va à la fois imiter et critiquer.

Gautier opère une substitution d'images. De la 'haute' dame des troubadours à la 'plus haute dans le ciel', il fait sien ce mouvement classique et triomphal qui va d'Ève, la pécheresse, à Marie, la salvatrice, mordant en quelque sorte sur les conceptions théologiques de la rédemption christique. Le début de ses chansons, l'évocation initiale de la nature du type 'pastourelle', l'appel au maître amour, l'attente délicatement ordonnée de la révélation du nom de la Dame, sont autant de techniques de 'polémique allusive', décrites par Drzewicka,[10] et qui placent Gautier en concurrence avec les poètes urbains de l'amour profane.

Le but de Gautier

Nous souhaiterions caractériser brièvement les œuvres en fonction de leur but. Gautier utilise le terme de 'miracles' comme titre des récits, miracles dont il se fait l'informateur, propageant et transmettant un savoir 'collectif'. La position du 'vécu' renforce la fonction de ces derniers, preuve divine de la sainteté et des vertus du candidat lors du procès de canonisation. Lorsque Gautier décrit 'Comment sainte Leochade fu perdu', il montre la protection divine de la sainte en insérant des exemples bibliques:[11]

[9] Peter Michael Spangenberg, 'Transformations du savoir et ambivalences fonctionnelles: aspects de la fascination hagiographique chez Gautier de Coinci', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 11–32 (p. 20).

[10] Anna Drzewicka, 'La Fonction des emprunts à la poésie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci, 2', *Le Moyen Âge*, 91 (1985), 179–200 (p. 180).

[11] Marie-Odile Bodenheimer, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'art et du style de Gautier de Coinci dans les Miracles de Nostre-Dame' (thèse de 3e cycle, Université de Paris IV, 1985), p. 532.

Glacie iert et eschapee
A cialz qui l'avoient hapee.
Qui bien parfondement i garde
De il fu cil custode et garde
Qui par trois jors garda sanz painne
Jonam ou ventre la balainne
Et qui garde en terre et en mer
Toz cialz qui le veillent amer. I Mir. 44, vv. 241–48

Il fait de même pour décrire la joie d'avoir retrouvé les reliques:

Luez c'om m'en eut noveles dites,
Toz raveschi mes esperites
Tout ausi com a Jacob fist
Quant Ruben il noça et dist
Que Joseph ert sires d'Egypte. I Mir. 44, vv. 287–91

Les exemples bibliques sont parmi les moyens courants de l'époque pour amplifier les effets d'un discours 'édifiant'. D'autre part, Léocade est placée en filiation divine de la Vierge. Beaussart la décrit comme 'figure complémentaire à celle de Marie, mais surtout emblématique des obsessions de Gautier de Coinci': féminité et virginité. 'Refusant tout compromis, celui-ci, en effet, voue le corps de la femme à la souffrance, lui déniant toute possibilité d'existence dans le monde.'[12]

La fonction de propagation d'un savoir collectif du miracle chez Gautier, qui rend visible la sainteté et l'accès au divin du personnage principal, est servie par différentes voix. Ainsi Cerquiglini met en relief les inspirations populaires des récits de Gautier:

> Les textes latins qui ont servi de source à Gautier [. . .], laissent voir en transparence leur propre origine: la mouvance des contes appartenant à la culture populaire et folklorique, dont on sait qu'elle est une source plus vigoureuse encore de la littérature française et cléricale du XIIIe siècle. La belle demoiselle blonde qui, par trois fois, repoussant de sa baguette un animal furieux, sauve le vieux moine éméché qui titube par le cloître, ne nous trompe pas: c'est une fée. Cependant, dès lors que ces aventures sont énoncées au sein de la littérature de langue vulgaire, elles rencontrent un cadre d'énoncé qui préexiste au récit de Gautier.[13]

Ce cadre populaire se formulerait, d'après Cerquiglini, par un récit bref en vers, porté par une double tradition: le fabliau, dont les personnages, la thématique

[12] François-Jérôme Beaussart, '*D'un clerc grief malade que Nostre Dame sana*: Réflexions sur un miracle', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 34–46 (p. 44). Dans sa thèse sur la sémiotique du corps dans l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci, Beaussart relève quatre représentations du corps: le corps atteint par la maladie, le féminin et la virginité, le corps désirant, le corps priant.

[13] Bernard Cerquiglini, 'Les énonciateurs Gautier', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 68–75 (p. 69).

sexuée et la prétention moralisante ne sont pas étrangers au conte pieux; le lai, par la rencontre avec les éléments surnaturels.[14]

Une seconde voix du miracle pratiquée par Gautier de Coinci serait située dans le prologue, à travers ses deux modes principaux: l'écriture et l'oralité. L'écriture, où le clerc est l'énonciateur témoignant traditionnel, et l'oralité, déterminée par des interjections 'jongleresques' comme le montrent les formules du type: 'tenez silence, bele genz !' Pour Cerquiglini, le prologue fonctionne comme un lieu que l'on pourrait qualifier de 'convergence' — pour reprendre les termes de Zumthor — entre ces deux modes d'expression.

Le prologue du Miracle 30 du premier livre est un exemple de mode d'oralité du prologue, portée par le 'dire' et le 'voir':

> Ici aprés veil metre en brief
> Un bel myracle cort et brief.
> Assez briément le veil retraire,
> Car des autres ai mout affaire. I Mir 30, vv. 1–4

De même, le Miracle 25 du deuxième livre, où la formulation de Gautier simule ou rend particulièrement présent son public:

> Que vielt oïr vers moi se traie :
> Talenz me prent qu'encor retraie
> De la soutil phisicïenne,
> De la sage cyrurgïenne
> De Soissonz une bele cure. II Mir 25, vv. 1–5

Le prologue du Miracle 22 du deuxième livre appartient plutôt à la modalité écrite:

> Se Diex m'ait hui et demain,
> Tanz myracles me vient a main
> En un grant livre ou je les puis
> Que je ne sai ne je ne puis
> Les plus plaisanz choisir n'eslire.
> Quant a la fois repreng a lire
> Cialz qu'arriere ai entrelaissiez,
> Lors m'est avis que j'ai laissiez
> Et les meilleurs et les plus bialz.
> Or vos reveil conter de cialz
> Qu'entrelaissiez arriere avoie. II Mir 22, vv. 1–11

[14] Cerquiglini, 'Les énonciateurs', p. 69. Pour une discussion de l'utilisation des fabliaux dans les *MND*, voir la contribution de Brian Levy au présent volume.

Dans ce prologue, comme dans celui du Miracle 24 du deuxième livre, le livre en tant qu'objet décrit par Gautier, se confond avec la voix du conteur, artifice d'écriture ou réalité historique:

> Ançois que fors dou livre issonz
> Des Myracles qui a Soissonz
> Avinrent si grans et si haut
> Au tanz l'abbesse Mahaut,
> Encor deux biax vos retrairons.
> Et puis as autres nos trairons
> Au tanz qu'au saint soller[15] venoient
> De toutes pars cil qui ardoyent. II Mir 24, vv. 1–8

La troisième voix que Gautier exploite dans son œuvre, selon Cerquiglini, serait celle de la propagation en langue vulgaire du culte marial. Celle-ci se réalise, tout d'abord, par le détournement surprenant des techniques de la littérature courtoise, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné. Elle est également servie par l'usage de métaphores qui confèrent une structure affective à la narration. Bodenheimer remarque que 'les métaphores (l'"emmielee", la "sade", la "savoureuse", qui sont utilisée entre autre dans le *Cycle de sainte Léocade*) enregistrée dans une texture qualitative, sont beaucoup plus que de simples mécanismes de substitutions. Ces métaphores établissent le rapport entre le merveilleux et le cœur'.[16]

L'œuvre de Gautier surprend par ses aspects novateurs et ses techniques astucieuses de 'détournements' de la figure idéalisée de la dame courtoise. Elle s'inscrit dans un contexte de changements en profondeur de la société, où la vie monacale perd le prestige que Gautier veut lui faire retrouver et se trouve concurrencée par de nouvelles familles monastiques. Elle est une réponse, enfin, à la mission qu'un prieur responsable et aussi puissant qu'un membre de la famille de Coinci a pu se donner dans la région soissonnaise: la rédaction d'une œuvre d'édification, d'admonestations et d'encouragements pour ses semblables.

[15] D'après la légende, le soulier de la Vierge aurait été offert aux religieuses de Soissons par Gisèle, la sœur de Charlemagne (Beaussart, *Miracles et mystères*, p. 17). L'utilisation de ce mythe, comme celui des reliques de Sainte Leochade, fonctionnent comme des 'vérités d'objets', tels que les décrit Jean-Claude Schmitt dans son étude des croyances et des rites: 'Pour leurs heureux détenteurs, moines ou chanoines le plus souvent, la vérité de ces précieux objets, attestée par la tradition ou la force du témoignage, faisait d'autant moins de doute qu'elle participait au minimum à une sphère du *vraisemblable* qui, en deçà de toute vérification positive ou démonstration rationnelle, délimitait à la satisfaction de tout l'horizon des croyances recevables.' Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le corps, les rites, les rêves, le temps: Essais d'anthropologie médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), p. 88.

[16] Bodenheimer, 'Contribution', p. 501.

Quelles sont les conséquences de ce contexte sur la configuration de ses mélodies?

L'exemple de la chanson 20 *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit* (I Ch 45).

Description des sources manuscrites et modalités de transcription

Les différents aspects du contexte de Gautier apportent des éléments de réponses à la configuration de ses œuvres. La chanson 20 *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit* a vraisemblablement été 'composée' par Gautier et ne rentre pas dans la catégorie des contrafactures. Ses caractéristiques la situent dans la logique du contexte et du projet de Gautier. Sa forme est limpide. La strophe, composée de six vers, est structurée sur la répétition du 1er vers. Elle atteint le sommet de son ambitus au 3e vers, ambitus réduit qui ne dépasse pas la sixte. Elle se caractérise aussi par un repos au ton inférieur de la tonique à l'avant-dernier vers, qui conclue au retour sur la tonique au dernier vers. La chanson, de style syllabique, est transcrite dans les manuscrits en notation carrée avec une majorité de punctum, quelques clivis et un torculus.

Emplacement et catégorisation des variantes

Les six manuscrits avec musique de la première chanson du *Cycle de sainte Léocade* fonctionnent comme les témoins de son interprétation contemporaine. Il est donc particulièrement intéressant de les comparer pour saisir la vivacité de cette interprétation. En effet, de même que pour les textes médiévaux dont l'écrit aujourd'hui conservé contient des traces d'oralité, les écrits musicaux sont imprégnés de leur contexte oral d'interprétation. Il appartient au chercheur de tenter d'évaluer alors ce qui est du ressort de l'interprétation de l'œuvre ou d'une transmission scripturaire, de la tradition orale et écrite de l'œuvre conservée. La comparaison des variantes musicales permet ainsi d'appréhender l'élément traditionnel de l'interprétation de cette chanson à l'époque.

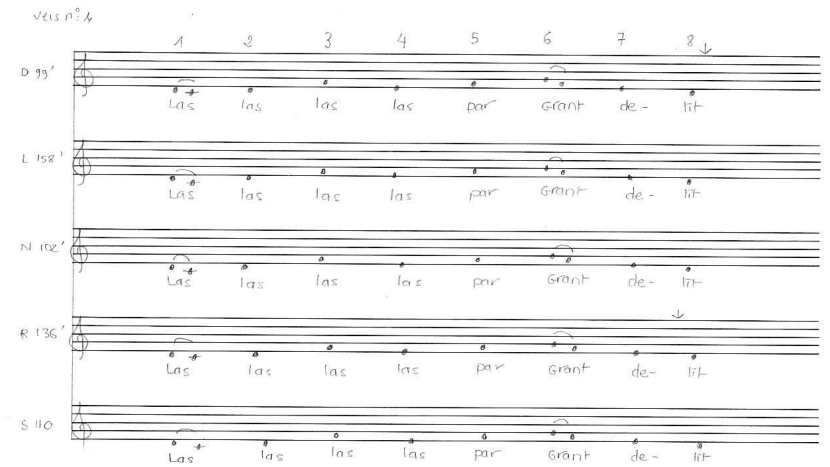
Les variantes mélodiques de la chanson 20 *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit* sont peu nombreuses. Cinq manuscrits ont transmis une mélodie commune, le 6e manuscrit, BR 10747 empruntant la mélodie de la deuxième chanson du cycle, chanson répertoriée 21 *Sour cest rivage, a ceste crois* (I Ch 46).

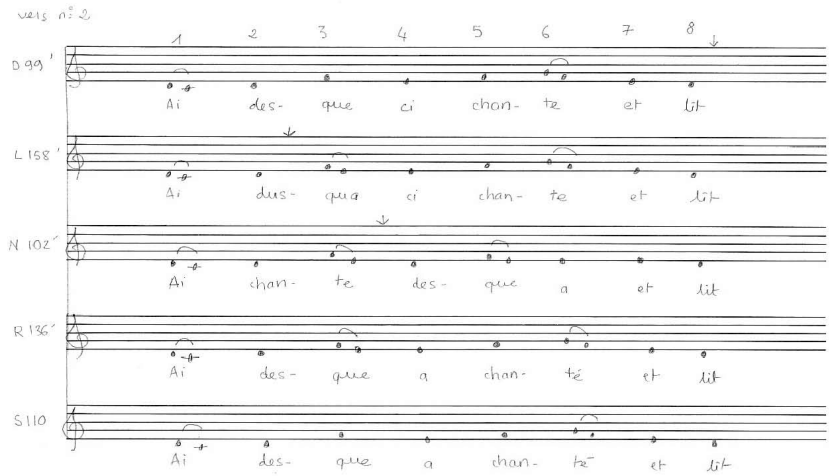
Table 1: Manuscrits musicaux contenant le *Cycle de Sainte Leocade*:

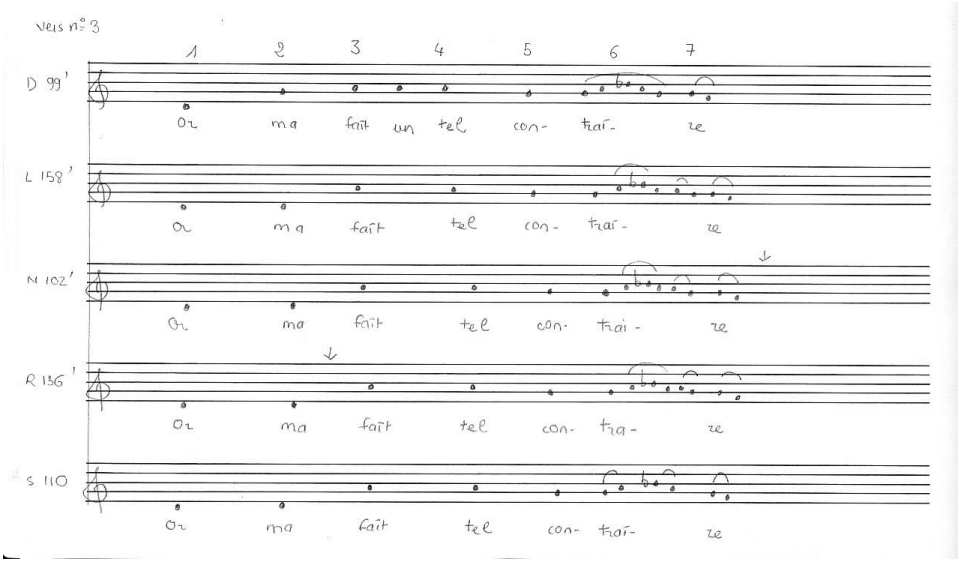
B Bruxelles, BR, 10747
D Paris, B. Ars., 3517 / D′ Paris, B. Ars., 3518
L Paris, BNF, fr. 22928
N Paris, BNF, fr. 25532
R Saint-Pétersbourg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIX 9
S Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (anc. Soissons, Grand Séminaire)

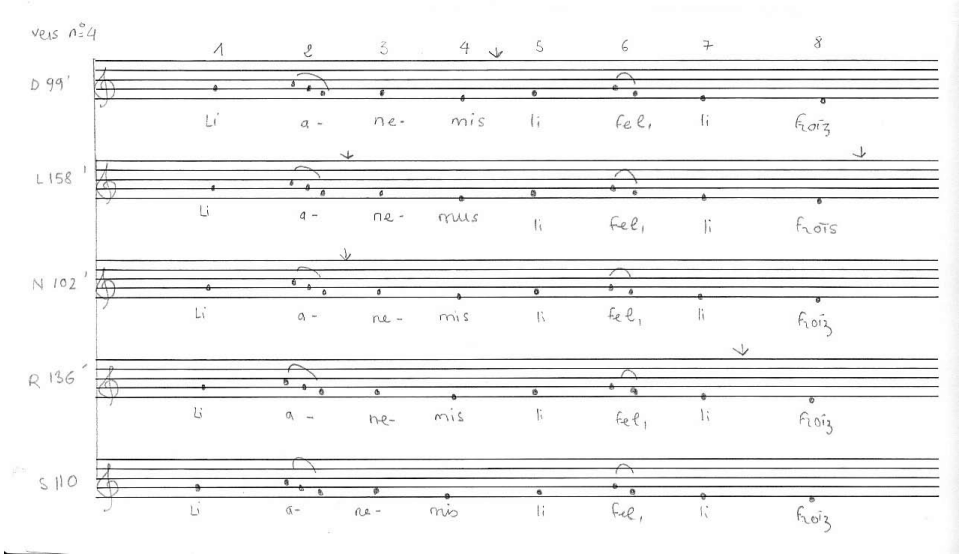
Transcription de la mélodie en notation moderne

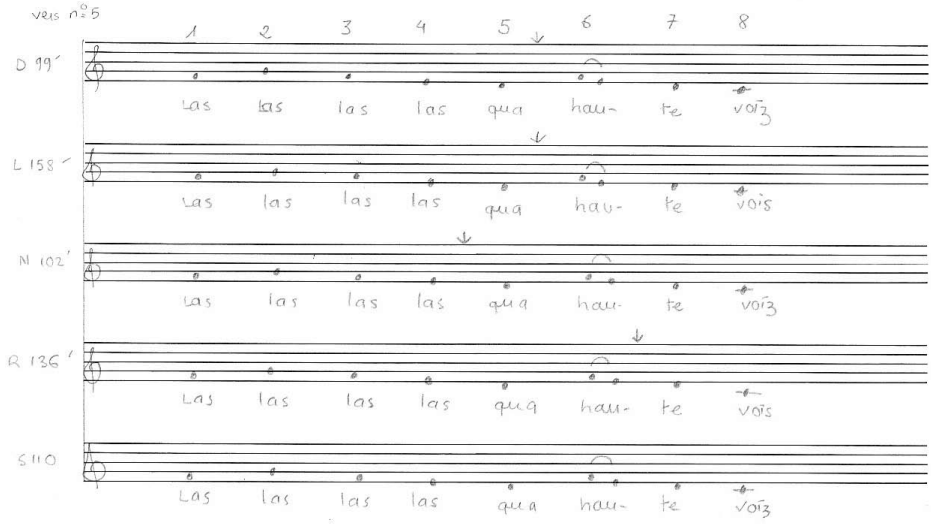
Chanson 20 *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit*






vers n° 3
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
D 99'
Or ma fait un tel con- trai- re
L 158'
Or ma fait tel con- trai- re
N 102'
Or ma fait tel con- trai- re
R 136'
Or ma fait tel con- tra- re
S 110
Or ma fait tel con- trai- re


vers n° 4
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
D 99'
Li a- ne- mis li fel, li froiz
L 158'
Li a- ne- mus li fel, li froïs
N 102'
Li a- ne- mis li fel, li froiz
R 136'
Li a- ne- mis li fel, li froiz
S 110
Li a- ne- mis li fel, li froiz


vers n° 5
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
D 99'
las las las las qua hau- te voïz
L 158'
las las las las qua hau- te vois
N 102'
las las las las qua hau- te voïz
R 136'
las las las las qua hau- te vois
S 110
las las las las qua hau- te voïz

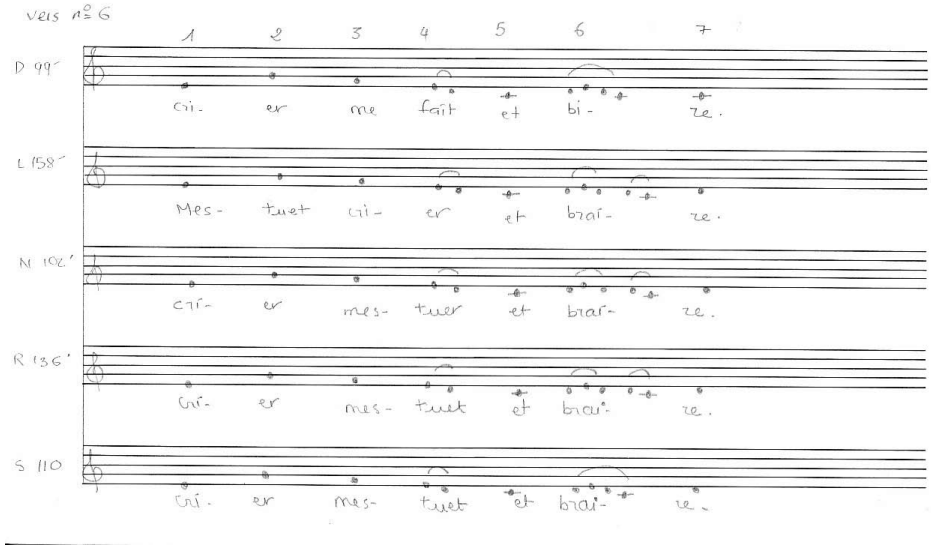

vers n° 6
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
D 99'
cri- er me fait et bi- ze.
L 158'
Mes- tuet cri- er et braï- ze.
N 102'
cri- er mes- tuer et braï- ze.
R 136'
cri- er mes- tuet et braï- ze.
S 110
cri- er mes- tuet et braï- ze.

Table 2: Chanson 20 – Emplacement des variantes musicales

Vers n°1								
D/L/N/R/S	**Las**	**las**	**las**	**las**	**par**	**grant**	**de-**	**lit**
Vers n°2								
D	**Ai**	**des-**	**que**	**ci**	**chan-**	**te**	**et**	**lit**
L	**Ai**	**dus**	**qua**	**ci**	**chan-**	**te**	**et**	**lit**
N	**Ai**	**chan-**	**te**	**des-**	**que**	**a**	**et**	**lit**
R/S	**Ai**	**des-**	**que**	**a**	**chan-**	**te**	**et**	**lit**
Vers n°3								
D	**Or**	**ma**	**fait (un)**		**tel**	**con-**	**trai**	**re**
L/N/R/S	**Or**	**ma**	**fait**		**tel**	**con-**	**trai**	**re**
Vers n°4								
D/N/R/S	**Li**	**a-**	**ne**	**mis**	**li**	**fel,**	**li**	**froiz**
L	**Li**	**a-**	**ne**	**mis**	**li**	**fel,**	**li**	**frois**
Vers n°5								
D/N/S	**Las**	**las**	**las**	**las**	**qua**	**hau-**	**te**	**voiz**
L/R	**Las**	**las**	**las**	**las**	**qua**	**hau-**	**te**	**vois**
Vers n°6								
D	**Cri-**	**er**	**me**	**fait**	**et**	**bi**	**re.**	
L	**Ma**	**fait**	**cri-**	**er**	**et**	**brai**	**re.**	
N	**Mes-**	**tuet**	**cri-**	**er**	**et**	**brai**	**re.**	
R/S	**Cri**	**er**	**mes**	**tuet**	**et**	**brai**	**re.**	

Le tableau de l'emplacement des variantes musicales nous montre que celles-ci se trouvent aux vers 2, 3 et 6. Trois vers sur six, dans les cinq versions communes de cette chanson, sont donc identiques. D'autre part, les variantes du 2e vers sont relativement 'circonstanciées' car ce vers est la répétition du 1er vers. Le *Mi* de la 3e syllabe du 2e vers dans les versions L, R et N, par exemple, semble être une broderie du *Fa*. L'incise *Ré/Do Ré*, qui caractérise cette chanson aux deux premières syllabes, se répète au 2e vers. La fin du vers est identique dans toutes les versions. Le début du 3e vers et son milieu sont semblables (1e, 3e, 5e et 6e syllabe). Quant au dernier vers, la différence entre les versions s'établit sur l'avant-dernière syllabe, position stratégique dans l'ensemble du répertoire de la monodie.

Est-il possible de classer ces variantes en différents types ? Deux catégories sont discernables. La première catégories comprendrait les variantes des cadences. Elles ne paraissent pas être motivées, dans ce cas, selon une plausible 'richesse' de l'ornement final, mais plutôt dans l'articulation proposée par chaque version et

transcrite dans les figures des neumes. Ainsi, aux 7e et 8e syllabes du vers n°3, les versions N et R ré-articulent le *La* et laissent le *Sol* en avant de l'ensemble. Les versions D et L, par contre, l'englobent dans le reste de la figure. La version S enfin, présente les mêmes notes assemblées en paires. De même, au vers n°6, les versions L, N et R consistent en deux figures de trois et deux notes, dont le *Ré* est doublé, là où la version D en propose une de quatre. La seconde catégorie de variantes pourrait être comparée au principe de l'hétérophonie. Les mélodies ne sont pas entendues en même temps, bien sûr, mais les versions fonctionnent en lignes sensiblement parallèles, telles la variante N du vers n°2 et le début du vers n°3. Dans N, nous trouvons des broderies placées à des endroits différents des autres versions, sans que la ligne de la mélodie soit profondément modifiée. Au vers n°3, le mouvement ascendant entre la 1e et la 3e syllabe se réalise, selon les versions, en passant par la quinte, la quarte ou la sixte, au niveau de la seconde syllabe. Cette catégorie de variantes se caractériserait ainsi par des lignes mélodiques aux contours proches, des hauteurs communes comme au vers n°3, et des broderies peu étendues. Nous nommerons les deux catégories de variantes décrites, respectivement, 'variantes cadentielles' et 'variantes hétérophoniques'.

Que peut-on en conclure quant à son interprétation contemporaine ?

Les difficultés du sujet

Le propos n'est pas ici de saisir le cheminement parallèle des processus de transmission orale et écrite, comme il a été dit plus haut, mais de tenter d'appréhender une tradition d'interprétation vivante. Il convient pourtant de garder en mémoire la mise en garde de Goody qui affirmait :

> Quand on cherche à déduire ce qu'est la tradition orale à partir des sources écrites, il faut y regarder de très près. Le plus souvent, transcrire c'est transformer, et les transformations sont fréquemment complexes ; on ne peut jamais savoir de façon sûre quel énoncé oral le 'texte' représente.[17]

Pourtant, les musicologues, pour traiter cette question, se sont accordés à délimiter peu à peu ce qui relève plus explicitement de la transmission écrite: modes de mise par écrit (dictée ou copie d'un écrit ultérieur), analyse des modes d'encodage des manuscrits, histoire des manuscrits, par exemple.

[17] Jack Goody, *La raison graphique: la domestication de la pensée sauvage*, trad. par Jean Bazinet et Alban Bensa (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979), p. 162.

La transformation opérée par la transcription et signalée par la majorité des auteurs en musique ancienne, s'apparente selon Treitler à une forme similaire d'interprétation. Il devient alors plus aisé à celui qui veut ouvrir la boîte de Pandore du texte et rejoindre son oralité d'ausculter ce texte. Transmission orale et transmission écrite ne sont plus saisis séparément mais intégrés, avec Zumthor, dans un 'réseau de communication'. Les variantes musicales observées ne sont plus depuis longtemps des fautes de mémoire ou de transcription. Elles appartiennent à l'élément traditionnel de l'œuvre: 'La tradition, c'est la série ouverte, indéfiniment étendue dans le temps et l'espace, des manifestations variables d'un archétype. La création, dans un art traditionnel, a lieu en performance: fruit de l'énonciation — et de la réception qu'elle assure. Véhiculées oralement, les traditions possèdent, par la même, une énergie particulière — origine de leurs variations.'[18]

Les chercheurs de l'interprétation en musique ancienne s'accordent à reconnaître deux traditions d'interprétation ou deux modes de performance. Duggan, par exemple, qui a travaillé sur le formulisme de Lord et Parry, a reconnu deux traditions d'interprétations différentes, fonctionnant selon les mêmes caractéristiques que celles décrites par Finnegan.[19] La *performance vocale* est une recherche de continuité dans la tradition. Elle fait appel à la mémoire, avec peu d'improvisation et donc peu de variations dans les textes conservés. La *composition vocale*, en revanche, serait la création ou génération d'un texte de mémoire, sous-tendue par un système d'improvisation. Cependant, sur le plan de l'analyse, la différenciation n'est pas toujours marquée. Il situe l'interprétation des chansons de geste, par exemple, à mi-chemin entre ces deux traditions.

La plupart des auteurs s'accordent à définir l'interprétation des œuvres médiévales en termes de 'recréation' ou de 'composition-durant-l'interprétation', selon les termes de Finnegan.[20] Van Vleck, reprenant le concept de *mouvance* chez

[18] Paul Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix: De la 'littérature' médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), p. 160.

[19] Joseph J. Duggan, 'Oral Performance of Romance in Medieval France', dans *Continuations: Essays in Medieval French Literature and Language in Honor of John L. Grigsby*, éd. par Norris J. Lacy et Gloria Torrini-Roblin (Birmingham, AL: Summa, 1989), pp. 49–63; Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry, its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 57.

[20] 'In this sense, an oral poem is an essentially ephemeral work of art, and has no existence or continuity apart from its performance. The skill and personality of the performer, the nature and reaction of the audience, the context, the purpose — these are essential aspects of the artistry and meaning of an oral poem. Even when there is little or no change of actual wording in a given poem between performances, the context still adds its own weight and meaning to the delivery, so that

Zumthor,[21] souligne chez les troubadours l'habitude de demander à leurs mécènes ou leurs interprètes d'apprendre la chanson. Elle remarque, d'autre part, que la première strophe est souvent identique dans les différentes sources et conclut que la mémoire des interprètes se concentre sur le début du poème, *comensamen*, contenant le thème et le schéma des rimes.

Treitler a surtout développé cet aspect, en travaillant sur la mémoire, 'processus actif d'organisation ou de ré-organisation':

> If we posit a singer with knowledge of the formulas and the rules and principles for their use that we have identified through the analysis, that knowledge would have entered into the learning of the chant and into every performance of it; so if we think of memory here, it should not be in the sense of the storage of what has been learned by rote. Once we have understood the influence of such rules and principles, and understood the dependence of their application on the sound, syntax, and sense of the words, we can also understand why books with only the words circulated before books with neumes and why they would have been called 'books of musical art'. Such knowledge of the idiom would have enabled the singer to intone different liturgical texts for the offertory on different days of the calendar. [. . .] A performance from memory is best understood as just such a reconstruction formed about bits of stereotyped material and guided by rules of procedures.[22]

La mémoire s'articule avec un système de formules — ou idiomes — en dialogue avec l'écrit.[23] Les chanteurs du chant ecclésiastique étaient capables, selon lui, de chanter les mélodies de mémoire, de lire les notations musicales et pratiquaient ainsi, de façon continue, la 'composition-in-performance' ou 're-creation'.

L'interprétation de la chanson 20

L'interprétation de la chanson 20 semble s'être située dans la première manière d'interprétation décrite. Une des caractéristiques de cette chanson est que l'un des éléments variants est la cadence du vers, contrairement au chant ecclésiastique par

the whole occasion is unique. And in many cases, [. . .] there is considerable variation between performances, so that the literate model of a fixed correct version — the text of a given poem — does not necessarily apply.' Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, p. 28.

[21] 'Mouvance: réseau vocal immensément étendu et serré; comme à distance — littéralement le murmure de ces siècles — sinon, parfois, isolément, la voix même d'un interprète.' Zumthor, *La lettre*, p. 160

[22] Leo Treitler, 'The "Unwritten" and "Written Transmission" of Medieval Chant and the Start-up of Musical Notation', *Journal of Musicology*, 10.2 (1992), 131–91 (p. 145).

[23] Treitler, 'The "Unwritten"', pp. 143, 145.

exemple. Si l'on applique le statut de formule à ce qui ne varie pas dans la chanson, on observe qu'elle s'applique donc à certaines fins de vers et à certains vers entiers. Comment fonctionne alors ce qui est mouvant ? Là encore, une double remarque s'impose: il y a plusieurs manières d'accéder à la cadence et il y a plusieurs manières de rejoindre l'ambitus du vers, la structure générale de celui-ci étant semblable dans les différentes versions.

D'autre part, le fait que les variantes mélodiques soient situées aux mêmes endroits dans le vers et que certains vers soient semblables dans toutes les versions, nous amène à une autre donnée de son interprétation. Ce phénomène semble renvoyer à un processus conscient ou inconscient d'interprétation au sein duquel l'improvisation s'inscrirait à des endroits précis de la strophe. Selon cette hypothèse, les variantes mélodiques pourraient être perçues comme autant d'interprétations différentes de cette chanson transmises jusqu'à nous. L'interprète, durant la performance, déploierait à sa guise, ou selon des normes qu'il faudrait analyser sur un répertoire plus vaste, son chant à ces endroits. Des traditions vivantes ou des manières de chanter sont alors perceptibles, qui pourraient être datées et situées en les mettant en lien avec leur 'transmission écrite'.

Conclusion

L'objet de cette communication portait sur l'interprétation contemporaine de Gautier de Coinci, le clerc trouvère de Saint-Médard de Soissons. Pour appréhender la vivacité de cette œuvre, le contexte historique qui a permis l'élaboration des *MND*, a croisé une analyse précise des sources avec la chanson 20 *Las! las! las! las! par grant delit*. Un processus de structuration a ainsi été mis à jour. Alliant mémoire et improvisation, il signale à l'interprète l'emplacement des variantes en fonction des syllabes. Le processus s'applique sur les trois chansons du *Cycle de sainte Léocade*. Il doit être vérifié sur l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Gautier. Mais d'autres pistes restent à explorer.

L'inscription des sources au sein d'une théorie de la perception telle que Zumthor a pu la proposer par exemple, qui tiendrait compte de la gestique, de l'interaction entre l'interprète et son public, etc. Le cadre narratif des œuvres de Gautier, d'autre part, a vraisemblablement caractérisé leur interprétation. Ce dernier devait influer lors de la performance, pour expliciter le texte, les *MND* fonctionnant comme des récits miniatures.

From Auxerre to Soissons: The Earliest History of the Responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo* in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Barbara Haggh

Résumé

Parmi les pièces musicales qui apparaissent dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) de Gautier de Coinci, on relève un chant pour la Vierge, le répons *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, dont le texte défend l'interprétation chrétienne de l'incarnation du Christ. Cette étude retrace son histoire dans la musique et la littérature médiévales, et examine ensuite son origine, sa transmission à Soissons, et son usage par Gautier. *Gaude, Maria Virgo* a pris plusieurs formes: différents genres de chant partagent le même incipit et ont été mis en polyphonie. Le répons a été 'chanté' dans les miracles et sermons médiévaux; d'un miracle rapporté dans un traité de théorie musicale du neuvième siècle, il passe dans les *MND* de Gautier de Coinci, les *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, les *Canterbury Tales* de Chaucer et dans plusieurs autres récits. Dans le texte du traité de musique, l'aveugle compositeur du répons chanté au Panthéon de Rome est miraculeusement guéri de sa cécité. On détient ici la preuve qu'en réalité le répons a été créé pour la Dédicace de la nouvelle rotonde mariale — genre de construction calqué sur le Panthéon — de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. Même si aucune source directe pour le miracle de *Gaude, Maria Virgo* de Gautier de Coinci n'a été découverte, le répons est présent dans l'antiphonaire de Compiègne, dont on pense qu'il a été confectionné en 877 à Soissons. Heiric d'Auxerre, qui a décrit la cérémonie de la Dédicace auxerroise dans ses *Miracula sancti Germani*, a enseigné à l'abbaye de Saint-Médard dans la décennie précédente. Alors que le récit du miracle du neuvième siècle tend à

garder le répons non-biblique dans le répertoire de chant accepté, Gautier s'en sert pour une violente diatribe contre les juifs.

Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) have interested musicologists for some time, because twenty-two of its more than eighty manuscript sources include notated music — the earliest major collection of sacred songs in the vernacular — and the texts of the miracles occasionally refer to well-known medieval chant or employ musical terms. Most of the musical interpolations have been identified, edited, and analysed, but the citations of chant in the text have escaped scrutiny, very likely because such chants were as widely known in Gautier's day as they are to modern scholars.[1]

Among the cited chants in Gautier de Coinci's *MND* is a Marian responsory with an exceptional history that deserves closer study. In Book II, Miracle 13, the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, which praises the Virgin, not only produces a miracle, but also functions as a matchstick: when it is sung by a boy, it incites hatred between Christian and Jewish communities.[2] The origin and history of the responsory as well as its transmission to Soissons and to Gautier de Coinci helps to explain why he should have chosen this chant and how it acquires a new function in his *MND*.

The text of the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo* defends the Christian interpretation of Christ's incarnation (Matthew 1. 16, 18–25, especially 1. 25) against heretical — or Jewish – claims to the contrary.

R/ Gaude Maria, virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti,
quae Gabrielis archangeli dictis credidisti;
*Dum virgo Deum et hominem genuisti,
et post partum virgo, inviolata permansisti.

[Rejoice Mary, virgin, you alone have refuted all heresies and have believed what the angel Gabriel said: Yet a virgin, you have born God and man, and after the birth, you have remained a virgin inviolate.]

[1] See Robert Falck, 'Gautier de Coinci', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. by Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 19 September 2005), and Hans-Herbert S. Räkel, 'Gautier de Coinci', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. VII (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), cols 629–31.

[2] I consulted the text in Margaret Switten, project director and editor, *Teaching Medieval Lyric with Modern Technology: New Windows on the Medieval World*, 5 CD set (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 2001).

V/ Gabrielem archangelum credimus[3] divinitus te esse affatum:
uterum tuum de Spiritu Sancto credimus impregnatum:
Erubescat Judeus infelix,
qui dicit Christum de Joseph semine esse natum.

[We believe the words of the archangel Gabriel to you to have been divinely inspired; we believe your womb to have been impregnated by the Holy Spirit. Let the unfortunate Jew blush, who says that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph.]

An antiphon shared its incipit, and a cluster of chants may be related to them.[4] Later, a Notkerian sequence[5] and a tract[6] took the incipit, and the responsory accumulated additional verses[7] and a meloform trope or prosula that later became the sequence

[3] The 'lectio difficilior' *credimus* [. . .] *credimus* is the earlier and is found in the Compiègne and Hartker (Saint-Gall) antiphoners. It is also found at the abbey of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon and, interestingly enough, in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portuguese processionals. The later *scimus* is in four of the twelve antiphoners edited in René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols (Rome: Herder, 1963–79) (hereafter *CAO*), manuscripts GDFS, and in Parisian and northern European manuscripts.

[4] The antiphon (*CAO*, no. 2924) reads 'Gaude, Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universo mundo' (Rejoice Mary, virgin, you alone have refuted all heresies in the entire world). The antiphon and responsory have different melodies and modes.

[5] On the sequence *Gaude, Maria, Virgo Dei genitrix* in Notker Balbulus of Saint Gall's *Liber ymnorum* (completed by 884), see, most recently, Calvin Bower, 'From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definitions of Relations', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. by Sean Gallagher and others (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 351–98 (pp. 370, 392), who finds a possible relationship of the sequence melody to that of the alleluia verse *Pascha nostrum*. A facsimile of the sequence, which is not musically related to the responsory or antiphon, is in Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, eds, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 3 vols (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1996), Codex 484, p. 263; Codex 381, pp. 365–67.

[6] The second mode tract *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, which postdates the sequence, belongs to a group of compositions from the region of Metz and north-west France. Its sources are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fol. 96^{v} (Winchester, modelled on source probably from Tours, tenth century), Cambrai, MM, 75, fol. 47^{r} (Arras, eleventh century), and Paris, BNF, lat. 10511, fol. 328^{r} (Nevers, eleventh-twelfth century). I thank Olivier Cullin for this information about the tract.

[7] See Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processionnal*, RISM B XIV 1–2 (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1999, 2004), processionals A-2, D-181, D-195, D-224, E-6, and F-174, I-5, I-103; Robert Amiet, *Processionale Augustanum*, 2 vols, Monumenta liturgica ecclesiae Augustanae, 5–6 (Aosta: Imprimerie Valdotaine, 1983), II, 61, no. 277; Giulio Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo: dal graduale tropato del duecento ai graduali cinquecenteschi*, 2 vols (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1990, 1992), II, 67, 73; and *CAO* 6759, with an

Inviolata.[8] Polyphonic settings of the responsory, verse, or tract appear as an addition to a ninth-century manuscript,[9] in the Winchester Troper, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473,[10] in the *Magnus liber organi*,[11] in the Worcester fragments,[12] in a liturgical drama from Beauvais for the Circumcision,[13] and

edition of one added verse. That verse, *Gloria, virtus et gratia*, which appears first in Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 106 (eleventh century), after *Gaude, Maria Virgo* and the verse *Gabrielem*, is assigned to All Saints' Day as in no other early manuscript. The verse, *Gloria*, includes the phrases *Rex sanctorum* and *in sanctis ostende nobis*. Nevertheless, the assignment of the responsory and two verses to All Saints' Day implies that the Ivrean clergy knew the miracle, discussed at length below, that places the origin of the responsory at the Pantheon.

[8] See *Antiphonaire monastique, XIIIe siècle: Codex F.160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathedrale de Worcester*, ed. by monks of Solesmes, Paléographie musicale, 12 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1922), p. 271; Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianische Melodien, ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911–21, rep;. Hildesheim: Olms & Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1962), I, 293; Ruth Steiner, 'Some Melismas for Office Responsories', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26 (1973), 108–31 (p. 113, n. 17) [Paris, BNF, lat. 1338, eleventh century]; and Michel Huglo, 'Le domaine de la notation bretonne', *Acta musicologica*, 35 (1963), 54–84 (p. 62).

[9] Paris, BNF, lat. 11631, fol. 72^v, a manuscript with the letters of St Jerome possibly from eastern France and provenant from the library of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés. At the end the verse *Gabrielem* for two voices is added in French neumes. See Michel Huglo, 'Les débuts de la polyphonie à Paris: Les premiers organa parisiens', *Forum musicologicum*, 3 (1982), 93–163, reproduced as article XVIII in Huglo, *Chant grégorien et musique médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 114–15, with facsimile and transcription.

[10] See Huglo, *Les manuscrits*, RISM B XIV 2, GB 4/2, fols 178^v (responsory incipit and verse) and 194^v (tract, which has the same text as the antiphon *CAO* 2925 that is only in 'F' (antiphoner of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés), but replaces the word 'Alleluia' at the end with 'Dei genitrix intercede pro nobis').

[11] Massimo Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1 della Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: Storia e catalogo comparato*, Studi musicali Toscani, 8 (Pisa: Edizioni Ets, 2002), no. 54; Hendrik Van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets* (Rochester: Author, 1989), p. 162.

[12] Denis Stevens, 'The Worcester Fragments', *The Musical Times*, 116 (September 1975), 784–85 (p. 785). Cf. William J. Summers, 'English 14th-Century Polyphonic Music: An Inventory of the Extant Manuscript Sources with Reference to Facsimile and Performing Editions', *Journal of Musicology*, 8 (1990), 173–226 (pp. 180, 122), and Peter Lefferts and others, 'New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), 273–362 (p. 357).

[13] Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1970), p. 174, and Huglo, *Les manuscrits*, RISM B XIV 2, F-172/2 and GB-28/2. Also see Willem Elders, 'Gregorianisches in liturgischen Dramen der Hs. Orléans 201', *Acta musicologica*,

elsewhere;[14] the responsory also served as a *cantus firmus* to masses by Josquin, Isaac, La Rue, Gombert, and Palestrina, while the responsory and tract provided texts as well as *cantus firmi* for motets.[15] In fourteenth-century Italy *Gaude, Maria Virgo* became an Italian flagellants' song.[16] Motets by Machaut, Basiron, Josquin, Isaac, and Gombert, and masses by Josquin, La Rue, and Palestrina took the sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* as their *cantus firmus.*[17]

While theologians beginning with Anselm of Lucca in the eleventh century sought to explain the antiphon text,[18] the responsory was 'sung' in medieval

36 (1964), 169–77 (p. 175), and Susan Boynton, 'Performative Exegesis in the Fleury Interfectio Puerorum', *Viator*, 29 (1998), 39–64 (pp. 47, 64), on an antiphon derived from *Gaude, Maria Virgo* in Orléans, BM, 201, a collection of dramas.

[14] For example, in Aachen, Domarchiv, G 1, the canons are instructed to sing *Gaude, Maria Virgo* in polyphony before the introit of the Purification Mass (letter from Michael McGrade of 30 September 1997). Also see the description of the performance of *Gaude, Maria* and of *Inviolata* by an organist and by choirboys singing chant and 'res facta' (for the responsory) for a foundation at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, in Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 363, Document 11 (5 May 1498).

[15] See the MOTET Online Database at <http://www.arts.ufl.edu/motet/>, Jennifer Thomas, director. At present, there are thirty-three records for *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, eleven for *Gabrielem archangelum* (compare Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 38) and sixty-three records for *Inviolata, integra et casta*. See Huglo, 'Les débuts', pp. 112–14, and the indices of the series RISM B IV (polyphonic music).

[16] Jrnö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine: A Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 213.

[17] The prosula appears first in the antiphoner of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Paris, BNF, lat. 12584, from the twelfth century (*CAO* F); also in Katarina Livljanić, 'L'antiphonaire Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, ms. 542' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1998), p. 114 and cf. p. 122. Helma Hofmann-Brandt, 'Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Offiziums' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universität Erlangen, 1971) identified fourteen different prosula melodies. The sequence *Inviolata* is nos 9093–94 in Chevalier's *Repertorium*.

[18] See Joseph Fenton, 'Our Lady and the Extirpation of Heresy', *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 94 (1946), 442–54. On Anselm of Lucca's own *Gaude, Maria*, see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 231–32, and cf. note 53 below. A 'Sermo Alcuini de nativitate perpetuae virginis Mariae' (edited in PL, 101: 1300–08), which summarizes the text of *Gaude, Maria Virgo* and cites the phrase 'cunctas haereses sola interemit' in col. 1305, is not an authentic work: its only source is Paris, BNF, lat. 315, fols 43^{v}–46^{r}, a twelfth-century manuscript written at the abbey of Saint-Martial-de-Limoges (Philippe Lauer, *Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, 7 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939–88), I, 112). I thank Zoe W.

miracle stories and sermons, from the ninth-century miracle in the earliest known Carolingian music theory treatise, Aurelian of Réôme's *Musica disciplina*, to Miracle 13 in the second book of Gautier de Coinci's *MND*, cantiga six in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso the Wise,[19] as a sermon for the feast of the Purification added to the thirteenth-century antiphoner of Zwiefalten, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. LX,[20] and in 'The Prioress's Tale' from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.[21] Soon thereafter it appears in Marian miracles collected by

Saunders for checking this manuscript for me. On other sermons exploring the themes of *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, all postdating *Musica disciplina*, see Henri Barré, 'Antiennes et répons de la Vierge', *Marianum*, 29 (1967), 153–254 (p. 209).

[19] Cantiga six is clearly derived from Coinci's Book II, Miracle 13, but is more strongly anti-Semitic and violent. See Teresa Marullo, 'Osservazioni sulle Cantigas di Alfonso X e sui Miracles di Gautier de Coinci', *Archivum Romanicum*, 18 (1934), 495–539 (pp. 501–05), and Walter Mettmann, 'Os Miracles de Gautier de Coinci como fonte des *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Estudos Portugueses: Homagenem a Luciano Stegagno Picchio* (Lisbon: Difel, 1991), pp. 79–84. I thank Manuel Pedro Ferreira for bringing these publications to my attention (letter, 17 February 1998). Also see Santiago Gonzalez Fernandez-Corugedo, 'A Marian Miracle in England and Spain: Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* no. 6 and Chaucer's "The Prioress's Tale"', in *Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, ed. by Luis A. Lázaro Lafuente and others (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1994), pp. 151–75. Also note that the refrain of cantiga six is a common theme in medieval sermons and commentaries on Matthew 1: 'A que do bon rei Davi de seu linnage decende' (She (the Virgin Mary) who is descended from the lineage of good King David).

[20] Edited in Louis Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice de toutes les hérésies" et la belle légende du répons *Gaude Maria Virgo*', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 62 (1948), 321–62, and 65 (1951), 28–33 (pp. 324–26), compare notes 31 and 35. On the manuscript, see Ruth Steiner, ed., *The Zwiefalten Antiphoner, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. LX. A CANTUS Index*, with introduction by Hartmut Möller (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996). This manuscript has marginalia identifying the biblical texts of its chant; non-biblical texts have the marginalium 'cantor'.

[21] See Frederick James Furnivall and others, *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, 5 vols (London: N. Trübner, 1872–87), II, 108–10; Carleton F. Brown, 'Chaucer's Prioresses Tale and its Analogues', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 21 (1906), 486–518; Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress* (London: Kegan Paul, 1910); Brown, 'The Prioress's Tale', in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. by W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (New York: Humanities Press, 1958), pp. 447–85; Lee Patterson, '"The Living Witnesses of Our Redemption": Martyrdom and Imitation in Chaucer's Prioress's Tale', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 507–60 (pp. 535–36, 543 n. 3, 557 n. 117).

Jean Mielot,[22] and in an early fifteenth-century English collection of some five hundred Marian miracles.[23] Miracles with *Gaude, Maria Virgo* are part of more than twenty different texts, many awaiting study, and survive in dozens of manuscripts.[24]

The responsory and verse texts (*CAO* 6759),[25] the related antiphon text with the same incipit, and even the text incipit *Gaude, Maria Virgo* alone have no known sources earlier than two roughly contemporaneous ninth-century manuscripts. The first and probably earliest of these is a gradual-antiphoner lacking neumes for the most part, Paris, BNF, lat. 17436, which is thought to have been written at the abbey of Saint-Médard in Soissons in May 877 for the Dedication of the palatine chapel of Sainte-Marie-de-Compiègne.[26] The second manuscript,

[22] George Frederic Warner, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame, Collected by Jean Mielot, Secretary to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Reproduced in Facsimile from Douce Manuscript 374 in the Bodleian Library* (London: Nicholas and Sons, 1885), pp. xv–xvi. The story is situated in Le Puy in Mielot miracle no. 19.

[23] See Christopher Page, 'Marian Texts and Themes in an English Manuscript [=Sidney Sussex College, 95, from East Anglia, 1409], A Miscellany in Two Parts', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 23–44 (pp. 24–25, 36–40).

[24] See Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', and Albert Poncelet, 'Initia Miraculorum B. Virginis Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt', *Analecta bollandiana*, 21 (1902), 241–360 (especially p. 359); also *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, ed. by Société des Bollandistes (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1989–99; repr. 1992), pp. 794–96 (a list of Marian miracles, not necessarily including *Gaude, Maria Virgo*). Compare Adolfo Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, 5 vols (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Son, 1887–98); *Biblioteca hagiographica latina*, pp. 794–801; and Guy Philippart, 'Le récit miraculaire marial dans l'Occident médiéval', in *Marie: Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat and others (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), pp. 563–90.

[25] Edited in *CAO* from twelve early antiphoners, and also found, assigned to the Purification, in Paris, BNF, grec 2631, a palimpsest of a tenth-century manuscript from the region of Turin of secular use (cf. Marie-Noël Colette, 'Un graduel-antiphonaire-responsorial noté sauvé de l'oubli (Paris, B.N.F. Grec 2631)', *Revue de musicologie*, 83 (1997), 65–79; and in the early eleventh-century Quedlinburg antiphoner, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. 40047, fol. 38^{r-v} (see Hartmut Möller, *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar*, 3 vols, Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 25.1–3 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1990)).

[26] On the antiphoner of Compiègne, see Michel Huglo, 'Observations codicologiques sur l'antiphonaire de Compiègne (Paris, B.N. lat. 17436)', in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper*, ed. by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 117–30, reprinted as article XII in Huglo, *Les sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). The antiphoner includes a lengthy proper office for St Médard of Soissons (ibid., p. 127). Also see Marie-Noël Colette, 'Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*

Valenciennes, BM, 148, includes the responsory text in a miracle story, on folio 78^{r-v}, that is part of the *Musica disciplina* text, which dates from the mid-ninth century.[27] Neither source transmits the notated chant, and neither the responsory nor the antiphon or incipit appear in any earlier tonary or text.[28] This miracle is not included in any other music treatise.[29] Indeed, such miracle stories are usually confined to narrative works; its inclusion in *Musica disciplina* is exceptional. There the miracle story reads:

> Interea mos considerandus est veteranorum cantorum, praesertim Gallias degentium, qui non omnem toni sequentes auctoritatem, versus responsoriorum aliter ac aliter quam sonoritas tonorum sese habeat, prepediente multitudine syllabarum, in diversam mutavere partem.

dans l'antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve (Paris, BnF, lat. 17436)', *Revue de musicologie*, 89 (2003), 5–30; Gunilla Iversen, '*Rex in hac aula*: Réflexions sur les séquences de l'Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve', *Revue de musicologie*, 89 (2003), 31–46; and Ritva Jacobsson, 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne, Paris, BNF lat. 17436', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. by Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 147–78. On the chapel, see May Viellard-Troïekouroff, 'La chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 21 (1971), 89–108.

[27] The ink changes colour immediately after the end of the miracle in the Valenciennes manuscript. The miracle is in the middle of Aurelian's annotated tonary and is represented in both recensions proposed by the two editors of *Musica disciplina*, Ponte and Gushee, and in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript diverging substantially from the earlier tradition, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 212. It thus belongs to a version of the treatise as early as the Valenciennes manuscript, in my opinion, and not necessarily any earlier. It is unlikely that the miracle story was interpolated into the main text of Aurelian's treatise, because the antiphon *Gaude, Maria Virgo* is cited elsewhere in the tonary twice, but the section of the treatise citing the *Gaude, Maria Virgo*s could be as late as 856–61, the date of the revised text of the treatise. On this date, see Barbara Haggh, 'Traktat Musica disciplina Aureliana Reomensis: Proweniencja I datowanie' [Musica disciplina Aureliani Reomensis and the problem of the date and origin of the treatise], trans. by Katarzyna Naliwajek, *Muzyka* [Journal of the Institute of Musicology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw], 45 (2000), 25–78 (pp. 52, 78). The argument about the date and origin of the treatise is forthcoming in a monograph in English. The two earliest manuscripts with *Gaude, Maria Virgo* are linked in that the dedicatee of Aurelian's treatise in the Valenciennes manuscript was Bishop of Autun (see my 'Traktat', pp. 51–53 and plate), and the *melodiae longissimae* added on fols 29^{v}–30^{r} in the Compiègne manuscript have concordances in a ninth-century manuscript written in Autun, as Colette observes in 'Séquences'.

[28] On the earliest tonaries, see Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires, inventaire, comparaison, analyse* (Paris: Heugel, 1971).

[29] Note that none of the other tonally unstable chants cited by medieval music theorists attracted miracles.

> Unde in hoc responsorio quod quidam asserunt in ecclesia non debere cantari eo quod in historiis minime repperiatur, et ob venerationem sanctae genetricis Dei Mariae, simul et ob Iudeorum insaniam ac hereticorum refutandam protervam superstitionem in ecclesia canitur. Taliter actum invenies quamvis in ipsa Romana urbe dicatur esse compositus. En adest:
>
> R/ Gaude Maria Virgo; V/ Gabrihelem archangelum
>
> Responsorii autem istius, sicuti relatu didici, auctor extitit quidam Romanus nomine Victor, a nativitate caecus, qui, cum memoriter a cantoribus cantilenarum didicisset melodias, quadam die ante altare residens Sanctae Marie quae Domus Rotunda dicitur, divino favente nutu, hoc composuit responsorium ac statim lumine quo privatus erat multo iam tempore illuminari meruit atque iubare potiri genuino.[30]

> [At this point, the custom of the old singers must be considered, especially of those living in Gaul, who, not following any authority of Tone, changed the verses of the responses into a procedure different in one way or another from what the sonority of the Tone is, the great number of syllables ensnaring them.
>
> You will find this done in this responsory, which, even though said to have been composed in the city of Rome itself, some say should not be sung in the Church, since it is not found at all in the Histories, and which nevertheless is sung in the Church to venerate St Mary, the Mother of God, and to refute the insanity of the Jews and the impudent superstition of heretics. Behold, here it is:
>
> R/ Gaude Maria Virgo; V/ Gabrihelem archangelum.
>
> I have learned by a report that the author of this response was a certain Roman, Victor by name, who was blind from birth. When he had learned the melodies of the chants by memory from the singers, one day as he sat before the altar of St Mary [in the] edifice that is called the Rotunda, the divine will being favorable, he composed this response and immediately merited to be illumined with sight, of which he had already been long deprived, and to receive genuine brightness.[31]]

Analysis of this miracle story and its responsory can provide evidence of their origin.[32] Aurelian's abbey of Saint-Jean-de-Réôme was located in the heart of Burgundy, and the earliest manuscript of *Musica disciplina* was produced in northern France. Aurelian also specifically refers to 'the customs of the old singers in Gaul'. Yet the miracle story is situated in Rome instead: a Roman named Victor

[30] *Aureliani Reomensis Musica disciplina*, ed. by Lawrence Gushee, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 21 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), p. 105 (spelling of edition).

[31] Aurelian of Réôme, *The Discipline of Music (ca. 843)*, trans. by Joseph Ponte, Colorado College Music Press Translations, 3 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1968), pp. 37–38.

[32] Modern editions and facsimiles of the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo* are listed next to this text incipit in John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), vol. I.

composes the responsory to chants he had learned by memory from Roman singers before the Marian altar of a church called *Domus rotunda*, evidently the Pantheon in Rome, whereupon he regains his sight.

Are the miracle story and responsory of Roman origin? This seems unlikely, since other Carolingian stories, such as the famous legend of Pope Gregory the Great and the dove and the invented biography of St Denis, were penned to uphold venerable origins and further political action — to create truths rather than to record them.[33] Indeed, in the only extended study of the responsory and miracle, Dom Louis Brou concluded that the responsory and its miracle could not be Roman, because there was too much insistence in the miracle on the adjective *Romanus*.[34] Some of his arguments have been discounted, but they are worth a review alongside new evidence he could not consider. It clearly situates the creation of the miracle story and of the responsory outside Rome.

Brou observed that an embellished thirteenth-century version of the miracle was added to the twelfth-century antiphoner, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. LX, on folio 276^{v}, now identified as from Zwiefalten. It placed the creation of *Gaude, Maria Virgo* in the time of Pope Boniface IV, who was thought to have dedicated the Pantheon in Rome on 13 May *c.* 609.[35] Brou found no evidence for the presence of this chant in Rome at this early date, but remarked that the Alleluia verse *Adorabo ad templum*, which was sung at the Dedication of

[33] On these, see Bruno Stäblein, '"Gregorius Praesul", der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale', in *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1968*, ed. by Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), pp. 537–61, and Jean-François Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthère, Historiae*, Musicological Studies, 65.6 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002), pp. ix–x.

[34] Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', p. 353. Cf. Solange Corbin, Review of Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', *Revue de musicologie*, 31 (1949), 91–95.

[35] Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', pp. 324–28; cf. Möller, introduction to Steiner, *Zwiefalten Antiphoner*, p. xi. The main account of the dedication of the Pantheon, which was reproduced in martyrologies (see note 37 below) is in the *Liber pontificalis* (Louis Duchesne and Cyrille Vogel, eds, *Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3 vols, 2nd edn (Paris: Boccard, 1955–57), I, 317–18). On the dedication of the Pantheon, its date, and the earliest evidence of the feast of the Purification in Rome, see Peter Jeffery, 'Rome and Jerusalem, From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory', in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 207–48 (pp. 215–16), and James McKinnon, *The Advent Project* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 187–90. McKinnon claims that Pope Boniface transformed the Pantheon into a church for Mary and martyrs but did not establish the yearly dedication festival, whose ritual texts nowhere refer to the Virgin.

the Pantheon, had become part of the Purification Mass by *c.* 800, the date of the earliest complete surviving *antiphonale missarum.*[36] *Gaude, Maria Virgo* is assigned first to the Purification in all twelve of the earliest Western antiphoners (and only later to other Marian feasts, such as the Assumption), which might suggest a common origin with *Adorabo*. Yet in a postscript at the end of his article, Brou noticed that the Zwiefalten addition included a verbatim citation from a ninth-century addition to the martyrology of Florus of Lyon (d. *c.* 855–60) in Paris, BNF, lat. 3879 (written just after 837), an entry for the recently introduced All Saint's Day derived from a chronicle of Bede (d. 735), which recounts the renaming of the Pantheon in honour of the Virgin Mary and of all martyrs.[37] Brou concluded that the responsory was composed close in time to the criticism reported by Aurelian and that the miracle story probably came from the same Carolingian milieu as that attested by Aurelian.[38]

Brou may be correct, because the miracle story told by Aurelian and the responsory verse text reflect opinions current in Lyon in the decade before Aurelian wrote *Musica disciplina*. (Aurelian's abbey, Saint-Jean-de-Réôme, was situated in the archdiocese of Lyon.) The miracle is introduced by the statement that 'some found the responsory unsuitable for singing in the church, because its text was not drawn from a *historia*', that is, from one of several books of the Bible that usually furnished responsory texts as did the Psalms and, for the period after Pentecost,

[36] The evidence of the earliest graduals favours the assignment of *Adorabo* to the Purification: all six assign it to the feast, but only four, and not the earliest, assign it to the 'Dedicatio S. Mariae', that is, the Dedication of the Pantheon. See René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1935) (hereafter *AMS*), pp. 38 and 238.

[37] Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', p. 353 ('Note additionelle'); Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge*, 2nd edn (Paris: Lecoffre, 1908), p. 370, who edited the passage: 'Haec festivitas omnium sanctorum generalis est Romae. Petente namque papa Bonifatio, iussit Focas imperator in veteri fano quod Pantheon vocabatur, ablatis idolatriae sordibus, ecclesiam sanctae Mariae semper virginis et omnium martyrum fieri, ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum sed daemoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum'; and Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1976), p. 198. Abbot Helisachar (d. 833–40) contributed to the diffusion of All Saint's Day in northern Europe: see his sermon *Legimus* for the feast (PL, 94: 452–455), and Michel Huglo, 'D'Helisachar à Abbon de Fleury', *Revue bénédictine*, 104 (1994), 204–30 (pp. 208–09), reprinted as article V in Huglo, *La théorie de la musique antique et médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). *Gaude, Maria Virgo* and its miracle do not appear in any martyrology, to my knowledge, but the origin of so many martyrologies in the mid-ninth century provides a context within which the miracle in the *Musica disciplina* can be understood.

[38] Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', p. 353 ('Note additionelle').

the books of Kings, Wisdom, Job, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Maccabees, and Ezechial. The insistence on biblical texts in the liturgy was characteristic of the reformer Agobard (d. 840), Archbishop of Lyon, whom Florus served as archdeacon. Agobard, who had come to Lyon from Spain at the age of four,[39] published his views in a pastoral letter, *De correctione antiphonarii*, in 838 for the purpose of eliminating non-scriptural texts from the Roman antiphoner, such as the elaborate final responsory of Christmas Matins, *Descendit de celis* (*CAO* 6411), which he cites. *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, another final Matins responsory with newly composed text, is not mentioned,[40] but by our argument, it did not exist in Agobard's day. Yet the responsory and antiphon *Gaude, Maria Virgo* are noticeably absent from all medieval antiphoners from Lyon.

[39] Pointed out by Pierre Petitmengin in 'Les textes patristiques a faible diffusion', paper read at the 'Recontre franco-anglaise sur la transmission des textes latins, Paris, 18 avril 1983' (personal communication from Michel Huglo). This is important because the Old Spanish liturgy used only biblical texts.

[40] Michel Huglo notes that the Gregorian antiphoner had arrived in Lyon in 802 ('Recherches sur les tons psalmodiques de l'ancienne liturgie hispanique', *Revista de musicología*, 16 (1993), 477–90 (p. 488), reprinted as article XI in Huglo, *Les anciens répertoires de plain-chant* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005)). Agobard's complaint about *Descendit de celis* is in PL, 104: 332A and cf. *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, ed. by Leon Van Acker, Corpus Christianorum continuatio medievalis, 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981). Agobard's letter is thought to have been his response to reforms introduced in his absence by Amalarius of Metz, whom Aurelian cites in chapter 20. The letter was not widely copied, so it is significant that it appears in a manuscript from Lyon or from the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Paris, BNF, lat. 1745, fols 27ᵛ–30ᵛ, along with St Augustine's catalogue of heresies and other descriptions of heresies. On this manuscript, see Guy Lobrichon, 'Moines et clercs à Sens et Auxerre au Xᵉ siècle: Culture et société', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24–25 (1989–90), 277–94 (pp. 9–16), and Lobrichon, 'Culture et société à Saint-Germain d'Auxerre du IXᵉ au XIᵉ siècle: Enquête sur un manuscrit parisien (B.N. lat. 1745)', *Bulletin de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne*, 2 (1985), 9–16. On Agobard and Florus's sustained attack on Amalarius's writings, see Allen Cabaniss, *Agobard of Lyon, Churchman and Critic* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1953); cf. Michel Huglo, 'Les remaniements de l'antiphonaire grégorien au IXᵉ siècle: Hélisachar, Agobard, Amalaire', in *Culto cristiano, politica imperiale carolinga: XVIII Convegno internazionale di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 9–12 ottobre 1977*, ed. by Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievali (Todi: Presso l'Accademia Tudertina, 1979), pp. 87–120, reprinted as article XI in Huglo, *Les sources*. Also see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 570. Non-biblical texts were also controversial in the *Regula Pauli et Stephani* (PL, 66: 949–59) from Italy *c.* 951, but perhaps derived from a sixth-century Spanish model. See col. 953: (chapter XIV) 'Nullus praesumat responsoria vel antiphonas, quae solent aliqui composito sono pro suo libitu et non ex canonica Scriptura assumpta canere, in congregatione ista vel meditari vel dicere.' The Synod of Meaux of 845 again condemned non-biblical texts and new compositions, notably tropes.

Another text known in Lyon, a passage from Isidore of Seville's tract *De fide catholicos contra Judaeos*, uses the same language as the responsory verse *Gabrielem*, which defends the Virgin's sinless conception of Christ against the Jewish interpretation.[41]

> Quia Christus de virgine sine virili coitu genitus est [. . . part 2 . . .] Quia ergo ille, quem in utero virgo concepit et peperit Nobiscum Deus vocatur, Deus itaque in utero virginali conceptus natusque cognoscitur. Erubescant itaque Judaei increduli et Christi gratiae sua colla submittant [. . . part 3] Ecce enim quem virgo peperit nobiscum Deus appellatur. (Book I, chapter 10)[42]

Isidore's tract was surely known to the anti-Semitic Archbishops of Lyon, Agobard and Amolo.[43] Fewer than twenty manuscripts are known to contain this text, and one of the earliest is Lyon, BM, 611, a ninth-century manuscript probably written in and 'certainly' *located in* Lyon in the ninth century.[44] Thus, the miracle probably dates from no earlier than 838 and was evidently current in Aurelian's day. The verse is very likely from the archdiocese of Lyon, even if it was not accepted in Lyon to judge from the medieval antiphoners.

There is also musical evidence against a Roman origin of the responsory and antiphon. Both are absent from the two surviving antiphoners with 'Old Roman' chant for the office. The text incipit does appear, but only as a versicle preceding the Benedictus and Magnificat antiphons of the Purification and without the controversial melody, in Vatican City, BAV, San Pietro B. 79, a thirteenth-century manuscript from Saint Peter's in Rome, and in the twelfth-century manuscript London, BL, Add. 29988, perhaps with the rite of a Roman parish church.[45]

[41] Compare Thomas H. Connolly, 'Traces of a Jewish-Christian Community at S. Cecilia in Trastevere', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 7 (1998), 1–20, who describes the peaceful coexistence of Christians and Jews in Rome.

[42] PL, 83: 468.

[43] See *Amulonis. Epistola, seu liber contra Judaeos ad Carolum Regem* in PL, 116: 141–83. The Jews are repeatedly referred to as 'blind' in this text.

[44] On the manuscript sources for Isidore's text, see Gustav Meyer and Max Burckhardt, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel*, 2 vols (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1966), II, 557–58. Dom Célestin Charlier places Lyon, BM, 611 within a group of manuscripts 'certainly in Lyon in the ninth century' in his 'Les manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyon et son activité littéraire', in *Mélanges Emmanuel Podechard*, ed. by Faculté de théologie de Lyon (Lyon: Facultés Catholiques, 1945), pp. 71–82.

[45] There is a facsimile edition of the former: *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio S. Pietro B 79: Antifonario della Basilica di S. Pietro (sec. XII)*, ed. by Bonifacio Baroffio and Soo Jung Kim, Musica Italiae Liturgica 1, 2 vols (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1995).

Nor is the text *Gaude, Maria Virgo* assigned to any other Marian feast of the Old Roman liturgy, either as a responsory, antiphon, or even versicle.[46] *Gaude, Maria Virgo* is also absent from the later Roman manuscripts studied by Joseph Dyer.[47] This contrasts markedly with the presence of the responsory and antiphon in all of the earliest known Western antiphoners, most often as the final responsory of Matins for the Purification.

In both 'Old Roman' manuscripts, only seven responsories and not *Gaude, Maria Virgo* are assigned to the Purification. The placement of the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo* as the last responsory of Matins for the Purification in most Western antiphoners is evidence for its Western origin. The Old Roman antiphoners never assign more than eight responsories to Matins, and therefore the elaborate ninth responsories of Matins in the West, such as *Descendit de celis* for Christmas with its triple-neuma described by Amalarius of Metz, as well as *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, were surely Frankish additions to the office responsories received from Rome.[48]

In addition, the music of the responsory and verse is wholly unlike chant considered to be 'Old Roman'. The verse is newly composed, whereas Old Roman responsory verses were not. Moreover, it leads back to the repetendum, and Old Roman responsory verses lead back to the beginning of the responsory.[49] Furthermore, *Gaude, Maria Virgo* spans a tenth and includes many fourths, whereas Old Roman melodies tend to move within a narrow melodic compass.

If the responsory is not Roman, might it have come from Byzantium? The possibility of Byzantine influence must be considered, because, as Brou points out, two antiphons for the Purification are of Byzantine origin: *Adorna thalamum* and

[46] On the two Old Roman antiphoners and their repertories, see Edward Nowacki, 'Studies on the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1980). No *Gaude, Maria Virgo* antiphon appears in either manuscript.

[47] Letter from Joseph Dyer, 16 August 1997. Cf. Joseph Dyer, 'Prolegomena to a History of Music and Liturgy at Rome in the Middle Ages', in *Essays on Medieval Music*, ed. by Boone, pp. 87–115.

[48] Michel Huglo, 'Du répons de l'office avec prosule au répons organisé', in *Altes im Neuen: Festschrift Theodor Göllner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Bernd Edelmann and Manfred Hermann Schmid, Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 51 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1995), pp. 25–36 (p. 27) (reprinted as article XVII in Huglo, *Chant grégorien*). Cf. Thomas F. Kelly, 'Neuma Triplex', *Acta musicologica*, 60 (1988), 1–30.

[49] Each of the eighty known Old Roman responsories takes a standard responsory verse tone. See Paul Cutter, 'Die altrömischen und gregorianischen Responsorien im zweiten Modus', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 54 (1970), 33–40. Cf. note 64 on the problems resulting from singing the repetendum after the verse.

Ave gratia plena. (The other chants for the feast include demonstrably Roman chant for the Mass, with historical texts and without Byzantine counterparts.[50]) Brou compares *Gabrielem*, the lengthy verse of *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, to the verse *Dicant nunc Judaei* of the Easter responsory *Christus resurgens* (*CAO* 1796). The Latin text of the verse of the latter is a translation of a Byzantine sticheron.[51] Like *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, it lacks standard musical formulas and is extremely long. Brou uses the example of *Dicant nunc* to argue for an Eastern origin of *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, but the manuscript transmission of the two chants would seem to remove this possibility. Two melodies survive for *Dicant nunc* — one Ambrosian, one not — but neither matches the melody of the sticheron. *Dicant nunc* is found first in a wide selection of Ambrosian, Roman, and other sources,[52] but in only one of the twelve earliest Western antiphoners, Hesbert's 'D'. By contrast, *Gaude, Maria Virgo* and its verse appear in all twelve of the earliest antiphoners, but not in Roman or Lyonnais sources, as mentioned above. The common Byzantine affirmation *kaire* was translated in Latin chant as *Ave*, not as *Gaude*, though Anton Baumstark identified what he considered to be a seventh-century Ambrosian Marian *transitorium* of Byzantine origin, *Gaude et laetare*, as an earlier form of the five-*Gaude* antiphon composed by Peter Damian in the eleventh century.[53] More recent scholarship has suggested that Gallican communions

[50] See *AMS*, pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix and 36–39. Note that *Ave gratia plena*, which was translated from Greek, includes the phrase 'sol justitiae illuminans que in tenebris sunt'. Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', pp. 342–47, considers the Byzantine contribution to the Purification ceremony and the possibility of a Byzantine origin of *Gaude, Maria Virgo*. Also see Michel Huglo, 'Relations musicales entre Byzance et l'Occident', in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September 1966*, ed. by Joan M. Hussey (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 267–80 (pp. 270–73), reprinted as article XV in Huglo, *Les anciens répertoires*.

[51] See Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', pp. 322, 341.

[52] Jacques Handschin, 'Sur quelques tropaires grecs traduits en latin', *Annales musicologiques*, 2 (1954), 47–48, and Michel Huglo and others, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, ed. by Ernesto Moneta-Caglia and Luigi Agustoni, Archivio Ambrosiano, 7 (Milan: Scuola tipografia San Benedetto, 1956), p. 240 (table) and passim.

[53] Baumstark's argument is discussed in G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland*, 2 vols, Spicilegium Friburgense, 2–3 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1960), I, 16–19, II, 33–43, and passim. Compare Terence Bailey, ed., *The Transitoria of the Ambrosian Mass Edited from Three Sources* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002), pp. 29–30, an edition of *Gaude et laetare* (which, interestingly, includes the rhyme *suscepisti* [. . .] *genuisti*, but is musically unrelated to the 'Gregorian' *Gaude* chants). Bailey's manuscript sources date from the twelfth and

influenced some Milanese transitoria, and not the reverse.[54] Thus, the evidence for a Byzantine origin for *Gaude, Maria Virgo* via *Gaude et laetare* is inconclusive.

Could the responsory or verse then be Gallican? The evidence for this is also inconclusive, because earlier Christian texts emphasize Mary's virginity in the way of the responsory, as do some texts from Gallican ritual. Brou had observed, for example, that a famous letter of St Leo to Flavian of Constantinople emphasizes the inviolate Virgin as does the text of *Gaude, Maria virgo*,[55] but Henri Barré and Baudouin de Gaiffier showed that these ideas had circulated in the writings of African monks and early patristic authors.[56] The Mass for Christmas Eve in the early eighth-century Bobbio missal (from Burgundy or Provence) also uses the word *inviolata*,[57] and in the early eighth-century *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (from Burgundy, possibly Auxerre), the texts of the *Missa de adventu domini nostri Iesu Christi* cite Gabriel and the intact womb.[58]

thirteenth centuries. Also see Bailey's discussion of the chant in his *The Transitoria of the Ambrosian Mass: Compositional Process* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003). The five-*Gaude* antiphon text published by Meersseman, II, 190 (from PL, 145: 581) is very similar to that of *CAO* 2920. In my opinion it is highly significant that Meersseman considered Damian to be the stimulus for the *Gaude* tradition he describes, because Damian lived in Ravenna, where St Germain of Auxerre died.

[54] Huglo and others, *Fonti*, pp. 123–27.

[55] Brou, 'Marie "Destructrice"', pp. 347–49. The text cited by Brou is letter XXVIII (PL, 54: 755–82), col. 767: 'Nova autem nativitate generatus, quia inviolata virginitas concupiscentiam nescivit. carnis materiam ministravit.' The word *inviolati* (not *inviolata*) is in the Vulgate only in Sirach (Ecclesiastes) 46. 19 and in II Peter 3. 14. Both verses concern the Christian conscience, not virginity.

[56] See Barré, 'Antiennes et répons', pp. 189–93, 207–13, and Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Bulletin des publications hagiographiques', *Analecta bollandiana*, 66 (1948), 356–57.

[57] E. A. Lowe and others, eds, *The Bobbio Missal, A Gallican Mass-book,* 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 53 (Facsimile) and 58 (Texts) (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1917–20; repr. 1991), here II, 24, 'Missa in uigiliis natalis domini [. . .] Contestatio. Uere dignum et iustum [. . .] Qui a summo celo tronisque regalibus ad hyma discendens patris imperio. sacre mariae utero inuiolate susceptus est.'

[58] Leonhard Cunibert Mohlberg and others, eds, *Missale gallicanum vetus* [Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 493], Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior, Fontes, 3 (Rome: Herder, 1958), pp. 12–13, 'Item missa de aduentu domini nostri iesu christi [. . .] Haec postquam prophaetica sepius uox praedixit et Gabrihel angelus Mariae iam praesentiam nuntiauit, mox puellae credentis in utero fidelis uerbi mansit aspirata conceptio; [. . .] Tumibatur uirginis sinus, et fecunditate suorum uiscerum corpus mirabatur intactum. Grande mundo spondebatur auxilium faeminae partus sine uiro misterium.'

More interesting is the collect of the *Missa sancte Mariae sollemnitate*, celebrated on the first Sunday after the Epiphany, which relates that 'God deigned *to illumine* the world by covering the womb of the Virgin' (emphasis mine),[59] and thus describes light as the consequence of Christ's incarnation, just as sight is the consequence of a 'double incarnation': the composition of a song, and the incarnation it describes, within Aurelian's *Gaude, Maria Virgo* miracle story. The two-syllable rhyme in *Gaude, Maria Virgo* and its verse is also noteworthy, because it is found in the rhetorical writing of late Roman antiquity and Roman Gaul, which may have had an influence on the Irish, and in Irish religious poetry of the ninth century.[60] This is important, because Irish monasticism radiated throughout Burgundy in Merovingian times, from Luxeuil to the abbeys of Saint-Jean-de-Réôme and even Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. Thus, the responsory and miracle story show some affinity to Gallican culture.

The texts and music of the responsory also exhibit features of newly composed Carolingian chant, however. The text of the verse *Gabrielem* is in first person plural (though such verses were sometimes performed by a soloist, not just by two

[59] See Lowe and others, *The Bobbio Missal*, I, fols 57^{v}–58^{r}, and II, 38–39: 'Exaudi nos. domine sancte pater. omnipotens deus. qui beate marie uteri. obumbracione cunctum. mundum inluminare dignatus est. maiestatem tuam supplices. deprecamur ut quod nostris. meritis non ualemus eius adepisce presidiis meriamur. te quaesumus domine famolantes. ut beate mariae/ nos. gaudia. comitentur Cuius meritis. nostra dileantur chyrografa peccatorum.' On this text's assignment to the first Sunday after Epiphany, see ibid., II, 27. The origin of the missal is the subject of André Wilmart and others, *The Bobbio Missal, Notes and Studies*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 61 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1924); and Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens, eds, *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 45, 50. Wilmart and Lowe place it near Besançon or in Burgundy, possibly Luxeuil; Rosamund McKitterick now situates it in Provence or the archdiocese of Vienne if not the city itself.

[60] The source of verse rhyme was rhetorical prose, according to Mikhail Gasparov, *A History of European Versification*, trans. by G. S. Smith and Marina Tarlinskaja (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 96–102. Classical rhetoric regarded parallelism (the use of *isocola*) as the main 'embellishment', whose structure was emphasized through opposition (antithesis) (as in the Psalms) and sound structure through similarity of endings (homoïoteleuton). In Gasparov's example, p. 97, all phrases of what is clearly prose end in two-syllable rhyme. According to Gasparov, the fashion for such rhyme developed in the ninth century under the influence of Irish authors writing in Latin who transferred their Celtic rhyming habits into their Latin poetry. Cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 25, who cites *Gaude Maria* as an example of two-syllabled rhyme 'as it had been used so often in the rhetorical prose of the fathers', and Ritva Jonsson, *Historia* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968), p. 71.

singers, in the Middle Ages). The responsory text is in the third person. The verse also has an unusually high tessitura:[61] it takes the sixth tone, whereas the responsory melody is tonally unstable and moves from the third tone at its beginning to the sixth tone at its cadence.[62] The sixth tone was described as 'mournful' and 'lacrymose' in the Middle Ages, so it is interesting that the first person in Gautier's miracle describes the responsory as 'doul [et] piteus'.[63] A similar disjunction in text between a responsory verse and its repetendum as heard at the imperial chapel in Aachen, and the subsequent reforms were described in a letter written *c.* 814–22 from Helisachar to Archbishop Nidibrius of Narbonne, but the problem is also confronted in Aurelian's treatise, and indeed, *Gaude, Maria Virgo* is evidence that it persisted. The disjunction may have resulted from the composition of new responsory verses, which is amply documented in the ninth-century chant repertory, and again by Aurelian.[64]

[61] Cistercian antiphoners, according to their *Regulae de cantu*, move the verse to the fifth below to avoid exceeding the tenth. See, for example, Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 1412 (Morimondo), Paris, BNF, lat. 8882 (Auxerre), and University of North Texas, Rare Books, Antiphonarium M 2149.L4 1500z (southern Germany). A facsimile of the first is Claire Maître, *Un antiphonaire cistercien pour le sanctoral, XIIe siècle: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions latines 1412* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1999), see fols 24^v (antiphon), 26^v, and 46^v (responsory).

[62] Perhaps the cadence of the responsory was recomposed to match the tone of the verse. Some medieval theorists analysed *Gaude Maria Virgo*: Aurelian's comments are discussed in Joseph Ponte, 'Aureliani Reomensis, Musica disciplina: A Revised Text, Translation, and Commentary' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1961), pp. 58–60, 122–24 (miracle, responsory), and pp. 141–44 (antiphon). Also see the writings of Regino of Prüm (in his tonary), Anonymous XI (ch. 2), John Cotton (ch. 16), Elias Salomon (ch. 31), the anonymous author of the *Summe Musice* (Christopher Page, ed., *The Summa musice: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 107), and John Wylde (fol. 48^v). The texts can be read online at <http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/start.html>, the Web site of the *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*, Thomas Mathiesen, director. Also see Christian Meyer, 'Die Tonartenlehre im Mittelalter', in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, ed. by Thomas Ertelt and Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984–2000), IV: *Die Lehre vom einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, ed. by Michel Huglo and others (2000), pp. 135–215 (pp. 188–90), and Karl-Werner Gümpel, 'Gregorianischer Gesang und Musica ficta: Bemerkungen zur spanischen Musiktheorie des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 47 (1990), 120–47 (p. 145).

[63] In Paris, B. Ars., 3517 (MS D), fol. 183^r. See Harold Powers, 'Mode', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musci and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 398.

[64] See Kenneth Levy, 'Abbot Helisachar's Antiphoner', in *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 178–86, esp. p. 179. Here responsories and verses were to come from compatible scriptural sources and agree in meaning. In Aurelian,

A late ninth-century text directs our attention to Auxerre. It is an undated commentary by Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908) on the fifth-century Phocas's *Artem de nomine et verbo*, thought by Colette Jeudy to date from Remigius's stay in Reims.[65] In his commentary, Remigius explains the word *erubesco* by citing the last phrase of the verse to the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo*: 'RUBEO RUBUI, id est verecundo, inde erubesco. Inde legitur: Erubescat Iudeus infelix.' Remigius spent his life at the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre until he was called to teach in Reims, in 883 or 893, and in Paris *c.* 900.[66] That he decided to cite the most memorable part of the chant to the listener, the word *erubescat*, where the melody climbs over the tonal fence as the Jew is made here to blush from his thoughts, strongly suggests that Remigius had been moved by a performance of the responsory in Auxerre if not in Reims. Since the *Musica disciplina* text in the Valenciennes manuscript with the *Gaude* miracle also includes an excerpt from the *Miracula* of St Germain, but no texts specifically associated with Reims, the former abbey has the more prominent place in the responsory's history.[67] Furthermore a liturgical addition just after *Musica disciplina* in the Valenciennes manuscript concords most closely with manuscripts from Auxerre and Paris.[68]

Musica disciplina, chapters 11: 8–11 and 15: 4–6, the main concern is that both share the same tense. In the *Gaude, Maria Virgo* miracle, the responsory and verse serve as an example of tonal incongruity. Much of the practical instruction in *Musica disciplina* addresses the proper way to sing verses (to antiphonal and responsorial chant), and changes of verses are noticed throughout the treatise.

[65] See Colette Jeudy, 'L'oeuvre de Rémi d'Auxerre, État de la question', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre: De Murethach à Remi, 830–908. Entretiens d'Auxerre, 1989*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat and others (Paris: Beauchesne, 1991), pp. 373–97 and 481–82 (*Clavis*); her description of item no. 17 in the exhibition catalogue *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne, IXe–XIe siècles, Auxerre (Yonne), Abbaye Saint-Germain, Juillet-Octobre 1990*, ed. by Centre Nationale de la Récherche Scientifique (Auxerre: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1990), pp. 49–51; and her study 'L'"Ars de nomine et uerbo" de Phocas, manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux', *Viator*, 5 (1974), 61–156 (pp. 65–71). It is in only one manuscript from the third quarter of the twelfth century from the Benedictine priory of Horsham St Faith.

[66] *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. by Cora E. Lutz (Leiden: Brill, 1965), pp. 7–8, n. 9.

[67] The presence of this text in the Valenciennes manuscript complicates the dating of the treatise and manuscript. See Aurelian, *Musica disciplina*, p. 133 (edition of the passage); Michael Bernhard, 'Textkritisches zu Aurelianus Reomensis', *Musica disciplina*, 40 (1986), 49–61 (later date for passage and treatise), and Haggh, 'Traktat', p. 49 (passage added later to an earlier treatise).

[68] Haggh, 'Traktat', pp. 67–68, 77. Since this article was published, close concordances were also found in Paris, BNF, lat. 17296 (late twelfth century, from Saint-Denis); Paris, BNF, lat.

Moreover, of the early sermons and commentaries that I could consult on Matthew 1. 18–25, none argue for Mary's virginity with the language of the responsory as does Remigius of Auxerre's homily IV.[69]

Like many Carolingian cities, Auxerre was most preoccupied with establishing itself as another Rome.[70] This is already apparent in the writings of Murethach, an Irish monk and teacher in Auxerre between 830 and 855, who selects Rome as well as Auxerre to illustrate questions of place in his grammar book *In Donati artem maiorem* in the chapter on the adverb: 'Romae sum, Autissiodori sum. Romam pergo, Autissiodorum pergo. Roma venio Roma transeo, Autissiodoro venio Autissiodoro transeo.'[71] Haymo of Auxerre brings Roman history into his commentaries on the Bible, and Heiric of Auxerre includes numerous excerpts from classical authors in his *Collectanea*, including the writings of Valerius Maximus and Suetonius's descriptions of the Roman emperors.[72] Romanophilia in Auxerre rose to unprecedented intensity in the second half of the ninth century, when, as part of the building campaign at the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, monks left for Rome in 862 expressly to collect Roman relics and returned with

1029 and Auxerre, BM, 55 (both fourteenth century, from Auxerre); Paris, BNF, lat. 15181 (thirteenth century, from Notre Dame).

[69] PL, 131: 886–892, especially 891: 'Dominus igitur Jesus Christus cum sit unigenitus bene dicitur primogenitus, quia primus de Virgine est natus, et natus quidem non devirginavit matrem, quae *virgo semper permansit*; de ea namque scriptum est: Porta haec clausa erit, et vir non transibit per eam: solus Dominus egredietur per eam, et erit semper clausa [emphasis mine].' A sermon on Matthew 1 attributed to Pseudo-Bede, PL, 92: 12, uses a phrase similar to the verse of *Gaude, Maria Virgo*: 'Qui fuit propinquus Mariae. Quia non erat consuetudo historicis mulieres in genealogia numerare, et ut diabolum lateret nativitas ejus, aestimantem Christum *de Joseph semine natum*; aliter enim in eum manus extendere non auderet [emphasis mine].' This is not an early text, but I have no further information about it.

[70] On 'being Roman', music, and the Carolingian political program, see Susan Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', in *Carolingian Culture, Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamund McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 274–316 (pp. 275–79).

[71] Murethach, *In Donati artem maiorem*, ed. by Louis Holtz, Corpus Christianorum continuatio medievalis, 40, Grammatici Hibernici carolini aevi, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), p. 161. Murethach, in Metz under Drogon (823–55), was the teacher of Haymo of Auxerre (855–59), who taught Remigius of Auxerre.

[72] Edmond Ortigues, 'Haymon d'Auxerre, théoricien des trois ordres', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat and others, pp. 181–227 (p. 201); Heiric of Auxerre, *Heirici Autissiodorensis Collectanea*, ed. by Riccardo Quadri, Spicilegium Friburgense, 11 (Fribourg: Presse de l'Université, 1966).

those of the Roman martyrs Tiburtius (martyred with Chromatius under Diocletian, feast 11 August) and Pope Urban I (martyred *c.* 230, feast 25 May).[73]

The most visible reincarnation of Rome was the ecclesiastical geography of Auxerre. Most of the surviving evidence postdates the churches, so truth and legend are difficult to separate, but it is significant that the early churches of Auxerre were first *described* in writing in the *Gesta* of the Bishops of Auxerre written *c.* 880.[74] According to the *Gesta*, under the Merovingians, Auxerre had two churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary. One of these, like the Pantheon in Rome, belonged to a class of churches of similar (but not identical) design, identified by historians of architecture as Marian rotundas.[75] These can be traced back to rotundas in the Holy Land and increased in number after the Council of Ephesus held in 431. The first round Marian church described in the *Gesta* was established outside of the walls of Auxerre to the north-west by Vigilius, Bishop of Auxerre from 658 to 684, where he was later buried, and the Roman Pantheon has been suggested as its model.[76] A second and earlier Auxerrois Marian church,

[73] Described in Heiric of Auxerre's *Miracula sancti Germani*, book 2, chapter 3 (PL, 124: 1258–66).

[74] Edited most recently in Michel Sot and Guy Lobrichon, *Les Gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, 42 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2002). P. Janin, 'Heiric d'Auxerre et les *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*', *Francia*, 4 (1976), 89–105, argues that the *Gesta* were written in response to Heiric of Auxerre's *Miracula*.

[75] See William Lloyd MacDonald, *The Pantheon, Design, Meaning, and Progeny* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), and, on Marian rotundas, Richard Krautheimer, 'Sancta Maria Rotunda', in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London: London University Press, 1969), pp. 107–14, and Christian Sapin, 'L'origine des rotondes mariales des IXe–XIe siècles et le cas de Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre', in *Marie: Le culte*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, pp. 295–312, also the many publications on Merovingian and Carolingian architecture in Burgundy by Carol Heitz. On the rotunda of the *anastasis* in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, see Kenneth John Conant, 'The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem', *Speculum*, 31 (1956), 1–48.

[76] The archival evidence includes a manuscript copy of the will made by Dom Viole, now Auxerre, BM, 127; also a sixteenth-century copy of the will in the Archives départementales de l'Yonne, fonds Saint-Marien, transcribed by Maximilien Quantin in *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 2 vols (Auxerre: Perriquet, 1854–60), I, 17–21, no. 4bis (Testament de l'évêque St Vigile contenant la fondation du monastère de Notre-Dame-la-d'Hors et sa dotation en biens situés dans un grand nombre de lieux, 658–683): 'Sancta venerabilis basilica domnae Mariae genitricis Domini [...] quam opere meo in suburbio murus civitatis de Althisiodero visi fuimus construxisse [. . .] vel monachis ibidem deservientibus.' Jean Lebeuf also transcribes the document in his *Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse*, 4 vols

whose shape is not known, was built in the seventh century by Bishop Palladius, who was known to have visited Rome and lived just after the Roman Pantheon was dedicated.[77]

The idea of the Marian rotunda, already realized in the tomb of Vigilius, was given its most prominent expression in the mid-ninth century, and it is this Marian rotunda that we claim pertains to the miracle about the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo*. In 841, construction began of a two-tiered rotunda linked to two levels of crypts by three small aisles, its upper level dedicated to Mary. It extended to the

(Auxerre: Perriquet, 1848–55), with the notice, in IV, 6: 'On remarquera la latinité de cette pièce qui est très-défectueuse, ce qui prouve en faveur de son authenticité. On sait qu'au VIIe siècle les actes étaient rédigés dans le style le plus barbare. Dom Viole de qui elle est tirée annonce dans son manuscrit qu'il l'a transcrite de l'original existant à l'abbaye Saint-Marien.' Also see the *Gesta*, Sot and Lobrichon, eds, *Les Gestes*, pp. 114–17 (with facing translation into French): 'XXII. De Vigilio [658–683]. [. . .] Inter cetera nanque virtutum suarum insignia, etiam monasterium in suburbio ciuitatis Autissiodorensis construxit, quod pluribus ditatum muneribus, ut testamenti ipsius series demonstrat, in honore sancte Dei genitricis Marie dedicauit. Quod etiam muro circuncingens monachorum esse constituit [. . .] Sepultus est autem in basilica sancte Dei genitricis Marie, quam ipse construxerat [. . .].' And see Gilbert-Robert Delahaye, 'Le sarcophage de St Vigile, évêque d'Auxerre au VIIe siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne*, 5 (1988), 53–58, and especially Sapin, 'L'origine des rotondes', p. 296.

[77] See the map of the churches of Auxerre at the end of the seventh century in *Abbaye Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre*, p. 11, and the evidence of the *Gesta*, Sot and Lobrichon, eds, *Les Gestes*, pp. 110–15: 'XXI. De Palladio [623–657]: [. . .] Hic fuit uir strenuus atque temporibus domni Desiderii predecessoris sui abbas monasterii Sancti-Germani. [. . .] Fecit et monasterium sancti Juliani martyris, ubi edificauit basilicam alteram, quam in honore sancte Dei genitricis Marie dedicauit. Quod monasterium uirginum esse constituit, quod ante ipsum infra muros ciuitatis paruo ambitu constructum uirorum fuisse certissimum est. Nam et id monasterium maximis edificiis extulit, ac muro unique circuncinxit, et quia omnes aecclesie Autissiodorenses sue deditioni erant subjecte, tam ex sancti Stephani, quam etiam ex sancti Germani uillis copiose ditavit.' Also see the thirteenth-century Cartulary of Saint-Julien, Archives de l'Yonne, 70 H, summarized in Quantin, *Cartulaire*, pp. 7–9: Fondation par Pallade, Évêque d'Auxerre, du Monastère de Notre-Dame, Saint-André et Saint-Julien près de cette ville (An 634): 'L'évêque y rapporte qu'il a fondé, avec l'approbation du roi Dagobert, un monastère ou *cella* au faubourg d'Auxerre; qu'il l'a pourvu de trois églises, l'une dédiée à la Vierge, l'autre à St André, apôtre, la deuxième à Notre-Dame et la troisième à St Julien, martyr, avec un oratoire à St Féréol et à St Martin. Il le destine à des filles et à des femmes veuves et le dote de biens pris sur les domaines de l'évêché. [. . .] Il veut que chaque jour l'office divin soit célébré dans les trois églises, et que le jeudi toute la communauté aille en procession à la basilique-mère de Saint-Étienne, et qu'on y dise la messe pour le roi Dagobert et ses descendants pour tous les rois chrétiens et pour lui-même et ses successeurs.' Note that Palladius was not buried in the Marian church he had built.

east of the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre.[78] This two-tiered design is common to palatine chapels, including Charlemagne's in Aachen, the church of Sainte-Marie-de-Compiègne established by Charles the Bald (for which the antiphoner first transmitting *Gaude, Maria Virgo* was prepared), and, later, the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, but the Auxerrois crypts — like the earlier Roman Pantheon — also served as a mausoleum: they were built to house the relics of St Germain (d. 448).[79] It is significant not only that this most prominent new edifice in ninth-century Auxerre was the Marian rotunda with its crypts, but that this was where the tomb of the martyr, St Germain of Auxerre, rested. In this way the new crypts united for the first time the antique rotunda-mausoleums, like the Roman Pantheon, with the two-tiered design and ritual function of the palatine chapels. Christian Sapin traces a Carolingian revival in the construction of such primarily 'liturgical' Marian rotundas specifically to the Marian crypt of the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre.[80]

What is more, just as the blind Victor regains his sight at an altar in the miracle of *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, so Count Conrad, the brother-in-law of Louis the Pious (Charles the Bald was his nephew), who initiated the construction of the two crypts and Marian rotunda, experienced a similar miracle. When Conrad prayed at the tomb of St Germain sight returned to his eyes blinded by glaucoma, as Heiric of Auxerre reports in his *Miracula sancti Germani*. This miraculous event moved Conrad to have the crypts and rotunda built, a project supervised by his wife Adelaide (Aelis).[81] The relics of St Germain that had cured his sight were transferred to the Marian crypt during the Dedication ceremony — it still carried the name *Notre Dame des Miracles* in the eighteenth century.[82]

[78] The placement of the rotunda and crypts in the abbey is shown on p. 32 in *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre* and described in detail by Sapin in 'L'origine des rotondes', pp. 299–301, with an illustration p. 308. Also see Monique Jannet and Christian Sapin, eds, *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'architecture des rotondes* (Dijon: Éditions universitaires, 1996), pp. 261–66. There is a vast literature on the crypts, which are still being excavated. See Jean Roumailhac and others, eds, *Auxerre Ve–XIe siècles: L'Abbaye Saint-Germain et la Cathédrale Saint-Étienne* (Paris: Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne, 1991), and the other publications of the Société des fouilles.

[79] A tenth-century rotunda modelled after the Pantheon is that of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, but it postdates *Gaude, Maria Virgo*. See Carolyn Marino Malone, 'The Rotunda of Sancta Maria in Dijon as "Ostwerk"', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 284–317.

[80] Sapin, 'L'origine des rotondes', pp. 304–05 and 308–09, and *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, pp. 206–08 ('Saint-Germain dans son réseau de relations').

[81] Heiric, *Miracula*, book 2, chapter 1, 84–87, ed. PL, 124: 1248–49.

[82] Sapin, 'L'origine des rotondes', pp. 299–301.

The construction of the Marian rotunda and new crypts of the abbey of Saint-Germain dominated life in ninth-century Auxerre, the single most prominent event of that century. On 28 August 841, Héribald, Bishop of Auxerre, in the presence of Emperor Charles the Bald, presided at the first translation of the body of St Germain to the crypt of St Stephen in the abbey, which marked the beginning of the construction of the crypts.[83] After this time, the abbey received a multitude of royal privileges and its patrimony so increased that the canons of the nearby, less fortunate cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Auxerre waged a campaign to diminish the stature of the abbey, a campaign receiving its expression in the *Gesta* of the Bishops of Auxerre.[84] The wealth of the abbey was in evidence on the feast of the Epiphany in 859, when Emperor Charles the Bald again visited Auxerre to preside at the Dedication of the rotunda and new crypts and to carry the body of St Germain during the second translation of the saintly relics.[85] (The crypts were reconsecrated in 865 when other, additional relics arrived from Rome.[86]) It is now thought that the two earlier events of 841 and 859, the only instances in the ninth century when Charles the Bald visited Auxerre, prompted him to commission from Heiric the Life of St Germain of Auxerre in verse as well as the *Miracula* excerpted in the *Musica disciplina* text of the Valenciennes manuscript.

Indeed, the text of *Gaude, Maria Virgo* seems particularly appropriate for the Dedication of these crypts and rotunda. St Germain of Auxerre's most important claim to sainthood was his lifelong combat against the heresy of the followers of

[83] Sot and Lobrichon, eds, *Les Gestes*, pp. 152–53; Heiric, *Miracula*, book 2, chapter 2, 96–98, ed. PL, 124: 1252–54.

[84] Joachim Wollasch, 'Das Patrimonium Beati Germani in Auxerre', in *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des großfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels*, ed. by Gerd Tellenbach, Forschungen zur Oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 4 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Eberhard Albert Verlag, 1957), pp. 185–224.

[85] At the translation in 859 only a few bishops and assisting priests entered the crypt, which is, today, quite small. There they chanted hymns and psalmodized without interruption during the Dedication ceremony: 'Hymnos vero et psalmodiam infatigabiliter personantes, data opera in officio perseverare mandavit.' The Abbot of Saint-Germain arrived three days later. See Heiric, *Miracula*, book 2, chapter 2, 101, 103–06 in PL, 124: 1254–57. No responsory is mentioned in this description, but chronicles rarely provide precise descriptions of musical events.

[86] Heiric, *Miracula*, book 2, chapter 3 in PL, 124: 1258–66. On the location of the relics of St Germain and of other saints, see Jean Roumailhac, 'Dans la confession de l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, la disposition des corps saints autour de celui de Germain selon les *Miracula sancti Germani* d'Heiric', *Bulletin de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne*, 2 (1985), 17–22.

Pelagius in Britain, who did not believe in original sin but in the free will of the individual to choose right and wrong. Consequently, they rejected predestination and grace. What could be more powerful to celebrate the arrival of the relics of St Germain of Auxerre at their final resting place in a Marian rotunda than a praise to the Virgin who refutes all heresies by her grace — a reminder to worshippers of St Germain that the Virgin would continue to extinguish heresy forever.[87]

The text of *Gaude, Maria Virgo* is also well suited to the feast of the Epiphany, the date when the Auxerrois crypts were dedicated. As noted above, its text defends the truths of the end of chapter one of the Gospel of Matthew. The very next two verses beginning chapter two describe the coming of the Magi, and the second verse provided the text for an antiphon, alleluia-verse, and communion for the Epiphany, *Vidimus stellam*. Moreover, a sermon written specifically for the Epiphany, falsely attributed to Petrus Damianus (d. 1072) and now thought to be by an unknown Cistercian author, includes a literal quote from the antiphon *Gaude, Maria Virgo* — 'Stella lucet in nocte, et ipsa virgo in nocte hujus saeculi singulariter fulsit, secundum quod de ea scriptum est: "Quae cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universo mundo"' — as well as the phrases 'gaudeant gentiles' and 'exultent iudaei'.[88] Notker Balbulus assigns his sequence *Gaude, Maria Virgo* to only a few days earlier, the Circumcision, 1 January, a feast whose liturgy also emphasizes Mary's virginity, and a thirteenth-century liturgical drama for the Circumcision at Beauvais cathedral includes the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo*.[89] In Byzantium the feast of the Epiphany celebrated the birth of Christ; but the first of January, the date of the Byzantine feast of the Dormition of the Virgin, replaced a pagan Roman feast on 1 January and took the title *In Natale sanctae Mariae*. The Gallican *Festivitas sanctae Mariae* attested by Gregory of Tours (d. 594) is thought to have evolved from the Roman feast.[90] Two Marian responsories only in the Compiègne antiphoner, though not *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, have been associated with that feast.[91]

[87] See note 40 above on BNF lat. 1745.

[88] PL, 144: 508C–D. The sermon is not edited in *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones*, ed. by Joannis Lucchesi, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), see pp. vii, x–xii.

[89] See note 13 above.

[90] The antiphoner of Senlis includes a Mass *Natale Sanctae Mariae* on 19 January, a vestige of a Gallican feast of 18 January. See *AMS*, p. xxiv.

[91] Barré, 'Antiennes et répons', p. 219.

Finally, the life and writings of Heiric of Auxerre suggest that he knew the responsory and its message. From 862 to 865, just after the Dedication of the crypts in Auxerre, Heiric sojourned at the abbey of Saint-Médard in Soissons,[92] where the antiphoner and gradual of Compiègne including the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, its verse with the 'lectio difficilior' *credimus*, and the antiphon were likely prepared by 877. There is evidence in Heiric's homilies that he was well aware of the ideas expressed in *Gaude, Maria Virgo*. In his homily for Wednesday of the fourth week in Advent (no. I, 5), commenting on Luke 1. 32, 'Et filius altissimi vocabitur', he specifically describes the heretics who do not believe Jesus to be the son of God, born of the Virgin Mary.[93] In his homily for the Purification (no. I, 24), he emphasizes that Christ was not born of human seed and establishes a link between this idea from *Gaude, Maria Virgo* and the Purification ceremony of the Old Testament for new mothers.[94] Thus, Heiric of Auxerre's text joins two histories. The earlier associates *Gaude, Maria Virgo* with the Epiphany and Circumcision, possibly in remembrance of the earlier Gallican Marian feast.[95] The later history, beginning in the antiphoner of Compiègne, places the responsory *Gaude, Maria Virgo* in Matins for the Purification and later introduces it to other Marian feasts. With Heiric the themes of the responsory are associated with the Purification in the decade before the preparation of the antiphoner of Compiègne, the first source to attest the placement of the responsory in that feast's liturgy.

[92] Quadri, 'L'École de Saint-Germain', in *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, p. 39.

[93] *Heirici Autissiodorensis Homiliae per circulum anni*, ed. by Riccardo Quadri, 2 vols, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 96, 116 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), I, 48, lines 111–19: 'Videant hunc locum haeretici qui negant eum esse filium Dei, neque ante Mariam fuisse credunt. Ex tempore enim conceptionis ea potestas fuit in assumpto homine propter unitatem personae quae semper mansit in uerbo, quam et Dei filius aeternaliter habuit, quia sicut homo ex carne et anima constans unus homo dicitur, ita uerbum Dei patris ex carne anima et diuinitate consistens unus dicitur filius Dei et filius hominis; unde et eadem virgo beata Maria Dei genitrix dicitur.'

[94] *Heirici Autissiodorensis Homiliae*, ed. by Quadri, I, 192–93, lines 21–29 (here Heiric cites Leviticus 12. 2–3): 'Mulier si suscepto semine pepererit masculum, immunda erit septem diebus et die octava circumcidetur infantulus: ipsa vero triginta tribus diebus manebit in sanguine purificationis suae.' (Then he continues in his own words, introducing the virgin birth (italics mine)): 'Dicens enim mulierem suscepto semine parientem una cum prole oblatis uictimis debere mundari, *illam utique ab hac necessitate distinguit quae sine suscepto uiri semine uirgo concepit et uirgo peperit*. Reliqui namque homines idcirco cum peccato originali oriuntur, quia cum delectatione carnis atque cum ardore libidinis in materno utero concupiuntur; *dominus autem Ihesus Christus quia sicut absque uirili semine, ita etiam absque carnali delectatione in utero uirginis spiritu sancto cooperante conceptus est, ideo et sine peccato natus est*.' See p. 177 of this article.

[95] See the discussion on p. 191 of this article.

The Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Médard of Soissons housed the library Gautier de Coinci is thought to have used in compiling his *MND*, written while he was Prior of Vic-sur-Aisne near Soissons. (He later became Abbot of Saint-Médard from 1233 until his death in 1236.) Adolfo Mussafia could not find an exact model for Gautier's *Gaude, Maria* story, however, and it is indeed quite different from the ninth-century miracle story, but with significant common points.[96]

In Book II, Miracle 13 of Gautier's collection, the story of *Gaude, Maria Virgo* is expanded to nearly seven hundred lines of poetry. A Jew tricks a boy to follow him to his house, then kills and buries him. The boy's mother prays to the Virgin and goes to the Jews to accuse them, but faints from her pain and torment. Now her dead son sings the responsory from his grave at such a high pitch — this is the same high-pitched anti-Jewish verse cited by Remigius of Auxerre — that the Christian community hears the boy and finds him (and goes after the Jews). Thus the boy is resuscitated, and his mother is cured by the boy's singing. She asks all to burn candles before the Virgin. In this miracle the boy's singing of *Gaude, Maria Virgo* incites hatred between Christian and Jewish communities, unlike the ninth-century miracle story, but also brings back life and sight, or recognition of the Christian truth as in the earlier text. The candles and light figuring prominently at the end of the miracle are surely an intentional allusion to the blessing of the candles before Candlemas, another name for the feast of the Purification.[97]

The difference between the two miracles is easily explained by their function. Whereas the first sought to protect a then new, but endangered chant from the reformer-successors of Agobard, Gautier's miracle highlighted the power of the Virgin Mary over all who threatened Christianity, here the Jews. The ninth-century miracle never mentions the Jews, who are irrelevant for its purpose, but by Gautier's day the widely known responsory was no longer regarded as non-biblical or deficient. It had become a strident battle cry against the Jews, and this now ensured its continued popularity. Thus, Gautier's miracle was the turning point in the history of the responsory, whose fate in literature would now be intertwined permanently with the insecure position of the Jews in an increasingly Christianized Europe.

[96] Adolfo Mussafia, *Über die von Gautier de Coinci benutzten Quellen* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Son, 1896), pp. 5, 54–56. Gautier's text is only superficially related to that in Paris, BNF, lat. 18134 (thirteenth century, Saint Martin, Tournai), which Mussafia publishes here.

[97] On the early history of the feast of the Purification, also known as Candlemas, see Kenneth W. Stevenson, 'The Origins and Development of Candlemas: A Struggle for Identity and Coherence?', in *Time and Community*, ed. by J. Neil Alexander (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1990), pp. 43–76.

Figures and Types

Gautier de Coinci and Medieval Childbirth Miracles

Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski

Résumé

Dans un premier temps, ce chapitre offre une typologie de miracles d'accouchement (par exemple, un renversement de l'infertilité ou la diminution des douleurs de l'enfantement) tirée de documents provenant de sanctuaires et de sources hagiographiques. Ces miracles constituent un pourcentage minime de l'ensemble des miracles médiévaux et présentent peu de variété. Suit un examen de ce type de miracle dans les collections mariales qui montrent une plus grande diversité. La Vierge y vient en aide aux pécheurs, souvent effectuant une déstabilisation de l'ordre social avant de le rétablir à la fin. Ce processus se voit surtout dans le miracle de l'abbesse enceinte de Gautier de Coinci, le conte au centre de mon analyse. La transgression sexuelle et la grossesse de l'abbesse mènent à une révolte des nonnes qui la dénoncent à l'évêque, mais celui-ci est dupé par l'intervention de la Vierge qui enlève le nouveau-né et restaure une apparence de virginité chez l'abbesse. Cette mise en question de l'autorité de l'évêque déstabilise la hiérarchie ecclésiastique et ne sera annulée qu'après la confession de l'abbesse qui prévient ainsi la punition de ses nonnes. Ce miracle ne nous montre donc qu'une suspension temporaire de l'autorité masculine, suspension qui néanmoins se termine en un porte-à-faux suggestif.

Miracles, whether in the form of exemplary tales, theatrical performances, or as parts of saints' lives, held a special attraction for medieval people. Miracles were proof of divine power, of supernatural intervention for the sake of often undeserving humans. While saints' lives provided models of mostly inimitable virtue, miracles focused on those needing supernatural help and,

especially in the context of Marian miracles, on sinners who receive succour because of their unquestioning devotion to the Virgin rather than because of any particular merit on their part.

Miracle tales thus posit a different type of exemplarity than saints' lives, yet, like a myth, they belong to what Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht analyses as a *Faszinationstyp*, that is, a type of text that exerts a certain fascination and that addresses universal problems and phenomena. Saints' lives and miracles are thus directed towards questions centring on the 'attainment and preservation of human happiness'.[1] In the context of childbirth miracles, this happiness can be defined in several ways: for infertile couples happiness would be embodied in the hoped for pregnancy; for pregnant women this happiness would consist in giving birth — without too much pain — to a healthy child. These are in fact the two most common miracle functions connected to childbirth in 'documented' miracle accounts. We will see that narrative miracles offer a different definition of happiness, one that often centres on a sinner's reintegration into society after a loss of honour or a serious transgression of social and religious norms. This transgression can be an illicit pregnancy and birth, as is the case for the miracle story at the centre of my investigation, Gautier de Coinci's tale of the pregnant abbess. The underlying problematic of this type of miracle story is not the prayer/answered prayer pattern of the shrine miracles but rather an inquiry into questions of social and ecclesiastical hierarchies and power. Narrative miracles thus address the question of childbirth in a different way and for different purposes than miracles recorded in documentary sources.

In this chapter I will briefly survey various types of childbirth miracles and then focus on Gautier's tale. Each miracle comes down to us in the form of a narrative, whether in a document or in a literary text, but their functions are quite different. I will therefore first consider miracle accounts attached to shrines, saints' lives, or canonization proceedings, and then, as a contrast, miracle stories that formed part of the vast narrative collections of miracles of the Virgin that began to be put together in the twelfth century.

[1] See Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Faszinationstyp Hagiographie: Ein historisches Experiment zur Gattungstheorie', in *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven. Hugo Kuhn zum Gedenken*, ed. by Christoph Cormeau (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979), pp. 37–84; esp. pp. 44 and 48. For an exploration of Gautier's tale of the woman of Arras using Gumbrecht's theoretical framework, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Sexual and Textual Violence in the "Femme d'Arras" Miracle by Gautier de Coincy', in *Translatio studii: Essays by his Students in Honor of Karl D. Uitti for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Kevin Brownlee, Mary B. Speer, and Lori Walters (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 51–64.

A Brief Typology of Childbirth Miracles

One of the greatest purveyors of medieval miracles, the thirteenth-century Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach, defined a miracle as 'anything [that] is done contrary to the normal course of nature, at which we marvel'.[2] This idea goes back to St Augustine who had, however, argued that 'God does nothing against nature [. . .]. When we say that he does so, we mean that he does something against nature as we know it.'[3] In his *Summa theologica* Thomas Aquinas asked whether God could circumvent the laws of nature. After lengthy deliberations, Aquinas concluded that since God, in the Aristotelian sense of the *primum movens*, created the natural order, it is possible for him to intervene in this order. Aquinas thus harmonized the conception of the all-powerful creator with natural philosophy. The natural order is not so much contravened as it is temporarily suspended for the duration of the miracle.[4] Thus the miracle disrupts the normal course of nature, that is, nature as we know it, but it does not act contrary to nature as designed by God.

When we read medieval miracle stories we first tend to ask, 'How could this have happened?'. But a historian like Bede in the eighth century, whose *Ecclesiastical History* featured many miracle accounts, would not focus on the how but on the why. As Benedicta Ward points out: 'It was not the mechanics of the miracle that mattered but its significance [. . .]. Something was thought to have happened; the rest is interpretation.'[5] As it had for St Augustine, the miracle, throughout the Middle Ages, played the role of a reminder of divine presence in earthly life. It could convert people, be a sign of holiness, or simply deliver people from unbearable situations.

The definition of nature considered above leaves much room for miraculous intervention in human affairs, including childbirth. But we have to ask what does

[2] See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), p. 65.

[3] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 66; see also Ernst Keller and Marie-Luise Keller, *Miracles in Dispute: A Continuing Debate* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), ch. 2.

[4] See Maria Wittmer-Butsch and Constanze Rendtel, *Miracula – Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter: Eine historisch-psychologische Annäherung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), p. 20. See ch. 1, part 3 for a brief historical survey of different conceptions of miracles.

[5] Benedicta Ward, 'Miracles and History: A Reconsideration of the Miracle Stories used by Bede', in *Signs and Wonders: Saints, Miracles, and Prayers from the Fourth Century to the Fourteenth* (Aldershot: Variorum; Brookfield: Ashgate, 1992), pp. 70–76 (p. 71).

'nature' mean in the context of medieval childbirth? The multiple dangers of giving birth included the rudimentary nature of surgical procedures, the lack of antiseptics and of any of the techniques that make childbirth safer today.[6] If we want to define 'nature' in the context of childbirth miracles — that is, nature as it prevents a happy and natural birth — it would include a state of infertility, excessive pain in childbearing, and the death of the newborn before baptism. There are three principal kinds of childbirth miracles that occur at shrines and that work by intervening against this kind of 'nature': those that respond to prayers of infertile parents; those that provide a lessening of the pain in protracted births; and those that revive dead infants long enough for them to be baptized. The second crisis was also often addressed through childbirth charms, in the form of amulets and/or written texts that were believed to have special powers.[7]

On the whole, specific records of childbirth miracles are rare.[8] Of the several thousand cases surveyed by Pierre-André Sigal only about 0.5% deal with childbirth: he found seventeen cases of reversed sterility and eleven of facilitated childbirth.[9] For the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries André Vauchez also found that childbirth miracles constitute the smallest category of all miracles: namely 1.2% in the thirteenth century, and 3.3% in the fourteenth; and for medieval England, Ronald C. Finucane found that only 2% of recorded miracles involved childbirth.[10] The sixty-five miracles collected by Guillaume de Saint-

[6] See Mireille Laget, *Naissances: L'accouchement avant l'âge de la clinique* (Paris: Seuil, 1982); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Clarissa Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[7] See L. M. C. Weston, 'Women's Medicine, Women's Magic: The Old English Metrical Childbirth Charms', *Modern Philology*, 92 (1995), 279–93.

[8] Of course, one always has to keep in mind that most collections presented only a part of the miracles that occurred at a given shrine. On this problematic, see Barbara Heller-Schuh, 'Hilfe in allen Nöten? Inhalte von hoch – und spätmittelalterlichen Mirakelsammlungen im Vergleich', in *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen* ed. by Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), pp. 151–65, esp. pp. 152–53.

[9] Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe–XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), p. 265.

[10] André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981), p. 547. Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), Table I, p. 144.

Pathus for the canonization proceedings of St Louis feature only one story that deals with the dramatic aftermath of a stillbirth.[11] The category of miracles involving the reviving of a stillborn child, usually just long enough for the newborn to be baptized, is also not enormous.[12] In the seven saints' dossiers studied by Wittmer-Butsch and Rendtel, for example, there are only five instances of 'resurrected' newborns among 454 miracles total (4.6% of which deal with problems related to women's reproductive capacities).[13]

Despite the relative scarcity of actual accounts of childbirth miracles there was a general perception that certain saints and certain shrines were particularly helpful in obtaining children or intervening in births: St Margaret was a patroness of childbirth, as was St Feuillen whose belt was placed on women in labour to ease their pains.[14] St Peter Martyr, the famous inquisitor, also seemed to specialize in childbirth miracles. As Michael Goodich points out, 'nearly all the fourteenth-

[11] See my analysis of this episode in *Not of Woman Born*, p. 11.

[12] See the section 'The child who dies unbaptized' in Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages, Fifth – Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. by Jody Gladding (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), pp. 27–29, and Pierette Paravy, 'L'angoisse collective au seuil de la mort: résurrections et baptêmes d'enfants mort-nés en Dauphiné au XVe siècle', in *La mort au moyen âge* (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1977), pp. 87–102. See also Pierre-André Sigal, 'La grossesse, l'accouchement et l'attitude envers l'enfant mort-né à la fin du Moyen Age d'après les récits des miracles', in *Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age* (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1987), I, 23–41.

[13] See Wittmer-Butsch, *Miracula*, pp. 160–65. See also the section on 'Death and Baptism' in Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 42–46. For specifically female needs and miracles, see Rebekka Habermas, 'Weibliche Erfahrungswelten: Frauen in der Welt des Wunders', in *Auf der Suche nach der Frau im Mittelalter: Fragen, Quellen, Antworten*, ed. by Bea Lundt (Munich: Fink, 1991), pp. 65–81. Several of these studies suggest that a new concern with baptism after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 accounts for a slight increase in 'resurrection' miracles after that date as well for the increased willingness to perform Caesareans post-mortem in order to extract the foetus and baptize it. See Sigal, 'La grossesse', pp. 33–34 and my *Not of Woman Born*.

[14] On the reasons why St Margaret may have become a patroness of childbirth see my *Not of Woman Born*, p. 10. Margaret, emerging unscathed from the dragon's body (by splitting it open), occupies the position of the child rather than that of the mother. She thus represents a successful birth from the baby's point of view. For the spiritual aspects related to birth and St Margaret, see Elizabeth Robertson, 'The Corporeality of Female Sanctity in the *Life of Saint Margaret*', in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. by R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 268–87. For St Feuillen, see Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, p. 26.

century miracles of the Dominican Peter Martyr [...] deal with the difficulties of childbirth, infant mortality, and childhood disease'.[15] But not every case was recorded in detail, for some accounts simply say that 'everyone' who prayed to a certain saint received the requested aid. In any case, it is safe to assume that the small number of recorded miracles probably does not represent the actual frequency of what people believed was miraculous intervention in childbirth. Sometimes the supernatural aid arrived only after people had consulted doctors, in vain for the most part, as the denunciations of physicians in some shrine collections attest.[16]

The two most common forms of childbirth miracles, reversal of infertility and the easing of labour pains, are in fact the two problems that medicine to this day is asked to address most frequently. These types of miracles thus respond to clearly defined medical needs. But they also fit into biblical and theological paradigms and thus have a significance that transcends medical aspects.

The prototype of the couple asking God for children denied to them for many years is the aged couple of Abraham and Sarah. Sarah laughs when she hears God's promise of a son (though she denies it when the Lord asks her about her laughter) for 'it had ceased to be with [her] after the manner of women', and Abraham is after all ninety-nine years old (Genesis 18. 11–15). The ensuing birth, proving that nothing is beyond the power of God, became the model for such *vitae* as those of St Alexis or St Julien, whose unlikely stories could give hope to infertile couples of all ages. Yet, the recording of this type of miracle was difficult: nine months necessarily passed between prayer and fulfilment, and not many people would have had the means to return to a shrine to have the miracle recorded. It is probably for this reason that the more common healing miracles, especially those involving blindness and paralysis, represent by far the largest category of miracles that occurred at shrines and were recorded there. These miracles also follow biblical, in this case New Testament, models as summarized in Luke 7. 22: 'The blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up.'[17]

[15] Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 87.

[16] According to Finucane, about 10% of those who received miraculous cures had previously consulted doctors. See *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 59 and pp. 64 and 66 for denunciations of physicians.

[17] Cf. Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, Event, 1000–1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 170.

The other common form of childbirth miracles, the easing of labour pains, can also be placed into a biblical context. In paradise, as some believed, conception would have been possible without sex, and childbirth without pain.[18] The miraculous reduction of labour pains therefore would have brought women closer to a prelapsarian state, since in Genesis 3. 16 God promised that 'I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children'. Thus labour pains were believed to be the result of the Fall and therefore linked to a negative view of sexuality.

But this pain could also be read positively in a non-literal context where it could become a powerful image in religious discourse, hinting at the redemptive power of suffering in childbirth. For example, Isaiah couches the announcement of his prophecy in the following terms: 'For a long time I have held my peace, I have kept still and restrained myself; now I will cry out like a woman in travail, I will gasp and pant' (Isaiah 42. 14). The divinely inspired prophecy comes forth as violently from the prophet's mouth as a foetus during the birth. Isaiah makes it clear that he is suffering like a mother in labour in order to save humans through his prophetic discourse. Similar metaphors were later applied to Jesus's suffering on the cross. Throughout the Middle Ages the image of Jesus as mother appears in a number of different spiritual contexts. Like a mother Christ loves and nurtures his communities, and like a mother he gives birth to humans' salvation in great pain.[19] One particularly powerful metaphorical use of the suffering in childbirth can be found in the early fourteenth-century work of the mystic Margaret of Oingt who addresses Christ as follows:

> Are you not my mother and more than my mother? The mother who bore me laboured at my birth for one day and one night, but you [. . .] were in pain for me not just one day, but you were in labour for me all through your life! But when the time approached when you had to give birth, the labour was such that your holy sweat was like drops of blood which poured out of your body.[20]

[18] See Michael Müller, *Die Lehre des heiligen Augustinus von der Paradiesesehe und ihre Auswirkung in der Sexualethik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts bis Thomas Aquin* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1954) and Pierre Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), ch. 1.

[19] On the widespread use of the concept of theological and spiritual motherhood, see Atkinson, *Oldest Vocation*, ch. 4, and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), ch. 4.

[20] See R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, trans., *The Writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic* (Newburyport: Focus Information Group, 1991), p. 31.

This passage valorizes the pains of childbirth by dissociating them from the punishment for the Fall and placing them instead in the redemptive context of the crucifixion.

In theory medieval women had a female model for painless childbirth, for Christ's birth had been 'instantaneous and painless'.[21] Since the Virgin was exempt from the consequences of the Fall, that is, sexuality, her giving birth was also exempted from the course of nature as established in Genesis 3. The Virgin thus became the privileged intercessor for childbirth, as we will see when we examine her ambiguous role in some narrative collections.

But other saints, such as the above-mentioned St Margaret, also interceded in childbirth. In fact, childbirth miracles could become a touchstone for a saint's power, as we can see in a miracle attributed to St Catherine of Alexandria, at whose chapel in Fierbois (Poitou) miracles were recorded from 1375 to 1470 in a *Livre des miracles*. The general pattern of the nine childbirth miracles (of a total of 237 miracles) is that a woman is in labour for a few days; everyone fears for her life; usually the husband goes to St Catherine's chapel to pray for a safe delivery; he gets home and shortly afterwards the wife is safely delivered of a child (who frequently does not survive, however). A kind of competition between Sts Margaret and Catherine takes place in one intriguing story in which a woman suffers horrible labour pains. Her husband and a group of friends are ardently praying to God, the Virgin, and 'toute la court de Paradis' when her brother arrives, weeping out of compassion. One of the attending women urges him to read the Life of St Margaret 'sur votre seur' (over your sister).[22] As he is reading, an apparently monstrous child 'black as coal' begins to exit from his sister's womb. In horror the onlookers begin to pray to Catherine-de-Fierbois to save the child so that it can at least be baptized. But Catherine does even more and succeeds where St Margaret had failed: a healthy male baby is delivered, no longer monstrous but most beautiful, and is safely baptized.[23] This brief episode alerts us to the power play between competing saints that surrounded many shrines and their miracles.

In summary, we can say that most miraculous interventions in childbirth follow a certain pattern: a woman suffers through a prolonged and excessively painful labour and is finally delivered — sometimes even by Caesarean — by the

[21] Atkinson, *Oldest Vocation*, p. 155.

[22] See Yves Chauvin, ed., *Livre des miracles de Sainte-Cathérine-de-Fierbois (1375–1470)* (Poitiers: Société des archives historiques du Poitou, 1976), miracle #88 (December 1420), pp. 42–43 (p. 42).

[23] Chauvin, ed., *Livre des miracles de Sainte-Cathérine-de-Fierbois*, p. 43.

Virgin or a saint.[24] The biblical command made it 'natural' for women to suffer in childbirth; any easing of their pain could thus appear miraculous to medieval people — just as the disappearance of a headache or a cold had appeared miraculous to Gregory of Tours![25]

Some Examples of Marian Childbirth Miracles

Given the near uniformity of miracles from documentary sources involving fertility and labour pains, the variety and strangeness of childbirth miracles in narrative collections is all the more remarkable. These miracle stories have different focal points: some are of a more symbolic nature, others confront sin as caused by the weakness of human nature.[26] I will provide a brief selection of these stories to illustrate the many uses to which childbirth miracles could be put.

The popular story of a woman who was delivered by the Virgin during a storm at sea belongs to the first, symbolic, category: it is part of the so-called element series, representing fire, air, earth, and water.[27] As Marina Warner points out, '[This pious anecdote] reveals the metaphysical analogy between the watery mass from which form emerges into life and the actual birth of the child; between the ocean and the maternal womb'.[28] As the novice learns in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles*, miracles of this series show Christ's domination over the elements as spelled out in Luke 21. 25–26. In Caesarius, the monk instructing the novice appends this explanation to another well-known miracle, that of the woman whose excruciating labour pains are eased when she puts her husband's crusader cloak on her stomach. She had tried to prevent her husband's departure, thus denying the legitimacy of the crusade ideology. The miraculous intervention during her labour thus not only saves the woman from pain but also legitimizes

[24] On miraculous Caesareans, see my *Not of Woman Born*, pp. 121–25.

[25] On Gregory, see Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 91.

[26] On the functions of the miracle story as a genre, see Uda Ebel, *Das altromanische Mirakel: Ursprung und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1965).

[27] See E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary, Translated from Ethiopic Manuscripts for the most part in the British Museum* (London: Medici Society, 1923), pp. 107–11.

[28] Marina Warner, *Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage, 1976), p. 266.

her husband's plan to leave her and his family for the crusade. Other childbirth miracles in Caesarius highlight some of the taboos a male cleric like Caesarius may have associated with childbirth: in one story the miraculous image of St Nicholas bashfully turns its face towards the wall when a woman is about to give birth, and in two other stories gigantic snakes were accidentally swallowed by women and brought forth together with the newborn during the birth, thus accentuating the for some clerics troubling connection between sexuality (often associated with snakes in the medieval *imaginaire*) and childbirth![29]

Another miracle that has a wider significance than merely recounting a case of eased labour is the one of the Jewish woman giving birth. This story, related to conversion, appears in many different collections.[30] In the fifteenth-century version presented by Johannes Herolt (which is very similar to those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) a Jewish woman seems to be dying in labour as 'she cried out with anguish that brought her near to death'. The midwives have given up on her. Suddenly, a light appears to her and a voice urges her to pray to the Virgin Mary for help. Then the light is transformed into 'healing words' that enter into her body and 'putting her faith and trust in the Lord, she called on the name of Mary in a loud voice, and at once by a happy delivery brought forth her son without any pain'. In an anti-Semitic passage typical of many miracle tales, the Jewish midwives are portrayed as abusing the new mother and even threatening her life,

[29] See Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. by Henry von Essen Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1929), II, 191–92; II, 77; and II, 228–29. On serpents and sexuality in relation to medieval holy women, see Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), ch. 6.

[30] It can be found e.g. in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, 8. 199, and in Johannes Herolt's *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin, 1435–1440*, trans. C. C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1928), pp. 35–36. For other occurrences, see the list in Evelyn Faye Wilson, ed., *The 'Stella Maris' of John of Garland, edited together with a study of certain collections of Mary legends made in Northern France in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 74–75. Generally on the Marian collections, see Joseph Morawski, 'Mélanges de littérature pieuse: 1. Les miracles de Notre-Dame en vers français', *Romania*, 61 (1935), 316–50; Adolfo Mussafia, 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien (phil.-hist. Klasse)*, 113 (1886), 917–94; 115 (1888), 5–93; 119 (1889), 1–66; 123 (1891), 1–85; 139 (1898), 1–74; Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1953), pp. 246–57; and David A. Flory, *Marian Representations in the Miracle Tales of Thirteenth-Century Spain and France* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2000).

presumably because of her prayer to Christ and the Virgin.[31] But with Mary's aid she was 'saved from their murderous hands', and, after fleeing with her sons (*sic*) to a church she converted to Christianity. In this tale Mary, as the one woman who gave birth without pain, rushes in to assure a safe delivery. Her price is conversion, the ultimate goal of every Christian miracle.

This very brief typology of the different manifestations of childbirth miracles shows that they could be used in a variety of ideological frameworks, for example, highlighting clerical anxiety over sexuality; legitimizing a husband's abandonment of his family for the sake of a crusade; or condemning Jewish midwives and endorsing conversion.

Gautier de Coinci's 'Pregnant Abbess'

Gautier de Coinci's extensive collection of Marian miracles features few miracles related to childbirth, although a fair number are devoted to miraculous cures. Illness in Gautier is often a chastisement or a test of courage meted out by the Virgin; the removal of the illness thus proves her grace and pity.[32] Among the few stories related to pregnancy and childbirth, the best known is probably the miracle of the pregnant abbess (I Mir 20). Like many miracle tales this one exists in many different versions. In this chapter I will use only one other version, the fourteenth-century *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, as a comparison in order to illustrate some of the later ramifications of the tale in a theatrical, more popular, lay setting.[33] But for the most part I will concentrate on Gautier's brief yet complex tale.[34]

[31] On anti-Semitic aspects of miracle tales involving children, see Atkinson, *Oldest Vocation*, pp. 137–40, and on Gautier de Coinci's anti-Semitic tales, Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999; repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 12–16.

[32] On this type of miracle, see François-Jérôme Beaussart, 'Figures de la maladie dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', *Médiévales*, 4 (1983), 74–90.

[33] These miracle plays were performed in Paris in the *puy des orfèvres* almost every year from 1339 to 1382 at the annual meetings of the goldsmiths' guild. For a discussion of the *puy* and the dating of the plays, see Graham A. Runnalls, 'Medieval Trade Guilds and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*', *Medium Ævum*, 39 (1970), 257–87, and Robert L. A. Clark, 'The "Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages" of the Cangé Manuscript and the Sociocultural Function of Confraternity Drama' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1994).

[34] See Ruth Mazo Karras, 'The Virgin and the Pregnant Abbess: Miracles and Gender in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Perspectives*, 3 (1988), 112–32 (p. 127, n. 7), for a listing of over a dozen

The lascivious nun is a common motif in miracle tales, and some scholars have proposed that accounts of miracles aiding these women were used as a means of 'explaining away cases of infanticide, abortion, or abandonment'.[35] Another interesting interpretation of this tale is that of Nancy Bradley Warren, who sees in pregnancy and childbirth figures for women's material and spiritual work. She suggests that 'in the miracle of the pregnant abbess [. . .] female monasticism as embodied in the abbess is a locus of cultural anxieties regarding women's work and women's property; the text also mobilizes female monasticism to provide solutions to these anxieties through the regulation of women's material and spiritual practices'.[36] I would like to look at this story from a slightly different angle: that of childbirth as the fulcrum of the destabilization of order and of its re-establishment, extending my analysis from the abbess herself to the visiting bishop and the male clerics who accompany him.

One of the functions of miracle tales is to corral outsiders — rebels, miscreants, and the like — and to lead them back into society. This reintegration of sinners leads to the reaffirmation of society's norms and the re-establishment of order.[37] Yet the Marian miracles can have a subversive edge when compared with 'actual' miracles of the type studied by Michael Goodich, for example. For these fourteenth-century miracles (i.e. those recorded at shrines or originating in saints' lives) Goodich concludes that 'the miracle collections thus contain much evidence concerning the continuing belief in the efficacy of supernatural intervention in pursuit of the Christian goals of monogamy, purity, procreation, emotional stability, peace, and order within the family'. Because the saints embodied 'ideals of chastity and Christian marriage' they could undo sexual sins, resolve social and familial conflicts, and thus restore order in society.[38] By contrast, as David Flory suggests, in Marian narrative collections 'the Virgin is a powerful intercessor against arbitrary

versions. For a comparison of Gautier's tale with the version in the *Vie des Pères*, see Adrian Tudor's contribution in this volume.

[35] See Karras, 'The Virgin and the Pregnant Abbess', p. 119. This is also suggested by John Boswell with regard to the tale of the pregnant abbess. See his *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), pp. 372–73.

[36] Nancy Bradley Warren, 'Pregnancy and Productivity: The Imagery of Female Monasticism within and beyond the Cloister Walls', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28 (1998), 531–52.

[37] See Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, p. 84, and Beaussart, 'Figures de la maladie', p. 75.

[38] Goodich, *Violence and Miracle*, p. 83.

authority and established power structures', sometimes even representing a 'challenge to authority',[39] a claim we will now test for the pregnant abbess tale.

The opening scene of Gautier's text shows us a convent rife with female discontent caused by the strict regimen of its abbess.[40] The abbess is immediately identified as an ardent devotee of the Virgin Mary, intent on serving her: 'En li servir dou tout metoit / Et durement s'entremetoit / De garder l'ordre et le covent' (I Mir 20, vv. 5–7). Here Gautier shows that keeping order in the convent is part of the abbess's service to the Virgin. Any breach of this order presumably would be an offence against Mary. The abbess's conscientiousness does not sit well with her nuns, who frequently grumble and seek to slander her: 'ses nonains en mesdisoient / Et durement en murmuroient' (vv. 9–10). But try as they might, they find nothing reprehensible in the abbess's conduct. For a long time, as Gautier stresses (vv. 15 and 21), the abbess thus maintains a perfect order in her nunnery and comports herself 'saintement' (v. 22). Needless to say, this state of affairs displeases the devil. He therefore decides to use sexuality as the tool to disrupt both the conventual and psychological order: the abbess is made to fall in love with her steward ('un sien despenssier', v. 26).

Interestingly the man himself makes no appearance here, as he does, for example, in the theatrical version, the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, where in a romance-like development, the abbess falls in love with her secretary for 'son biau parler, sa doulce face' (v. 217).[41] In the play, the abbess reveals to the audience in a monologue how ardently she desires the clerk, how he would make her forget 'touz autres maux et touz annuiz' (v. 233). Are we to understand here that she considers her devout life as a strict abbess as 'maux' and 'annuiz', an idea that would be more comprehensible to the play's fourteenth-century lay audience than in Gautier's thirteenth-century monastic milieu? The abbess in any case is aware of the psychological make-up of her nuns, for in the same monologue she already anticipates that her nuns could call her a hypocrite for her actions and put her to shame. Nonetheless she seduces the clerk by inviting him to her room,

[39] David Flory, 'The Social Uses of Religious Literature: Challenging Authority in the Thirteenth-Century Marian Miracle', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 13 (1996), 61–69 (p. 67).

[40] This miracle is I Mir 20 (D. 22), II, 181–96, in the edition by V. F. Koenig, *Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva, 1955–70). References will be by verse number. I translated this miracle in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. by Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 631–34.

[41] See Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, eds, *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, vol. I (Paris, 1876), pp. 59–100.

making suggestive remarks — which at first lead him to believe that she merely wants to test his virtue — and finally offering her body to him. He eventually relents and even declares his love:

> 'Mais par amour donques souffrez
> Qu'avecques vous me puisse traire
> En un lieu secret, ou retraire
> Ma voulenté toute vous puisse
> Et que du tout de vous joisse
> Et vous de moy.' vv. 364–69

The abbess responds, 'Or venez en ma chambre ça / [. . .] / Faites tout quanqu'il vous plaira, / Amis, de moy' (vv. 404, 418–19). This entire 'come hither' sequence is a significant addition to Gautier's version: it shows a different understanding of the realization of the devil's wiles.

Given the dramatic requirements, the audience has to learn from the other nuns that the abbess is pregnant. The rumour mill is set in motion and soon the bishop is notified of the abbess's misdeeds. Sister Ysabel clearly states that this tale-telling is an act of revenge: 'C'est pour li rendre sa desserte / De ce qu'elle orains me tença' (vv. 566–67). For at the beginning of the play the abbess had chided Sister Ysabel for missing a sermon in favour of visiting with a cousin who brought her a piece of cloth!

In Gautier's collection, by contrast, the transition from the abbess's 'heart in flames' (I Mir 20, v. 25) to the breaking of the seal of virginity and the abbess's subsequent pregnancy (vv. 27–32) is almost instantaneous, highlighting Gautier's use of sexuality as a marker of disruption rather than as part of any psychological development of his characters. Cementing the negative image of this female community, Gautier elaborates on the nuns' *Schadenfreude* in face of their superior's anguish. By having the nuns use the term 'pappelarde' (v. 42) to mock the abbess, our poet has them place her into the context of hypocrites like the beguines, a theme quite common in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.[42] The nuns are triumphant, for while up to now they could not even blow their noses without the objections of the abbess (vv. 46–47) they now have a powerful means to bring her down: they secretly ('priveement', v. 51) send letters to the bishop to denounce their abbess.[43]

[42] See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Satires of the Beguines in Northern French Literature', in *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact*, ed. by Juliette Dor, Lesley Johnson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 233–46.

[43] Karras notes that (particularly in one English version) the nuns' garrulousness or betrayal and appeal to the bishop 'uphold both misogynistic stereotypes and the need for masculine control of women' ('The Virgin and the Pregnant Abbess', p. 121).

The nuns thus attempt to make the abbess's private shame public. Kathy Krause, in her analysis of the differences between Gautier's male and female sinners, stresses that the danger of public punishment is much more often faced by women than by men, and this certainly holds true here.[44] So far, however, the abbess is unaware of the bishop's impending visit and most likely even of her nuns' knowledge of her pregnancy. Consequently she prays for a secret birth ('que coiement fust delivree', v. 68). In a prayer that takes up close to ten per cent of the entire text (38 out of 406 lines) the abbess commends herself to the Virgin, repeatedly stressing her painful solitude and orphaned state as well as the Virgin's 'douceur' and pity 'que qu'aie fait' (v. 85).

This last phrase — 'no matter what I may have done' — is crucial for an understanding of the functioning of Marian miracles in Gautier. While in Adgar's collection (1165–70) there seems to function a system of the miracles as a reward (as indicated by the terms 'rendre, paier, gueredoner') for basic virtuousness, in Gautier this system is transformed into one of pure grace: the feeble sinners only need to love the Virgin; this is enough.[45] Thus the abbess's affirmation of faith 'Mes cuers en toi dou tout s'afie' (v. 107) will suffice to bring forth the Virgin's miraculous aid.

The abbess falls asleep in front of the altar (thus enacting the incubation rite of many medieval miracle seekers) but is soon awakened by two angels, lighter than the summer sun. The Virgin immediately calms the frightened abbess by identifying herself and assuring her that she has prayed to her son, the King of Heaven, on the abbess's behalf and that He forgives her. The two angels assume the function of midwives and deliver the abbess's baby who is spirited away immediately to a hermit.[46] As an interesting parallel we can briefly look at a miracle attributed to the blessed Gerard Cagnoli (d. 1342). Here a noble Italian widow is pregnant as a result of a rape and prays to the saint to spare her public shame and make the child disappear. A spontaneous miscarriage is the answer to her

[44] Kathy M. Krause, 'Virgin, Saint, and Sinners: Women in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', in *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 26–52 (pp. 33–34). On private misdeeds and public shame in the context of miraculous intervention, see also Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, p. 88.

[45] This thesis is elaborated by Ebel in *Das altromanische Mirakel*, esp. pp. 64–71. On the weakness of Gautier's sinners, see Brigitte Cazelles, *La Faiblesse chez Gautier de Coinci*, Stanford French and Italian Studies, 14 (Saratoga: Anma Libri, 1978).

[46] On both saintly and demonic midwives, see my *Not of Woman Born*, ch. 4.

prayers and all signs of her pregnancy instantly vanish. She becomes again the 'chaste widow' she had been before the rape.[47] Unlike the abbess, the widow had not been guilty of a love affair; the foetus was a result of a crime and can therefore 'disappear'. This miracle has the function, then, of giving back to the widow her bodily and moral integrity and thus reintegrating her into her previous social context.

For the abbess, things are more complicated since the story does not end with the miraculous delivery. The Virgin reminds the abbess that she has safeguarded her honour and that she must now guard against peril (vv. 156–58): next time, she warns her, things may not turn out as well! The Virgin places the abbess's sin into the context of adultery, for Christ is the abbess's husband and to cheat on him will bring her punishment. And indeed, in spite of the miraculous delivery, there is still some 'amere sausse' (v. 170) for the abbess to consume, Mary insists: she will be mistreated by the bishop, but she will also emerge from this ordeal rather easily.

Upon this promise the abbess awakens and while touching her body realizes that she has been delivered of her child.[48] In her confusion, she no longer knows whether she is asleep or awake, but in any case addresses a prayer of thanks to the Virgin. The Virgin's grace and tenderness are contrasted with the ill will of the bishop who — in contrast to the well-meaning bishop in the play who refuses at first to believe the nuns' gossip — is 'toz eschaufez de li mal faire' (v. 210) and with the malicious pleasure of the nuns, who hope that the bishop will shame their abbess. The nuns search for her, suspecting that she secretly gave birth somewhere, and eventually find her on her knees in the chapel. She is then made to appear before the bishop in the presence of the full chapter. The bishop ('l'evesque qui toz boloit / De mautalent, d'ardeur et d'ire', vv. 244–45) is boiling with rage and burning with the desire to punish the abbess. Thus, just as the abbess was inflamed with love for her steward, the bishop is inflamed with malice and the wish to harm the abbess.[49] Which 'ardour' would be more acceptable to Gautier and his audience: the sexual kind, leading to illicit passions, or the malicious, vengeful kind, leading to disharmony and a breakdown of community? Certainly, the similarity of the metaphoric field suggests that both 'ardours' are destabilizing forces, breaking the rules of chastity in one case, those of charity in the other.

[47] See Sigal, 'La grossesse', p. 26.

[48] In the theatrical version the Virgin promises the abbess 'De ton fruit te delivreray. / Maintenant en vueil ventriére estre' (vv. 885–86), thus using the technical term for 'midwife'.

[49] On other revealing uses of the flame/fire metaphor in Gautier, see my 'Sexual and Textual Violence', esp. p. 60.

When the nuns brutally drag and push the abbess before the bishop she accepts this ill treatment as a penance (v. 253). Unlike in the dramatic version, where a midwife examines the abbess, here Gautier has 'deus clers meürs' force the abbess to undress and palpate her 'longuement' (v. 271), to no avail, of course. They find her virginal and more 'graille et plus polie' than a girl of ten (vv. 276–77). The bishop needs to see this with his own eyes and has her undress once more, whereupon she dissolves in tears of shame. Needless to say, the bishop sees the same evidence, or rather the lack thereof. He resents having been duped ('engigniez et deceüs [. . .] sui laidement', vv. 305–06) by the nuns, and must now humble himself before the abbess, asking for forgiveness for having defamed ('diffamee', v. 310) her. This moment marks another instance of the destabilization of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, albeit only briefly. But, as David Flory has shown, this type of *mise en question* of established authority is not unique to this particular Marian miracle but rather is a hallmark of the Virgin's intervention into human affairs.[50]

But eventually order and justice need to be reaffirmed, and since the bishop now threatens to punish her gossipy nuns, the only way out for the abbess is to confess her sinful comportment to the bishop. Rather than a simple confession, though, the abbess's tale is in praise of the Virgin; for, as Gautier makes clear, 'A la loenge de Nostre Dame / Tout li retrait la sainte fame' (vv. 341–42). The telling of the initial sin thus recedes before the telling of the miracle. The bishop is overcome with awe when hearing this marvellous tale and 'sovent se seigne et esmerveille' (v. 344). He immediately sends his two clerks to the hermitage to ascertain the existence of the infant, vowing to raise and educate the boy himself once he has reached the age of seven. Eventually the abbess's child becomes a bishop himself, devoting himself to honouring the Virgin.

In his commentary on this miracle story, the *queue*, Gautier focuses on several issues: first, he marvels that a woman could have had a child without it leaving a visible trace; second, he stresses the power of the Virgin to contravene the natural course of childbirth: 'Ou est qui osast nes cuidier / Que nus peust famme widier / Sans sa char fendre et malmetre?' (vv. 391–93). This quote makes clear that a normal — or natural — childbirth was seen as a violent event that would tear and hurt a woman's flesh. Thus in his own interpretation of the story, Gautier takes us into the realm of the 'real' childbirth miracles we considered in the first section of this chapter. The Virgin Mary here rejoins the many saints who were in charge of procuring a safe birth for medieval women, a birth that would not tear them

[50] For other examples, see his 'Social Uses of Religious Literature'.

apart or torture them. Interestingly, the abbess in Gautier's tale never reached the stage of actual labour; her child was spirited away from her body before labour could progress past its initial stages. Thus we have to see in Gautier's final remarks some evidence that he considered this miracle as part of a larger group of childbirth miracles, however unusual the circumstances of this particular tale may have been.

Finally, Gautier highlights the concept of reconciliation. Mary reconciled the sinful abbess with her son Jesus Christ and, in the same way, we should assume the abbess was reconciled with her community, which in turn was reconciled with the bishop. The Virgin dealt with a serious transgression on the abbess's part in what at first sight appeared to be an underhanded way: spiriting away the child and giving back to the abbess her virginal appearance, thus providing a means of deceiving the bishop who then has to humiliate himself before the abbess. But the abbess's concern for her nuns does not allow this scheme to succeed. Thus human virtue finally transcends the way out provided by the Virgin and is reaffirmed in the abbess's confession to the bishop. The Virgin's 'subversiveness' — the humiliation of the bishop — is thus only temporary; in fact, it seems to be just another test of the abbess's character, and this is one she passes with flying colours. Thus the restoration of order is complete at the end of this intriguing tale and all that is left to do is praise the Virgin: '*Ave Maria, gracia Dei plena, per secula*.'[51]

[51] These are the last lines of our tale's dramatic version (vv. 1255–56).

Histoire poétique du péché: de quelques figures littéraires de la faute dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci

Yasmina Foehr-Janssens

Abstract

Miracles sustain themselves on sin, which they rectify or redeem. For the greater glory of the Virgin, Gautier de Coinci needs to populate his work with an abundance of sinful characters: licentious nuns, incestuous and infanticide mothers, clerics sold to the devil, defrocked monks, felonious knights. In considering these protagonists, whose stature and deeds lead us back, most of the time, to the literary traditions of the twelfth century, our aim is to outline Gautier's poetic project and to evaluate this work of love which our author claims to accomplish.

Le Miracle se nourrit du péché. Sans la faute ou le crime, aucun tort à redresser, pas de manque à combler: la mécanique du récit, dont la structure a été mise en évidence par Pierre Gallais et par Bernard Cerquiglini ne peut se déployer.[1] Il faut cependant rappeler d'emblée que, fidèle en cela à la définition évangélique du miracle (*séméion* ou *dynamis*), l'action bienfaisante de la Vierge chez Gautier de Coinci, ne consiste pas principalement à se porter au secours d'un être innocent pour le tirer des griffes d'un adversaire vicieux. L'action

[1] Pierre Gallais, 'Remarques sur la structure des *Miracles Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Cahiers d'études médiévales*, 1 (1974), 341–98; Bernard Cerquiglini, 'Les énonciateurs Gautier', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 68–75 (en particulier p. 69). L'ensemble de cette livraison est consacré à Gautier de Coinci.

miraculeuse tend plutôt au salut, au pardon ou à la guérison du pécheur, suivant l'exemple donné par le Christ.

Pour la plus grande gloire de Notre Dame, Gautier de Coinci se doit donc de faire proliférer dans son livre les personnages les plus peccamineux: nonnes dévergondées, mères incestueuses et infanticides, clercs vendus au diable, moines ivrognes ou luxurieux, chevaliers félons. Gautier semble avoir à sa disposition un catalogue presque infini de personnages corrompus dont il trouve les modèles dans les genres littéraires, latins ou romans, de son temps. Les traités de morale religieuse campent avec vigueur le portrait des fidèles en proie aux errements de la colère, de l'orgueil, de la luxure, de la gourmandise, de l'acédie et d'autres péchés capitaux. Les romans et les chansons de geste, quant à eux, lui fournissent tout d'abord les stéréotypes des grands crimes contre l'ordre social, au premier rang desquels on comptera, bien sûr, l'adultère et la félonie ou la trahison. Mais ils s'inspirent aussi des légendes hagiographiques pour offrir, avec de nombreux héros marqués par de troublantes accointances incestueuses, une image de la transgression coupable saisie dans sa dimension tragique et fatale.

Quant au péché proprement dit, il est perceptible surtout à travers ses effets. Sa représentation épouse les grandes métaphores traditionnelles de la déréliction. Ainsi la maladie, qualifiée aussi de rage ou de frénésie, défigure-t-elle un moine trop séculier:

Tant qu'il chaï en un malage
Qui l'alita et tint lonc temps
Tant qu'il perdi memoire et sens.
Puis en chaï en frenesie,
Une desvee maladie.
Les gens mordoit con enragiez;
Pluseurs eüst mout damagiez
S'on ne l'eüst pris et loié.
Il grans maus l'eut si fannoié
Et si durement l'enraga
Qu'a ses denz sa langue esraga.
Ses levres defors et dedenz
Demainga toutes a ses denz
Et de ses mains les dois eüst
Toz demengiez s'il il leüst.
Si il enfla forment il vis
Nel conneüst hom qui fu vis;
N'i paroit ielz ne nez ne bouche.
Ausi gisoit com une soche.
Orribles ert a desmesure.

S'ert si puans et plainz d'ordure
Que nus ne le daignoit veoir. I Mir 17, *D'un clerc grief malade*, vv. 32–53[2]

Les sèmes de la souillure sont aussi présents, avec l'évocation, récurrente au début de la collection, des *privez* (I Mir 13, *De la tavlete en coi l'ymage de la mere Dieu estoit painte*, v. 46; I Mir 18, *De une noble fame de Rome*, v. 120), fosses d'aisance dans lesquels les réprouvés se débarrassent tantôt d'une image pieuse, tantôt du cadavre d'un nourrisson, fruit du péché:

A la tavlette corant vint,
Se l'a par mautalent jetee
Par mi le treu d'une privee.
I Mir 13, vv. 44–46

Lués erranment que l'enfant eut,
Plus tost le mordri qu'ele peut
Por la honte qu'ele douta.
En ses priveez le bouta.
I Mir 18, vv. 117–20

Le dévoiement apparaît fréquemment, illustré par la démarche titubante d'un ivrogne (I Mir 16, *De un moigne que Nostre dame delivra dou Dyable*), par les escapades nocturnes d'un moine amateur des plaisirs de la chair (I Mir 42, *D'un moigne qui fu ou fleuve*), par la fuite hors du couvent d'une novice amoureuse (I Mir 43, *De la nonain*) ou encore par l'exil (I Mir 37, *D'un escommenié*).

Les conséquences du péché trouvent, elles aussi, une expression concrète. Certaines pratiques rituelles font retentir ici-bas l'exécution d'une sentence divine, comme dans le cas du refus de la sépulture en terre consacrée ('Fors de Chartres en un fossé / Com un larron l'ont enfossé', I Mir 15, *Dou clerc mort en cui boche on trova la flor*, vv. 42–43) qui miment sur le plan terrestre les conséquences d'une condamnation spirituelle ('ils seront jetés dehors [...]', Luc 13. 28; Matt. 8. 12).[3] La fosse commune relaie aussi les visions traditionnelles de l'enfer:

Luez il sambla tot sanz demeure
Que dui maufé plus noir que meure
Grant aleüre l'emportoient
Et puis aprés se la laissoient
Seur une fosse toute seule,
Qui tant avoit hideus geule
Orrible, noire et tenebreuse,
Parfonde, grant et perilleuse

[2] Toutes les citations se réfèrent à l'édition suivante: Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, éd. par V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Genève: Droz; Paris: Minard, 1955–70).

[3] Pour une discussion plus large de ce miracle, voir la contribution de Laurel Broughton au présent volume.

Qu'il sambloit bien, tot sanz mentir,
Tout le mont deüst engloutir.
Cil puis, cele fosse, cis gouffres
Ert plus puans mil tans que souffres.
Si granz pueurs fors en issoit
Tout l'air en empullentissoit,
Et s'en issoit si grans fumiere
Il jors en perdoit sa lumiere. I Mir 26, *D'une nonain qui vaut pechier, mais Nostre Dame l'en delivra*, vv. 43–58

Cette façon de projeter la représentation du péché sur des réalités physiques, maladie ou frénésie, lieu de souillure ou de perdition, n'a rien, bien sûr que de très traditionnel, mais elle s'associe, chez Gautier de Coinci, à une conception globale du corps et de l'âme. Le corps ne s'oppose pas à l'âme:

Pechiez honist quanqu'il ataint,
Pechiez fait home noir et taint,
Pechiez fait home maigre et pale,
Pechiez en enfer l'ame avale,
Pechiez honist le cors et l'ame. I Mir 18, vv. 699–703

Les réalités spirituelles se donnent à lire sous des espèces hautement corporelles. La saveur, la douceur, le plaisir des liquides, sont les marques de l'action de la Vierge, comme l'a montré Marie-Christine Pouchelle dans un bel article,[4] alors que la corrosion du péché creuse le corps et le remplit de substances amères. Dans le miracle du moine guéri par Notre Dame, la Vierge se penche sur le corps décrépi, 'puant et plein d'ordure' (v. 52) 'gisant comme une souche, horrible à démesure' (vv. 50–51), et entreprend de le guérir en le nourrissant et l'arrosant du 'doux lait' de sa 'sade mamelle':

Atant s'abaisse sor le lit.
Mout sadement par grant delit
De son doz saim trait sa mamele,
Qui tant est douce, sade et bele:
Se il bouta dedenz la bouche,
Mout doucement partot il touche
Et arouse de son doz lait. I Mir 17, vv. 139–45[5]

[4] Marie-Christine Pouchelle, 'Mots, fluides et vertiges: les fêtes orales de la mystique chez Gautier de Coinci', *Annales: Economies, Société, Civilisations*, 42 (1987), 1209–30.

[5] Sur ce miracle, voir François-Jérôme Beaussart, '*D'un clerc grief malade que Nostre Dame sana*: Réflexions sur un miracle', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 34–46.

Il y a symétrie entre le poids corporel du péché et la gestuelle physique du remède qui met en jeu la corporalité de la Vierge. De même, dans le très étonnant miracle de la *Noble fame de Rome* (I Mir 18), la confession est présentée comme un baume. Le miracle professe une action cosmétique de la foi. La dame noble accusée à juste titre d'inceste et d'infanticide est d'une grande beauté; elle se présente devant le peuple de Rome et l'empereur avec un teint éclatant qui plaide en faveur de son innocence ('Nes l'emperere s'en merveille, / car coloree est et vermeille / et comme rose fresche et clere', vv. 585–87). Elle a été comme maquillée de frais, son teint, flétri par la faute, a été ravivé par la grâce. Son accusateur, qui n'est autre que le diable travesti en devin et en censeur des mœurs romaines, est contraint d'en convenir:

> 'Bien sai de voir , sanz nule doute,
> Que ce n'est pas la vielle gloute,
> La desloiaus ne la murdriere
> Qui faisoit ier si morte chiere.
> Ceste est vermeille et coloree;
> Cele estoit mate et esploree,
> Fade, flestre, hideuse et pale.' I Mir 18, vv. 603–09

On cherchera en vain dans cette configuration imaginaire l'expression d'un dualisme ascétique qui condamne le corps, sa matérialité et la valeur sensuelle, inquiétante, efféminée du plaisir ou qui exalte, par contraste, les valeurs spirituelles conçues, dans leur verticalité, comme une composante masculine et rationnelle de l'humain. Ce système d'opposition fondé sur des distinctions de genre stéréotypées n'a pas droit de cité ici. Le salut s'offre comme une réponse presque érotique au désarroi occasionné par le péché. Lorsqu'ils ne relèvent pas d'une configuration maternelle, les attributs de la Vierge sont le plus souvent de l'ordre de la séduction. Auprès d'un moine ivrogne, Notre Dame apparaît sous la forme d'une fée, vêtue d'un 'chainse' et portant 'touaille':

> Mes il n'est nus qui soshaidier
> Seüst si bele damoisele
> Ne si plaisant com estoit cele.
> En un chainse mout acesmee
> Acorut toute eschevelee,
> Une toaille en sa main destre. I Mir 16, vv. 32–37

Mais, du coup, quel réconfort la médiation mariale peut-elle donc offrir à la femme pécheresse? Un premier élément de réponse se trouve dans la proportion de miraculés de chaque sexe. Les hommes sont ici bien plus nombreux que les femmes (à raison d'une proportion d'une femme pour deux hommes, environ). De

plus, les quelques miracles qui opèrent la sauvegarde de la vertu outragée ont pour protagoniste principale une femme (II Mir 9) ou l'image d'une sainte (I Mir 44). Les pécheresses sont donc moins bien représentées que les pécheurs.[6]

Est-il possible cependant que, dans le cas d'un miracle accomplissant le salut d'une femme coupable, la Vierge suscite un sauveur masculin qui puisse faire couple avec la miraculée et témoigner de la dynamique amoureuse de la rédemption? En considérant le miracle de la noble dame de Rome, on sera tenté de répondre par la positive, puisque le pape y joue un rôle d'adjuvant comparable à celui de la Vierge dans des miracles impliquant un héros masculin. Mais on s'aperçoit, à y regarder de plus près, que la représentation du salut passe plutôt par une assimilation de l'héroïne à la Vierge. Toujours dans le miracle de la noble femme, le pape, pour rassurer la pénitente, lui cite les exemples de Marie l'Egyptienne et de Marie Madeleine (I Mir 18, vv. 469–72). Les deux Maries font en quelque sorte transition entre la malheureuse et Notre Dame. Mais surtout, lors de sa comparution au procès, l'héroïne semble investie d'une autorité mariale. C'est encore le devin diabolique qui en témoigne: 'je n'os atendre ceste fame / car par la main la tient la dame / de cui Diex volt faire sa mere' (I Mir 18, vv. 641–43). Dans le cas du miracle *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse* (I Mir 20), la même stratégie est utilisée et elle conduit à une conclusion stupéfiante. La Vierge, en effet, en vient à contrefaire une naissance virginale pour sauver une abbesse notoirement fautive et son petit enfant. La délivrance qu'elle offre à son 'amie' est à prendre dans son double sens d'accouchement et de salut: 'A grant honneur t'ai delivree. / Delivree iez d'un mout biau fil' (I Mir 20, vv. 156–57).

La Vierge dérobe l'enfant aux regards du monde en le confiant aux bons soins d'un ermite, mais elle fait plus, elle efface toute trace de la grossesse du corps de l'abbesse, elle lui rend un ventre 'graille et poli' comme celui d'une pucelle de dix ans (vv. 275–77 et 300–01). Le récit se termine sur l'émerveillement du narrateur devant les prouesses et l'inventivité de cette Dame capable de mener la logique de la rédemption jusqu'au point de renouveler audacieusement, au bénéfice d'une

[6] A propos des personnages féminins dans l'œuvre de Gautier de Coinci, on se référera aux travaux de Kathy Krause. Outre sa contribution au présent volume, voir 'Virgin, Saint, and Sinners: Women in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', dans *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, éd. par Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 26–52. De Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, on lira aussi avec profit, 'Sexual and Textual Violence in the "Femme d'Arras" Miracle by Gautier de Coinci', dans *Translatio studii: Essays by his Students in Honor of Karl D. Uitti for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, éd. par Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Kevin Brownlee, Mary B. Speer et Lori Walters (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 51–64.

pécheresse, le prodige qui la distingue entre toutes les femmes, l'accouchement d'une vierge:[7]

> Nostre Dame est trop mervilleuse:
> Se Diex m'aït, qui bien i pensse,
> Un myracle si doz porpensse
> Que nus nel porroit porpenser.
> Ou est qui osast nes penser
> Que nule fame enfant eüst
> Qu'en aucun liu n'apareüst?
> Ou est qui osast nes cuidier
> Que nus peüst famme widier
> Sans sa char fendre ne malmetre ? I Mir 20, vv. 384–93

Ces miracles portant sur des figures féminines, bien que rares, nous font toucher du doigt la part d'inouï inscrite dans le message miraculeux. La bienveillance de la Vierge, qui s'exprime ici avec d'autant plus de relief qu'elle prend à contre-pied la toujours si sévère police des mœurs féminines, semble confiner à une indifférence presque révoltante à l'égard de l'exercice de la justice. Si le pêcheur, la pécheresse plutôt, et la Vierge ne font qu'un, si on peut impunément coucher avec son fils et tuer son enfant sans encourir de sanction, ni dans l'ordre de la justice du ciel, ni dans celui de la justice des hommes, comment le texte du miracle répondra-t-il aux objections d'un lecteur épris de justice?

A première vue, il n'y répond pas, et semble manifester une souveraine indifférence à l'égard des critiques que pourraient lui adresser les adeptes d'un traitement de la question du péché par les voies de la légalité. L'action de la Vierge s'inspire de la tradition évangélique qui consiste à présenter la justice divine comme un dépassement ou un renversement de la justice du siècle. Elle poursuit cette logique jusqu'à ses ultimes conséquences. La manière dont se règle la question du châtiment de la femme adultère dans les Evangiles (Jean 8. 1–11) semble servir de paradigme aux stratégies de salut mises en œuvre par Notre Dame. A l'occasion de plusieurs débats qui l'opposent, directement ou indirectement, aux tenants d'une justice punitive, la mère de Dieu dénonce l'œuvre du diable dans la volonté de punir ou de sanctionner les œuvres du péché. Son propos tient essentiellement dans une application littérale de la mission du Christ. Son fils est venu sur terre, il 'a pris chair humaine en ses flans' pour 'pecheeurs retraire d'enfer et de painne' (I Mir 24, *Dou moigne que Nostre Dame resuscita*, vv. 114–16) et elle s'emploie

[7] Voir aussi la contribution d'Adrian Tudor, dans le présent volume pour une analyse du *Miracle de une noble fame de Rome* et celui *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*.

sans relâche à la perpétuation de cette noble tâche. Les démons déplorent les résultats de ses efforts:

> Ne demoroit en enfer ame,
> Je cuit, se Diex la voloit croire. I Mir 25, *De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable*, vv. 124–25

> De clers, de moignes, de nonains,
> De chevaliers et de vilains
> Fust enfers plains dusqu'a la geule
> S'ele ne fust trestoute seule. I Mir 28, *Dou chevalier a cui la volenté fu contee por fait*, vv. 187–90

Du coup, la justice humaine semble toujours menacée, malgré son exigence de rigueur, par une tentation diabolique. La justice des hommes s'assimile au projet de damnation diabolique. Dans le miracle de la noble dame ou dans celui de l'homme 'qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable' (I Mir 25), les suppôts de Satan déguisés en clercs intransigeants utilisent le vocabulaire et l'argumentation d'une morale ascétique rigoureuse:

> Lors il a dit il anemis:
> 'Saiches por voir, biaus doz amis,
> Qu'en paradys en venras droit
> Se tu vielz coper orendroit
> Tes genestailles et ton membre
> Por le pechié, dont bien me membre,
> Que tu fesis, ce sai de voir,
> La nuit que tu deüs movoir.
> Et puis apres sanz demoree
> En ta gorge fiche t'espee.' I Mir 25, vv. 57–66

Une telle démonstration n'est pas sans éclairer les accointances du fanatisme religieux avec les pulsions meurtrières qui anime l'exercice d'une justice soit-disant divine. Gautier, en tout cas n'y va pas par quatre chemins pour dénoncer cette tentation qu'il tient pour démoniaque. A l'évidence, le prieur de Vic-sur-Aisne ne s'adresse pas en priorité à un clergé épris de perfection morale. Son projet n'est en rien une apologie de la morale cléricale. Le public qu'il recherche, c'est le peuple des pécheurs et des pécheresses, qu'il prétend séduire plutôt que de le terrifier. Pour ce faire, il applique la pédagogie mariale: répondre aux tourments de la culpabilité par le charme et la douceur:

> Un haut miracle mout piteus,
> Doz a oïr et deliteuz
> Et qui mout doit pecheürs plaire
> Ici aprés vos veil retraire. I Mir 18, vv. 1–4

Les textes s'ouvrent souvent sur un portrait du futur miraculé. Les patients de la Vierge présentent des symptômes similaires: leur personnalité est comme divisée, il y a une faille dans la cohérence de leurs actes. Et cette scission est perceptible dans la réitération d'un schéma de présentation rhétorique des héros. Ceux-ci sont tous affectés de défauts, manquements ou vices rédhibitoires, mais ils restent néanmoins fidèles à leurs vocations de chrétiens sur un seul et unique point qui paraît le plus souvent quasiment insignifiant au regard de l'immensité des crimes qu'ils ont commis:

Il fu jadis uns chevaliers
Riches, puissans, cointes et fiers.
Assez avoit viles et bors,
Fortereces, chastiaus et tors.
Mout ert riches, c'en est la voire,
Et tant ert plains de vainne gloire,
Tant fiers, tant cointes et tant veulles
Qu'il sambloit bien qu'en ses esteules
Eüst trové tot le païs.
Umbrages ert et estaïs
A Dieu servir et a bien faire,
Mais a rober et a mesfaire
Estoit vistes et remuans.
Por avolez et por truans
Tenoit moignes, clers et provoires.
Abbeÿes blanches et noires
Faisoit assez damage et honte.
[. . .]
Tant par estoit de fol corage
Que ja ne crucefis n'image
N'enclinast en liu ou il fust
Nes c'une piece de viés fust.
Et nequedent en grant mymoire
Avoit la mere au roi de gloire;
Tant ert de diverse matere
Dieu haoit et amoit sa mere.
I Mir 28, vv. 5–21; 31–38

A Chartres fu, ce truis , uns clers
Orgiulleus, veulles et despers
Et dou siecle mout curïeus.
Et s'estoit tant luxurïeus
Qu'il ne pooit estre tenus.
Ses affaires estoit venus
A ce qu'il ne pensoit a le.
Ne por Paskes ne por Noël
Ne por vigile ne por feste
Ne s'en tenist nes c'une beste.
Dou tout avoit perdue honte,
Qui les pluiseurs refraint et donte.
A ce avoit mis tot son affaire
Que ses voloirs voloit toz faire,
Mais tant avoit en lui de bien
Qu'il ne passast por nule rien
Devant l'ymage Nostre Dame,
Tant fust engrant de nule fame
Ne de riens nule embesoigniez,
Devant qu'il fust agenoilliez.
I Mir 15, vv. 1–20

Bien sûr, cette étincelle de croyance ou de révérence superstitieuse sera la condition du salut, mais d'un salut qui peut paraître bien injustement mérité. Cette configuration psychique me paraît bien intéressante, car elle produit une image subtile, d'inspiration augustinienne peut-être, en tout cas bien proche, malgré son apparente naïveté, des méditations sur le salut que propose l'évêque d'Hippone dans ses *Confessions*. La désunion intérieure est en fait la véritable clé de la problématique du péché. Le pécheur souffre de son inadéquation à sa nature de créature

de Dieu. Lui qui aspire au retour vers l'unité, il erre dans les contrées inhospitalières de la dissemblance. Gautier semble s'ingénier à donner à voir cette vérité théologique et patristique sous son aspect le plus paradoxal, puisqu'il dépeint sous un jour pour le moins peu reluisant les tourments inconscients d'une âme divisée, tourmentée par le témoignage résiduel d'un idéal du moi bafoué.

Le reste de conscience du bien chez le pécheur provoque une rupture récurrente du contrat narratif induit par la simplicité et la brièveté du récit de miracles. Les entrées en matière rapides et la manière un peu abrupte de mener à bien la présentation des personnages négligent à l'évidence le souci d'accréditer la coexistence en une seule personne des plus grands péchés, la luxure ici, ailleurs la cupidité ou même, dans le cas du chevalier félon, une impiété radicale, avec des formes de la dévotion mariale. La présentation du protagoniste principal heurte de manière irritante et répétée les attentes du lecteur en lui proposant un modèle humain affecté d'une sorte d'incohérence, qui s'exprime d'ailleurs sous une forme tout à fait péjorative. Le pécheur est 'de diverse matiere' (I Mir 28, v. 37), comme l'est Tristan, en proie aux intermittences du cœur dans le roman de Thomas d'Angleterre. Il connaît le plus grand malheur de la condition humaine: l'incapacité à se maintenir en une assiette stable. Le portrait du chevalier félon pousse jusqu'à la limite ce modèle d'une personnalité prise dans les rets de ses aspirations contradictoires. L'antinomie de ses sentiments à l'égard de Dieu et de sa mère se résume en un vers agencé selon une structure chiasmatique qui souligne les formidables tensions qui habite cette âme en perdition: 'Dieu haioit et amoit sa mere' (I Mir 28, v. 38).

Mais justement, cette versatilité se trouve être, par un renversement singulier, le point de bascule sur lequel vient prendre appui la logique de la rédemption. C'est parce que la psyché est sujette à ces tours et détours sur elle-même que peut s'opérer, en fin de compte, le retournement de la grâce qui permet la transfiguration de la charogne rongée par le péché en corps glorieux. C'est là que s'accomplit la véritable œuvre de justice, celle qui agit en déployant ses effets thérapeutiques selon une logique qui respecte la ductilité de la nature humaine et en tire avantage, plutôt que de lui opposer une conception rigide et tranchante du bien et du mal.

Cependant cette pratique d'une justice inconditionnelle produit un parfum de scandale, que Gautier ne se fait pas faute de mettre en évidence. Il semble prendre plaisir à insister sur le caractère choquant du salut de ses héros miraculés en mettant en scène les résistances à ce discours de la grâce. Bien sûr, c'est la cohorte diabolique qui occupe la première place sur le front de la résistance à l'œuvre du salut. Plusieurs miracles font état d'âpres discussions entre la Vierge ou les anges et les démons. Ces derniers protestent vigoureusement lorsqu'ils ont le sentiment d'avoir été frustrés de l'acquisition d'une âme rebelle qui, à leurs yeux, leur revenait de droit. Ainsi en va-t-il à la mort du chevalier félon:

Il dyable luez acorurent,
Qui l'ame prisent et reçurent.
Angele vienent d'autre partie,
Qui dïent: 'N'emporterez mie.
Ele est nostre. — Non est! — Si est!
— Nes Diex n'i porroit metre arest,
Font il dyable, en nul endroit
Puis que faire nos volsist droit.
Saus ne puet estre telz roberres
Se Diex ne vielt estre menterres.' I Mir 28, vv. 105–14

Une telle dispute se produit aussi en I Mir 42 (*D'un moigne qui fu ou fleuve*) et en II Mir 20. Mais parfois aussi, c'est le clergé lui-même qui se trouve dans cette position rigoriste. Nous en avons croisé un exemple avec la figure du devin diabolique dans le miracle de la noble dame de Rome. Certains personnages ecclésiastiques sont campés selon le même modèle. Ainsi en I Mir 15, *Dou clerc mort en cui boche on trova la flor*, les clercs refusent une sépulture chrétienne à leur compagnon débauché décédé sans confession:

Del clergié fu il conseus telz
Qu'il distrent que telz menestrelz
En leur aitre ja ne giroit:
Leur aitres trop en empieroit
Et reprové seroit adez
Ce qu'il estoit mors desconfez.
Fors de Chartres en un fossé
Com un larron l'ont enfossé. I Mir 15, vv. 35–42

Mais la Vierge répond à la dénomination injurieuse de 'ménestrel' qui renvoie sans doute à la réputation de dépravation des jongleurs[8] en affirmant la dignité de son protégé: le défunt est son chancelier (vv. 52 et 54), lui qui ne manquait jamais de lui adresser son salut. Une fleur 'si fremiant et si florie / Com se luez droit fu espanie' (vv. 87–88) trouvée dans la bouche du cadavre vient confirmer la bonne opinion de la Vierge. Le motif de la bouche fleurie après la mort fait retour en I Mir 23, avec la figure d'un 'simple moine' (v. 2), peu instruit et, à tout prendre, d'entendement sans doute un peu borné. Ce modeste croyant avait mis 'sa symple entencion' (v. 9) dans sa dévotion et composé sans'phylosophye'(v. 24) une prière mariale à partir d'incipit de psaumes dont les initiales reprennent les lettres composant le nom de la Vierge. Ce type de fidèles naïfs recueille les faveurs de notre auteur. Ils sont capables de maintenir vivante une parole de louange investie des

[8] Autre expression semblable: I Mir 42, *D'un moigne qui fu ou fleuve*, v. 243.

valeurs de douceur, de suavité qui caractérisent la diction du miracle. C'est encore à ce modèle que répondent le prêtre illettré qui ne connaît qu'une messe 'apprise d'enfance' et que son évêque chasse de sa cure en désignant les carrefours et les tréteaux de foire comme des lieux plus appropriés pour exercer son art: 'Ne doit, ce dist, chanter tex prestre / s'en un for non ou seur un trestre' (I Mir 14, vv. 39–40) et le vilain 'sotars et lourdaud' qui n'a jamais pu mémoriser l'intégralité du Notre Père ou de l'*Ave Maria* (II Mir 20). C'est encore à ce paradigme que se rattache le fameux 'jongleur de Notre Dame' (II Mir 21) qu'un moine 'enredé' (endurci) traite d''enchanteres, boutencoroye et tresgeteres' (vv. 63–64).

Cette opposition entre les simples et les savants ou les lettrés est à entendre aussi sur le plan d'une esthétique, comme en témoigne le prologue du livre II:

> Il symple mot charchié de fruit
> Valent mout mielz, si com je cuit,
> Et plus a l'ame sont vaillant
> Que mot agu ne mot taillant,
> Que pluisor dïent por renon
> Ou il n'a rien se fuelles non. II Pr 1, vv. 77–82

Gautier de Coinci, le laudateur de la Vierge semble curieusement assimiler sa propre parole poétique à un modèle peu glorieux qui se situe aux antipodes de toute dignité cléricale: celui du jongleur. C'est dans la bouche de ses pairs, clercs et moines imbus de leur supériorité intellectuelle, qu'il place la définition de cet être exclu des bienséances, héritier de l'histrion romain, marqué par l'infamie, mais qui pourtant remporte la palme du salut par sa dévotion joyeuse et 'd'entier corage' (II Mir 21, v. 25).

C'est ainsi qu'un ecclésiastique tout ce qu'il y a de plus respectable, nous fournit, sans que cette référence puisse reposer sur une quelconque assimilation biographique, un des premiers témoignages de l'intérêt poétique que peut avoir la figure du poète mauvais garçon qui servira à forger l'image du truand et du ribaud traditionnellement associée à Rutebeuf et à Villon (il faut noter au passage l'attachement de ces auteurs à la figure de la Vierge). Ce qui définit cette diction ce ne sont pas tant les mauvaises mœurs qu'une façon de passer outre à la morale cléricale, au dualisme mécanique et de révérer dans la Vierge une instance féconde de dépassement des dichotomies morales. La poésie est comme la Vierge, elle s'adresse au reste balbutiant qui, en nous, continue à chanter la louange de la douceur, les plaisirs apaisants du miel et du lait et le parfum des fleurs, en dépit des condamnations rigoureuses d'un surmoi rigide que Gautier, malicieusement, prend plaisir à diaboliser.

Gazing on Women in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Kathy M. Krause

Résumé

Dans la *Chasteé as Nonains*, épître didactique adressée aux moniales de Notre-Dame de Soissons et incluse dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), Gautier de Coinci avertit ses destinataires de la fragilité de la réputation féminine et de l'omniprésence du regard critique du *siècle*. À partir des admonitions que Gautier profère, cet article examine la rhétorique du regard sur la femme dans les *MND* et surtout, comment le besoin de divulguer le miracle mène à la victimisation de l'héroïne. En dernière analyse, le regard poétique de Gautier expose ses personnages féminins, tant innocents que coupables, à une violation rhétorique, pour les mettre ensuite à l'abri du regard grâce à leur soustraction complète du monde.

It requires no great insight to observe that the visual regime of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) focuses on the Virgin Mary. Seeing the Virgin, seeing her correctly and teaching others to see her, is in many ways the essential aim of Gautier's poetic project. On the other hand, Gautier depicts a large variety of women other than the Virgin in his collection of miracle tales, and an investigation of the gaze upon these other women in the *MND* is justified not only by our twenty-first-century theoretical and critical concerns, but also by Gautier himself. In the *Chasteé as Nonains*,[1] the didactic epistle addressed to the

[1] This title, better known than Koenig's *Des nonains de Nostre Dame de Soissons*, will be used throughout.

nuns of Notre Dame de Soissons and included in the *MND*, Gautier explicitly addresses the issue of women's vulnerability to the public gaze:

> Damoyseles, *vos biaus cors genz*
> Honestement gardez adez
> Pour Dieu avant et puis aprés
> Pour le siecle, *qui vos espie*. II Chast 10, vv. 820–23 (my emphasis)

This admonition to 'honestement gardez' their bodies concludes a long passage in the *Chasteé* (vv. 792–823) where Gautier warns the nuns about how easily a woman acquires a bad reputation. He begins the passage as he ends it, by directly addressing the nuns and by reminding them of what he thinks they should already know, that a woman's reputation is extremely fragile:

> Vos savez bien que toz tanz fame
> Est de si tenre renommee,
> Luez c'un petit est denommee
> D'assez petite vilonnie,
> Mout a envis s'en cure et nie. II Chast 10, vv. 792–96

By framing his argument in this way, opening with a universal statement about the vulnerability of a woman's reputation and ending with a specific warning against the 'siecle qui vos espie' (v. 823), Gautier links a woman's reputation to her visibility, even as he represents her as the object of a seemingly omnipresent critical gaze. In addition, in his closing remarks, Gautier specifically admonishes the nuns to watch over and protect their bodies (vv. 820–21), making explicit what is only implicit in the rest of the passage: the reputation at issue here is a woman's sexual reputation.

Given these admonitions in the *Chasteé* and Gautier's avowed didactic purpose for writing his book, one would expect to find examples illustrating the fragility of woman's reputation, and the omnipresent critical gaze of the *siècle* in the miracle tales themselves. This is indeed the case; for example, one of the longest and most popular tales, that of the Empress of Rome (*Miracle de l'empeeris*, II Mir 9), focuses specifically upon the heroine's reputation and her repeated objectification by men.[2] The *Miracle de l'empeeris* directly precedes the *Chasteé* in all the manuscripts that contain the epistle; as such, the *Chasteé* works as an extended explication of the lessons of the tale, and the miracle serves in retrospect as an exemplum for the epistle.

Gautier's depictions of women and their relationship to the society around them are not confined to this one tale: as shown in Table 1, twenty of the fifty-

[2] See below for a plot summary and discussion of this tale.

eight miracle tales, or just slightly more than one-third, contain female figures other than the Virgin who play a demonstrable role in the narrative.[3]

Table 1. Miracles with significant female characters, other than the Virgin Mary

Number	Title	Role of female character
I Mir 11	*D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*	St Leocadia
I Mir 12	*De l'enfant a un gïu qui se crestïena*	protagonist's mother
I Mir 18	*De une noble fame de Rome*	protagonist
I Mir 19	*Dou riche et de la veve fame*	one of three protagonists
I Mir 20	*De l'abeesse que ND delivra de grant angoisse*	protagonist
I Mir 21	*De l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage*	abandoned fiancée
I Mir 22	*Dou jovencel que li dyables ravi*	mother of protagonist
I Mir 26	*D'une nonain qui vaut pechier . . .**	protagonist
I Mir 29	*De la nonain a cui ND abreja ses salus**	protagonist
I Mir 33	*De deuz fammes que ND converti**	protagonists
I Mir 41	*De un chevalier*	protagonist's beloved
I Mir 43	*De la nonain**	protagonist
I Mir 44	*Comment sainte leochade fu perdue*	protagonist
II Mir 9	*De l'empeeris qui garda sa chasteé*	protagonist
II Mir 16	*Comment la fiertre fu boutee hors de l'eglyse*	young girl healed
II Mir 24	*De Gondree*	protagonist
II Mir 26	*D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon dou feu*	protagonist
II Mir 27	*D'une fame qui fu garie a Arras**	protagonist
II Mir 29	*D'un clerc*	protagonist's fiancée
II Mir 30	*De l'ymage ND de Sardanei**	one of two protagonists

* tales with a female protagonist but without a description of her or gaze upon her

[3] I will not examine the question of the gaze upon the Virgin Mary in this article both because other contributors to this volume focus their attention upon her (in particular Nancy Black) and because the topos of the male gaze upon the Virgin has received significant critical attention. In addition, the Virgin has a very different status than that of an earthly woman in both medieval culture and Gautier's literary universe. For a discussion of the topos of the (male) gaze upon the Virgin, see Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 1–44, as well as Penny Shine Gold's classic study, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), ch. 2.

However, despite this relatively large number of female characters,[4] the majority of these twenty tales do not depict any gaze upon the women. In fact, only seven of the twenty contain elements relevant to the question of the gaze, particularly as it is raised in Gautier's *Chasteé as Nonains*, that is to say, they concern a woman's reputation or include a scene of gazing upon a female character. (The tales are detailed in Table 2.[5])

These contrasting numbers reflect several contradictory impulses in Gautier's project. On the one hand, Gautier states in the prologue to Book I that his aim is to translate miracle tales so that men and women who cannot read (Latin) will be able to understand them:

> Miracles que truis en latin
> Translater voel en rime et metre
> Que *cil et celes* qui la letre
> N'entendent pas puissent entendre
> Qu'a son servise fait boen tendre. I Pr 1, vv. 6–10 (my emphasis)

In this spirit, Gautier includes tales involving characters from all walks of life in his collection, and for each type of male protagonist, he generally includes a corresponding female figure. In addition, the female protagonists of the miracles, like the male protagonists, represent the range of social classes and positions and run the gamut of moral character types.[6]

On the other hand, Gautier's cloistered life and obvious bias towards both celibacy and the monastic ideal are evident in the predominance of tales with monastic and clerical protagonists (twenty-four tales) and among these tales, the almost overwhelming number featuring male religious figures (twenty of the

[4] It should be noted, however, that overall there are in fact twice as many male protagonists as female protagonists in the *MND*, as Yasmina Foehr-Janssens discusses in her contribution to this volume.

[5] There are interesting insights to be gained via a comparison of the two tables. For example, one could examine the two pairs of similar tales of young devotees of the Virgin (two male, two female) tempted to marry. (The miracles are I Mir 21, *L'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage* with II Mir 29, *Un clerc*, and I Mir 26, *Une nonain qui vaut pechier, mais ND l'en delivra* with I Mir 43, *La nonain*.) One might also consider the six miracles with female protagonists where there is no description or gaze. (They are marked with an asterisk in Table 1.) However, as my focus is on the gaze itself, I will restrict my analysis to the tales in the second list.

[6] For a broader discussion of the types of female protagonists in the *MND*, see Kathy M. Krause, 'Virgin, Saint, and Sinners: Women in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', in *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 26–52.

twenty-four).[7] In addition, the narrative structure of the miracle tale itself — its relatively short length and strong focus on the protagonist(s) succoured by the Virgin Mary — does not lend itself to lingering over secondary characters. Thus, it is not surprising that of the seven tales of concern here, in only one case is the woman not the protagonist. (See Table 2.) Moreover, that tale, the *Miracle d'un clerc* (II Mir 29) offers perhaps the most uncomplicated example of the gaze upon women in the *MND*: a young man gazing at a young woman who is first his fiancée and then wife.

Table 2. Miracles with female characters who are subjected to a gaze

Number	Title	Role played by the female character
I Mir 18	*De une noble fame de Rome*	protagonist, guilty of sexual sin
I Mir 20	*De l'abeesse que ND delivra*	protagonist, guilty of sexual sin
II Mir 26	*D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon dou feu*	protagonist, guilty of sexual sin
I Mir 44	*Comment sainte leochade fu perdue*	protagonist, victim of sexual violence
II Mir 9	*De l'empeeris qui garda sa chasteé*	protagonist, victim of sexual violence
II Mir 24	*De Gondree*	protagonist, victimized by public opinion
II Mir 29	*D'un clerc*	secondary figure, object of sexual gaze

The exclusion of several of the twenty miracle tales with female characters (initially presented in Table 1) from examination here requires some explanation, for at first glance they might seem ideal candidates for our consideration. In particular, the first tale of St Leocadia (I Mir 11) — how she appeared to Archbishop Ildefonsus — contains a lengthy description of Ildefonsus and the assembly in the cathedral gazing upon the saint as she rises up from her tomb. However, Leocadia is dead in this scene; she functions in this tale not as an earthly woman, but instead like the Virgin Mary, rewarding a faithful devotee with a miracle. As such, Ildefonsus's gaze upon her, and that of the assembly, represents what we can consider as a variant of the gaze upon the Virgin, and so should be considered in that context rather than the present one. Conversely, in the epilogue or *queue* of the second Leocadia miracle (I Mir 44, the tale of how her relics were lost and then recovered), Gautier includes much of Leocadia's *vita*, including scenes in which she is gazed upon and tortured by Dacien; those are the scenes that I will consider here. Finally, I will not consider a few miracles with significant female characters

[7] The four female religious protagonists include two nuns tempted to leave the convent (I Mir 26, I Mir 43), the pregnant abbess (I Mir 20), and the nun who said too many *aves* (I Mir 29).

that contain a description of a woman, but one that is short and undeveloped, and does not represent anyone gazing upon her as these descriptions play no significant narrative function in their tales. For example, the longest such description occurs in the *Miracle d'une nonain* (I Mir 26) where the nun's suitor notes, as he laments her absence at their rendezvous for the second time, that she is 'La douce, la bele, la debonere, / La tres plesant, la gracïeuse, / La blanche et la deliteuse' (I Mir 26, vv. 8–10). The nun is clearly the object of the knight's desire, but she is not the object of a gaze, except perhaps in the young man's imagination. The description occurs, we might say, *in absentia* and it has no impact on the narrative.

When we examine the seven tales that foreground the issue of the gaze upon women, we find an apparently broad spectrum of tale-types. Three recount stories of sinful women rescued by the Virgin from the judicial consequences of their acts: *De une noble fame de Rome* (I Mir 18), *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra* (I Mir 20), and *D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon* (II Mir 26). In *De une noble fame de Rome*, the protagonist kills the infant born of her incest with her son, and the devil, disguised as a lawyer, accuses her of those sins in the Emperor's court. In response to the woman's prayers and repentance, the Virgin serves as her advocate, causing the devil to flee by her very presence. The pregnant abbess of *De l'abbeesse que Nostre Dame delivra* is denounced to the bishop by her nuns and rescued by the Virgin's miraculous intervention during the birth of the child. Finally, in *D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon*, the protagonist kills her son-in-law to stop false rumours of their adulterous relationship; her crime is uncovered by the local authorities and she is sentenced to be burnt at the stake, but the Virgin protects her from the flames.

Conversely, two tales concern innocent women pursued and abused by men. The *Miracle de l'empeeris de Rome* (II Mir 9) offers a female version of the tale of Potiphar's wife: the Empress is pursued by her brother-in-law, and when she refuses his advances, he accuses her of trying to seduce him. Exiled, she is next falsely accused of murder by a second rejected suitor. The Virgin's miraculous intervention occurs during yet another trial, when she is shipwrecked on a rock at sea. The second virtuous woman's story, that of St Leocadia (I Mir 44) found in the *queue* of the miracle tale, differs from the four already mentioned in that Leocadia is never accused of a sexual sin. Instead, yet another frustrated suitor, here the pagan emperor Dacien, submits her to a variety of tortures in an attempt to force her to renounce Christ and marry him, in a fairly standard virgin-martyr narrative.

The last two tales of interest also feature innocent women, but of very different types and situations. The *Miracle de Gondree, comment Nostre Dame lui rendi son*

nez (II Mir 24) tells of a poor woman suffering from the *mal des ardents*. Hideously disfigured by the disease, the woman is gazed upon in horror by the townspeople, ridiculed, and abused. She prays repeatedly before Our Lady's slipper at Soissons and is finally healed by the Virgin. The last of the tales is that mentioned earlier (the *Miracle d'un clerc*), where a young cleric is coerced into marriage by his family; his wedding night is aborted by the Virgin's intervention in order to reclaim him for herself. The young man gazes upon his fiancée (and again later when she has become his bride) and desires her. This is by far the longest and most developed of a number of relatively similar scenarios in the *MND* where a (young) man loves, or is attracted to, a (young) woman and it is the only one where there is an actual scene of gazing upon the young woman. In its straightforwardness, it provides an excellent counterpart to the other six miracle tales of concern here, even as it serves as a representative of what we might more generally call the scenario of the lover's gaze.

Given the emphasis on sexual purity evident overall in the *MND*, it comes as little surprise that all but one of the seven tales, that of Gondree, involve sexual relationships, and that those relationships are couched as transgressive in various ways: incest, (supposed) adultery, attempted rape, breaking religious vows of chastity, and coerced marriage.[8] However, the sexual transgression at the heart of the tales is not uniformly associated with the gaze.[9] As a deeper analysis of the seven miracles will demonstrate, Gautier more often depicts the public, judgemental gaze upon women, in keeping with his words of warning to the nuns of Soissons in the *Chasteé as nonains*.

As mentioned above, the most straightforward example of the gaze upon women appears in the *Miracle d'un clerc* (II Mir 29). The young cleric gazes upon the fiancée chosen by his family, and he sees that she is 'plaisanz et bele / jointe, acesmee et espincie' (II Mir 29, vv. 226–27) and so he gives in to his family's demands and marries her. However, the cleric's gaze is abetted by the devil, here replacing Cupid

[8] As Foehr-Janssens discusses in her contribution to this volume, Gautier describes in detail and profusion humanity's propensity toward sin in order, of course, to demonstrate the Virgin's abundant mercy and grace.

[9] Gautier's tales focus on the Virgin's intervention in the protagonist's life; he concentrates his narrative energy on the results of sin (or virtue) not on the commission of sin. Thus, many of the miracles that recount tales of sexual misbehaviour do not involve the gaze at all. In several cases, the object of desire does not appear in the tale, such as the tales of lascivious monks rescued after death either from devils or from burial in unconsecrated ground.

in the standard enamourment topos, who lodges the young lady's image in the protagonist's liver, heart, and guts, thereby supplanting the image of the Virgin:

> Li dyables, qui a mincie
> Mout tost une male poree,
> Ou foie, ou cuer, en la coree
> Cele pucele si li plante
> Que Nostre Dame li sousplante. II Mir 29, vv. 228–32

On the way to his nuptial bed, the young man stops to pray before a statue of the Virgin, she appears and berates him for leaving her for a lesser beloved. Gautier develops his tale — this is the longest of four similar tales in the collection — with an allegorical debate between the cleric's soul and his flesh, after which the cleric gazes at length upon his wife in bed:

> Et li clers gist les la pucele,
> Qui si tres bele est comme cele
> Qui nature a faite a devise.
> D'eures a autres mout l'avise,
> Car mout li siet et mout li plaist.
> De li vooir ses iex apaist,
> Mais le seurplus n'en ose prenre. II Mir 29, vv. 373–79

He sates his eyes with the vision ('de li vooir ses iex apaist', v. 378) but doesn't dare do anything more. Gautier draws here upon courtly vocabulary and metaphor, culminating with the euphemism 'le seurplus' (v. 379) for sexual contact. In doing so, he characterizes the young man's desire as at once comprehensible, even excusable, and transgressive. There is nothing prurient in this scene: it depicts the natural desire of a young man for his new bride; nevertheless, the young cleric's prior vows make that desire inappropriate, and by calling upon courtly rhetoric, Gautier neatly figures the two valences simultaneously.

In the end, despite weak male flesh and the satanically enhanced attraction of the gaze, the Virgin is once again victorious. Just before his wedding, the Virgin appears to the young cleric as he says the office of *nones* before her statue. Gautier quotes the last words of the office said by the cleric just before the Virgin manifests herself to him:

> Quand *pulchra es et decora*
> Cuida pardire *absque mora*,
> Endormis s'est devant l'ymage
> La mere Dieu, [. . .]
> Isnelement en la chappele
> A lui s'apert isi tres bele,
> Si resplendissanz, si tres clere. II Mir 29, vv. 271–81

The Virgin appears as the realization of the words the cleric has just spoken: she is indeed 'pulchra' and she appears 'absque mora'. The vision the cleric will shortly have of his lovely bride naked in their bed cannot compete with that of his heavenly lady, 'tres bele, / si resplendissanz, si tres clere' (vv. 280–81). Thus despite the temptation of his eyes, the young man escapes the nuptial chamber through a window and flees to a hermitage.[10] In other words, he leaves not only the worldly life his family offers but also the secular clerical life for one where he will never, or at least very rarely, have to gaze upon a real woman again.

The long epilogue or *queue* to the tale[11] makes Gautier's point abundantly obvious, excoriating luxurious clerics (he even retells the fabliau of the 'prêtre pelé'[12]) and sermonizing about the temptations of women. Throughout the passage he warns repeatedly of the dangers of sight. For example, he instructs: 'Nes li *vooirs*, s'on la couvoite / Blesce et corront l'ame et le cuer' (vv. 740–41) or again, 'Bon est, selonc la verité, / C'on gart *ses iex* de vanité' (vv. 801–02, my emphasis). He concludes with a misogynist diatribe urging religious 'preudoms' to flee all women:

> Qui bien nette vieut tenir s'ame
> Adés fuïr doit fole fame.
> Fole? Mais la fole et la sage,
> Ce dist Jheromes en sa page,
> Fuïr devons et soir et main. II Mir 29, vv. 731–35

As for the young bride, the object of the cleric's desire, she vanishes from the story as if she had never existed, and indeed she never does truly exist as a character: she never speaks, never looks; she has no family, no name, no subjectivity whatsoever. Mute and immobile, she is, in fact, nothing more than a statue. By contrast, the actual statue in the story, that of the Virgin Mary, not only moves and speaks, she asserts her subjectivity and imposes her will. The 'real' woman is here an object, while the imaginary, heavenly one is the subject. Thus, although

[10] Ensi s'enfuit en hermitage.
Famme et avoir et hyretage
Lait et gerpist pour Nostre Dame.
Bien seit ne puet avoir a l'ame
Tele espeuse ne tele amie
Com ma dame sainte Marie. II Mir 29, vv. 507–12

[11] The *queue* is as long as the narrative proper: it occupies 424 lines (vv. 529–954) whereas Gautier recounts the tale itself in 429 lines. (Verses 1–100 are a prologue.)

[12] See Brian Levy's article in the present volume for a discussion of Gautier's use of the fabliaux in general, and this one in particular.

the young cleric's gaze is not depicted as prurient (even if abetted by the devil) it does indeed objectify his young bride. In this light, the miracle offers a classic example of the objectifying male gaze, which grants subjectivity to the woman only when she is the product of male fantasy even as it simultaneously reinforces homosocial ideology (here that of the Church). This move is compounded in Gautier's *queue* as it deploys standard misogynist rhetoric that further objectifies real women in its attempt to encourage male religious to remain chaste.

In the other six tales of concern here, the situation appears quite different. In them, the woman is the protagonist of the tale and as such, she is the object of the Virgin's intervention, rather than a rival. In addition, and again in contrast to the young bride in the *Miracle d'un clerc*, these women are presented as subjects: they express their desires and needs, take action to resolve their problems, and remain the focus of the narrative. However, as further analysis will show, there are in fact numerous similarities between these women and the anonymous wife in the *Miracle d'un clerc*.

Although the six protagonists form a microcosm of female types (one religious, four lay women, three innocent and three guilty, two the object of male sexual violence, while three are themselves culpable of sexual sin), Gautier portrays all six as victims. This is self-evident in the case of the innocent women: the Empress of Rome is first falsely accused by her brother-in-law and then suffers multiple attempted rapes, St Leocadia is the victim of Dacien's torture, and Gondree is abused by many townspeople due to her disfigurement. Despite the other three women's guilt, Gautier presents them explicitly as victims as well: he depicts the abbess as the victim of her nuns' jealousy, the noblewoman of Rome as the victim of the devil's machinations, and the woman of Laon as the victim of the rumour mill that falsely accuses her of incest. As victims, these six women already have more in common with the young cleric's wife than their position as protagonists might first indicate.

Clearly guilty of breaking her vows, the pregnant abbess falls victim to her nuns' pent up discontent with her strict rule:

> Tost fu sa face pale et tainte,
> Qui fresche estoit et coloree,
> Et ses nonains sanz demoree
> Ceste chose ont aperceüe
> Et mout en ont grant joie eüe.
> Chascune dist: 'Drois est c'on l'arde,
> La truande, la pappelarde!' I Mir 20, vv. 36–42

They denounce her to the bishop, who also wants to cause her trouble:

> L'evesques, qui mout bien savoit
> Par les nonains tout son affaire,
> Toz eschaufez de li mal faire
> A l'abbeÿe fu venus. I Mir 20, vv. 208–11

The victimization continues when the bishop arrives to investigate the charges against her, for he and his clerics take perverse pleasure, Gautier implies, in examining her for signs of pregnancy. First, Gautier depicts the two clerics touching and feeling her body:

> Li dui clerc deça et dela
> Mout longuement l'ont portastee,
> Mais lor entent i ont gastee,
> [. . .]
> Nos avons quis, font il, folie.
> Ele est plus graille et plus polie
> C'une pucelle de dis ans. I Mir 20, vv. 270–77

Then the bishop insists upon repeating the physical examination himself:

> 'Signor, fait il [the bishop], mout croi vos ielz,
> Mais les miens croi la moitié mielz.
> Je meïsmes veoir la vueil.
> Ja m'en diront le voir mi oel.'
> L'evesques vient a l'abbeesse. I Mir 20, vv. 285–89

The bishop insults the abbess verbally and forces her to undress completely before him:

> Mout la laidenge et mout l'assaut.
> Ireement jure son chief
> Que despoillie iert de rechief.
> Queque la dame se despoille,
> La fontainne dou cuer li moille
> Et arouse toute la face,
> Si grant honte a ne seit que face.
> Quant ele eut toz les dras ostez
> Et l'evesques vit les costez
> Et le ventre graille et poli,
> Mout granz pitiez li prist de li. I Mir 20, vv. 292–302

All of the rhetorical devices and narrative touches deployed by Gautier emphasize the voyeuristic and sadistic elements of the scene: the redoubling of the examination, the bishop's emphasis on seeing for himself, the abbess's tears, and her 'graille' and 'polie' body. Indeed, even at the lexical level Gautier foregrounds the

Figure 1. I Miracle 20, *De l'abbesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*, MS T, Besançon, BM, 551, fol. 42^{v}

sense of sadistic victimization. For example, he describes the clerics' examination using the rhyme word pair *portastee*, 'touched' and *gastee*, 'ruined' (vv. 271–72) and then utilizes *despoiller* two times (v. 294 and v. 295) to describe the abbess's undressing for the bishop.

The element of violation present in this scene is suggested in one of the most interesting of the illuminated manuscripts of the *MND*. Besançon, BM, 551 (MS T) is the only manuscript to offer a number of separate miniatures, dispersed throughout the narrative, for each miracle tale.[13] The fifth of the six miniatures accompanying the *Miracle de l'abbesse* depicts the two clerics checking the abbess for signs of pregnancy. The disproportionately large hands of the cleric feeling her body call attention to his act and to its transgressive nature (see Fig. 1).[14]

[13] The other illuminated manuscripts offer either single-scene or multicompartment illustrations (miniatures or historiated initials) only at the beginning of each tale.

[14] The hands appear deliberately oversized in comparison with the smaller hands of the second cleric in the scene. The abbess's hands, raised above her head to allow the cleric to feel her body, are also quite large, suggesting an attitude of supplication as well as the practical need to get them out of the way. It should be noted, however, that the artist who illuminated this manuscript

As Gautier describes it, this scene recalls in interesting ways the torture scenes found in the *vitae* of virgin martyrs. In the hagiographic texts, the narrative reveals the saintly heroine to the rhetorical gaze of its audience as it details her exposure by and for her tormentors and (in almost all cases) to intradiagetic voyeurs in the form of an inscribed audience. Brigitte Cazelles sums up the discursive effect of these scenes well: 'the hagiographic discourse implicitly defiles the very virtue [virginity] it attempts to praise.'[15] All the elements of the hagiographic topos are present in this scene in the *Miracle de l'abbesse grosse*, with one glaring omission — the abbess is not a virgin, this lady is not a saint. By reworking the topos of the virgin martyr's suffering here, Gautier appropriates the mantle of female sanctity for his guilty, but repentant and forgiven, sinner. As the Virgin transforms the abbess's pregnant body into the body of a pre-pubescent maiden (the clerics note that her body is 'plus graille et plus polie / C'une pucelle de dis ans', vv. 276–77), Gautier rewrites his sexually sinful protagonist as a martyr. Yet even as he throws the mantle of martyrdom over his abbess, Gautier simultaneously reinscribes the essential voyeurism of the martyrdom scenario, making the abbess victim not only of her nuns and the bishop but also of his own rhetoric.

We find comparable elements in the two other miracle tales with guilty protagonists. Throughout the woman of Laon's story, Gautier stresses that crowds observe her: her crime, indictment, and confession are all caused by public rumour ('A dire pristrent mout de genz / Qu'il [the son-in-law] tenoyt la fille et la mere', II Mir 26, vv. 48–49), and her punishment and rescue are all conducted in the public eye. She is subject to the gaze of a multitude of townspeople during her confession, her prayers in church before being executed, her march to the place of execution, the pyre, and finally her appearance, unharmed among the ashes, and subsequent account of the Virgin's rescue. For example, after the murder is discovered, as the family is brought into town for questioning, Gautier comments:

> Ainz qu'il viegnent emmi la vile,
> Aqueurent genz plus de si mile;
> De toutes pars genz I aqueurent. II Mir 26, vv. 225–27

Again, when the protagonist enters the church to pray on her way to her execution, we hear of the crowds who run to witness the event:

demonstrates a tendency towards oversized hands in many of the miniatures. It may be that the large hands are related to the relative importance of the figure in the scene, rather than any commentary on the action depicted, or that it is just a quirk of the artist's style.

[15] Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 49.

> Quant a l'eglyse vient la lasse,
> Entor li a de gent tel masse
> Et si grans pueples i apluet
> Qu'a grans painnes entrer i puet. II Mir 26, vv. 309–12

Similar accounts accompany all the later stages of the tale: this is crime, justice, and miraculous clemency as public spectacle.

The various artists who illuminated the manuscripts of the *Miracles* grasped the importance of the crowd, for all of those manuscripts that illustrate this tale show the woman surrounded by others observing what is happening.[16] For example, in one of the most sumptuously illuminated exemplars (MS L, BNF fr. 22928, from the late thirteenth century) the multicompartment miniature shows the protagonist observed by others in all four scenes depicted, even in the first one where she strangles her son-in-law, where one would assume the act was done in private. (See Fig. 2.)

The *Miracle d'une noble fame de Rome* also deploys its narrative under the public gaze. The devil, disguised as a lawyer, accuses the protagonist in the Emperor's court on a day when many are present, deliberately choosing to speak before a full court so as, we assume, to maximize the effect of his words:

> Un jor quant vit q'eut ou palais
> Assez haus homes, clers et lais,
> Lors s'apensa que son affaire
> D'or en avant porroit bien faire. I Mir 18, vv. 195–98

When the woman returns the next day to be judged, Gautier emphasizes the audience's gaze, and their amazement at her beauty — since at her first appearance she appeared so old and guilty:

> Adonc n'i a ne clerc ne lai
> Ne se mervalt mout durement
> Quant ele vient si lïement.
> Nes l'emperere s'en merveille,
> Car coloree est et vermeille
> Et comme rose fresche et clere. I Mir 18, vv. 582–87

Holding her by the hand as they enter the court, the Virgin spreads the mantle of her beauty and authority over the noblewoman; as Yasmina Foehr-Janssens puts

[16] Manuscripts B (Brussels, BR, 10747, fol. 183^{r}), H (Paris, BNF, fr. 1533, fol. 212^{r}), L (Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 236^{v}), N (Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, fol. 180^{r}), R (St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, fols 209^{v}–210^{r}), and S (Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 188^{v}). See Appendix I for a list of manuscripts and their sigla.

Figure 2. II Miracle 26, *D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon dou feu*, MS L, Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, fol. 236v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

its, 'lors de sa comparution au procès, l'héroïne semble investie d'une autorité mariale'.[17] As with the woman of Laon, the Virgin's intervention and protection transforms the crowd's initial horror into astonishment and *émerveillement*, thus extending the lesson of the Marian intervention beyond the repentant protagonists to their surrounding communities. The lesson spreads yet further via Gautier's retelling of the tale, reaching first his contemporary audience and then the audiences of each of the manuscripts. Here again, the illuminators of the manuscripts of the *Miracles* followed Gautier's narrative lead: the majority depict

[17] Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, 'Histoire poétique du péché: de quelques figures littéraires de la faute dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in the present volume.

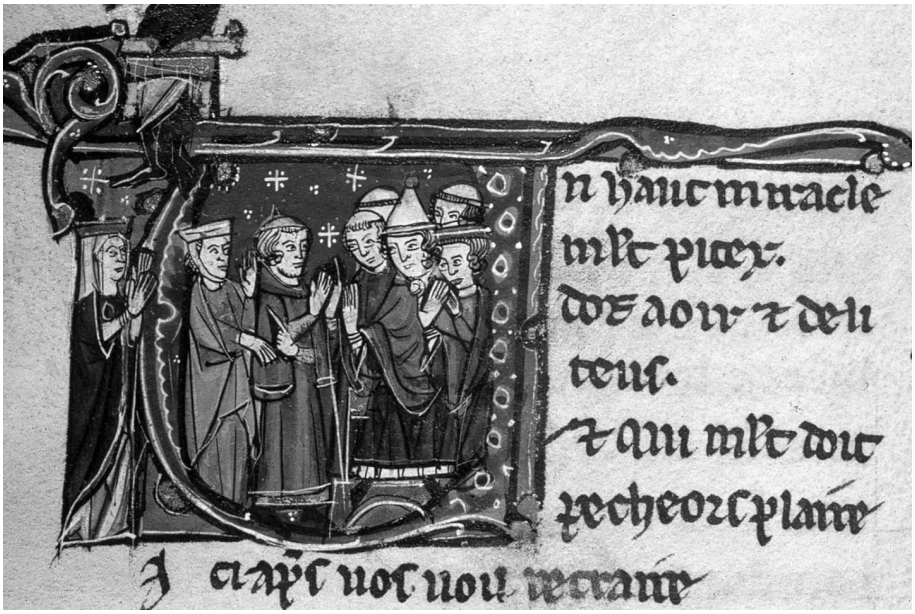


Figure 3. I Miracle 18, *De une noble fame de Rome*, MS B, Brussels, BR, 10747, fol. 40r (photo: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier)

this last scene of the miracle, showing the Virgin accompanying the protagonist before the Emperor and his court (see Fig. 3).[18]

[18] Manuscripts B (BR 10747, fol. 40r), H (BNF fr. 1533, fol. 74r), L (BNF fr. 22928, fol. 81v), N (BNF fr. 25532, fol. 41r), S (BNF n. a. fr. 24541, 41r), and T (Besançon 551, fols 35r–38r). The only exception is MS g (Paris, B. Ars., 5204, fol 54r), which depicts the despairing noblewoman alone and outside (she is between two stylized trees). Interestingly, this manuscript's rubric also varies from the norm. Typically the rubrics begin 'De une noble dame de rome' or 'De une feme de rome', and continue with details about her sins and the Virgin's rescue. (For example, MS N (BNF fr. 25532) offers a wealth of detail: 'Dune dame de ro(m)me q(ui) eut .i. enfant de sen fil que nostre dame delivra de so(n) mesfait qui fu enceinte de son filz, que N.D. delivra.' My transcription from the manuscript.) Instead, MS g calls the tale, 'De la mere que son fiz engendra en li 1 fils par l'asentement de l'anemi', referring to the protagonist as 'mère' rather than 'dame', making the son responsible for the incestuous conception, and substituting the devil for the Virgin as the other-worldly actor in the drama. The rubrics have, as yet, received little critical attention, which is unfortunate, for they are present in almost every copy of the *Miracles*, and in a number of manuscripts they are present twice, once in a table of contents (often in Latin) and once at the beginning of the tale. The study of the rubrics will be facilitated by a database of the manuscripts of the *Miracles* that I am developing with colleagues, which is presently in its initial stages.

Thus, in all three cases of a sinful female protagonist (the pregnant abbess, the noblewoman of Rome, and the woman of Laon), the public accusation provides for a correspondingly public lesson about the Virgin's mercy. However, that accusation also makes public the women's secret sexual depravity (or supposed depravity in the case of the woman of Laon) even as they are proven innocent through the Virgin's miraculous intervention. Moreover, in all three tales, the rhetoric of the gaze makes the exposure and victimization of the heroine inevitable. In parallel fashion, the tales illustrate the lesson Gautier preaches in the *Chasteé as Nonains*, but in doing so Gautier participates in the very behaviour against which he warns the nuns: in order to depict the fragility of a woman's reputation he must retell, often more than once, the sin or supposed sin, further subjecting her reputation to the public gaze and to public censure.

We should note that the situation of male sinners in Gautier's collection is very different. Their sins are almost all notorious, known to the community from before the narrative begins, but they do not call forth any public denunciation or punishment while the protagonists are alive. Some sinners are punished after death by their community, as in the various tales of sinful monks buried in unconsecrated ground (e.g. I Mir 15, *Dou clerc mort en cui boche on trova la flor*[19]), whereas others are rescued from devils by Mary's intervention either in private (e.g. the drunken monk rescued from the devil disguised as wild animals in I Mir 16, *De un moigne que Nostre Dame delivra dou Dyable*) or after their death (e.g. I Mir 24, *Dou moigne que Nostre Dame resuscita*). Unlike female sinners, male sinners and their sins are not 'spectacle' in the *MND*.[20]

In the *Miracle de Gondree* the narrative situation is quite similar to that of the three miracles featuring sinful women, even though this protagonist is innocent. Gondree's story too plays out almost entirely in public view. Her disfigurement is such that wherever she goes, she attracts attention: some people give her pitying glances, but most look at her in horror, closing their eyes in shock (vv. 20–22) or gaping and taunting her. Those who taunt her equate her suffering with punishment for sin, calling her a devil and evil-doer:[21]

[19] See Laurel Broughton's contribution to this volume for a discussion of these tales, often referred to as 'lily miracles' for the type of flower often found growing from the corpse's mouth.

[20] For further discussion of this point, see my earlier article on the subject: Krause, 'Virgin, Saint, and Sinners'.

[21] The mistreatment meted out to Gondree reflects medieval ideas about 'mal des ardents', which was often associated with leprosy, in part because they both caused physical deformity. 'The

Ne devez ja entrer en voie,
En liu n'en place ou ja vos doye
Vooir preudons ne preudefame.
Trop piteuse est or Nostre Dame
De Soissons et trop enmiable
Quant elle a sané tel diable,
Tel maufé, tele barbouere. II Mir 24, vv. 123–29

Gautier himself seems to share in the horrified yet fascinated gaze upon Gondree, describing her disfigurement at length twice (vv. 12–33; 88–97), as well as dwelling on people's reaction to it.[22] The poetics of victimization seen in the miracle tales of guilty women function here as well: not only is Gondree victimized by a horrible, disfiguring disease and by the townspeople who gaze at her and taunt her,[23] she is exposed and victimized by Gautier's rhetoric.

At first glance, the experiences of the two innocent victims of sexual violence among our seven miracle tales would appear to differ significantly from those of the sinful female protagonists and Gondree, for the innocent women experience primarily a private male gaze. For example, the serfs ordered to kill the Empress of Rome after her brother-in-law's false accusation of sexual depravity gaze upon her in the forest, see that she is 'plaisans, bele, polie, blonde' (II Mir 9, vv. 960–61) and decide to rape her before killing her. Later, a knight in the household where she takes refuge after being abandoned by the serfs gazes upon her often ('le vis, le cors, les bras, les mains / Souvent remire de la dame', II Mir 9, vv. 1280–81) before attempting rape in his turn, when she won't give in to his blandishments.

victims of ergotism were at times viewed with suspicion and, like lepers, marginalized. For example, the statutes of the Hospital of Saint-Jean at Angers forbade the admission of both lepers and those who suffered from ergotism, in addition to paralytics and young children.' R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1987), p. 55, cited in James William Brodman, *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p. 84 and n. 44, consulted on-line at LIBRO, the Library of Iberian Resources On-Line <http://libro.uca.edu/charity/charity.htm> on 12 January 2006.

[22] Gautier gleans the major details of Gondree's story from the Latin version in Hugh Farsit's account of the cures effected by the Virgin's slipper at Soissons (*Libellus de Miraculis Beatae Mariae*, PL, 179: 1781A–82B) Like most Latin miracle tales, Hugh's version is relatively short; Gautier's lengthy descriptions of both Gondree's disfigurement and people's reactions to it are his own narrative developments, although the kernel of these elements does appear in Hugh.

[23] In addition, Gautier presents her as victimized by her husband, who wishes that she were dead (vv. 47–54; 196–208).

Similarly, Gautier's short *vita* of St Leocadia describes Dacien's gaze upon her and his desire to possess her:

> Li wareus waroz Dacïens,
> Qui tant ocist de crestïens
> Et qui saint Vincent tourmenta,
> Assez la blandi et tanta.
> De li avoir fu mout engrant.
> En son cors vit biauté si grant
> Que ja vie ne li tolsist
> Se ses voloirs faire volsist. I Mir 44, vv. 695–702

Gautier also describes the torture to which Dacien subjects her:

> Mais son biau cors, qui tant ert gens,
> En mainte guise tormenta:
> Pour ce en enfer grant torment a.
> Pour ce qu'estre ne voloit soie
> Son blïaut, ses chiers dras de soie
> Sovent li faisoit despoillier,
> Se la faisoit batre et roillier
> Tant que li couroit li clers sans
> Et les mameles et les flans. I Mir 44, vv. 728–36

However, in contrast to the typical narrative of a virgin martyr, Gautier never exposes Leocadia to an intradiagetic public gaze: there is no mention of anyone else present during the torture and she is spared death in the arena, as she dies — by heavenly intervention — in prison (vv. 763–80).

In both these cases, Gautier depicts the desiring male gaze upon the women as essentially private. These scenes of male gazing are reminiscent of the ones where the young cleric gazes upon his bride in the *Miracle d'un clerc*, particularly because they include similar descriptions of the young women's bodies (all are 'polie' and 'plaisans') and of the lustful reactions of the men. However, in these two tales, the narrative focus is on the victims not the gazer; as a result, the male gaze is here a violation of the heroine's bodies, similar to the violation of the abbess's body by the bishop's clerics, rather than 'simply' a lustful gaze threatening only the young cleric's vows. Gautier presents the male gaze in these two miracles as the initial phase of an act of sexual violence. By implication, and via the similarities of vocabulary with the *Miracle d'un clerc*,[24] the male gaze upon women is charac-

[24] It should be noted that the scene in the *Miracle d'un clerc* is the only developed example of a young man gazing 'positively' upon a woman in the *MND*.

terized overall as trangressive: it leads to lust and potentially to violence. In other words, Gautier's narratives bear out his warnings to the nuns of Soissons not only about the omnipresent critical gaze of society but also about the dangers of being seen by men, doing so in a manner that clearly places the blame upon the men who do the gazing.

In contrast to the similarities between these scenes of the private male gaze, the public gaze upon the innocent heroines varies significantly. On the one hand, Gautier spares Leocadia any public gaze, even in the torture scenes, where, although we must assume there are torturers present in addition to Dacien, Gautier does not mention them. Rather Gautier describes Dacien himself causing the torture to occur. On the other hand, Gautier submits the Empress to two public, if false, accusations. First, her brother-in-law makes his accusations of sexual debauchery while they are surrounded by the crowds come to meet the returning Emperor. (He accuses her of a host of crimes in addition to those of sexual misconduct; his accusation runs to over 120 lines of misogynist commonplaces and venom, II Mir 9, vv. 708–830). However, only the Emperor reacts to the accusations, perhaps because he is the only person who hears them, for the two men are embracing in the lines directly preceding the brother's diatribe (II Mir 9, vv. 700–01). Nevertheless, all hear the Emperor's angry denunciation of his wife, and all disagree with his judgement (he gives no specifics about why he is condemning her to an ignominious death), grieving at his treatment of her but not daring to contradict him (II Mir 9, vv. 926–34). Thus, although here the accusation is apparently public, Gautier only calls attention to the crowd in order to solicit sympathy for the heroine.

The second false accusation proceeds in a more markedly public manner. The Empress's own horrified cries upon awakening and seeing the bloody body of her host's son next to her in the bed cause people to come running. As in the story of the woman of Laon, Gautier stresses the number of people who come to see what has happened. Their grief-stricken reaction is so thunderous it seems the whole country trembles: 'De chevaliers, de clers, de lais / Tel noyse i a qu'a pluiseurs samble / Tous li païs en crolle et tranble' (II Mir 9, vv. 1594–96). However, in contrast to the miracle tales with guilty protagonists, and like that of Leocadia, here the Empress is spared any more public exposure. There is no public judgement or punishment, for the mother's pity moves her husband to forego execution in favour of exile, and the narrative moves immediately from the discovery of the murder to the Empress's being placed on board a ship with orders to abandon her in a 'terre si sauvage / qu'ele n'entende nul langage' (II Mir 9,

vv. 1723–24).[25] Thus, although the Empress does suffer public accusations, they are attenuated in comparison to the treatment accorded the guilty heroines. Nevertheless, despite this caveat we should note that all the female protagonists incur public opprobrium, whether justified or not, with one exception, Leocadia; only the *sainte* escapes the critical public gaze entirely (although she clearly does not escape either victimization or suffering).

We might be tempted to see Leocadia as participating in the other aspect of the public gaze upon women: the amazed and astonished gaze of those who witness the miracle or its consequences, for in the tale of Ildefonsus (I Mir 11, D*'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*) she rises from her tomb before a large crowd to reward the Archbishop for his devotion. Nevertheless, as I mentioned at the beginning of my analysis, Leocadia is dead when this happens, and as such she is radically 'other'.[26] Moreover, when she rewards Ildefonsus, she is performing the miracle, not receiving one from the Virgin. Thus, although the audience, both intra- and extradiagetic, stares in amazement at her — as they do when they see the woman of Laon unharmed among the ashes or Gondree's repaired face — they are literally marvelling at her, whereas in the other cases they are marvelling at the Virgin's miracle-working.

The audience marvels in like fashion at the Empress of Rome's miraculous works in the last portion of her tale, for she performs numerous healings (via a miraculous herb) after being driven from her home and abandoned on a rock at sea. (The sailors initially give her the choice between servicing them sexually or being thrown into the sea; when she refuses to have sex, the Virgin causes them to put her on the rock instead of throwing her overboard, II Mir 9, vv. 1740–1870.) The Virgin comes to the Empress as she sleeps on the rock, comforts her, and tells her that the herb she will find under her head when she wakes will heal leprosy. Rescued by a passing ship, the Empress sees a leper almost immediately upon

[25] This contrasts markedly with the somewhat earlier epic version of the same tale, the *Chanson de Florence de Rome*, where the Empress goes through a public trial and is only spared execution at the last moment. A. Wallensköld, ed., *Florence de Rome: Chanson d'aventure du premier quart du XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907), vol I. For a discussion of the *Chanson* and its construction of the female protagonist, see Kathy M. Krause, 'Generic Space-Off and the Construction of the Female Protagonist: The *Chanson de Florence de Rome*', *Exemplaria*, 18.1 (2006), 93–136. For a detailed discussion of the various medieval versions of the tale, see A. Wallensköld, *Le Conte de la femme chaste convoitée par son beau-frère: Étude de littérature comparée*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, 34.1 (Helsingfors: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1907).

[26] Indeed she is the only dead woman to appear in the *MND* other than the Virgin Mary.

disembarking and heals him with the herb. From that point on, she adopts a mendicant-type lifestyle: wandering from town to town and living poorly while healing all the lepers she meets.

In a narrative development that departs significantly from the other versions of this tale, Gautier splits up her two major miraculous acts: healing the knight who murdered her host's child and healing her brother-in-law. (Both have contracted leprosy as punishment for their sins against her.) Other versions have her heal all her accusers in one climactic event;[27] here she first heals the knight and only later, after more wandering and a lengthy discussion of her rejection of worldly and fleshly cares for heavenly things, does she heal her brother-in-law. Despite their narrative separation, the two healings occur in the same manner: the Empress tells the leper he must confess all his sins before she can heal him; when he leaves out his sins against her, she forces him to reveal all. The accompanying family members are horrified, but the sinner then drinks an infusion made with the miraculous herb and receives healing. The two scenes conclude in the same fashion as well: the grief-stricken response of the family to the revelation that they had unjustly condemned the Empress is so intense that she reveals her identity in order to console them.

The redoubling of the men's confession of their sins against the Empress and the subsequent revelation of her identity both allows greater narrative development of the two scenes and serves to refocus the audience's gaze, and awed reaction, away from the healings and onto the Empress herself. This is particularly evident in the scene in Rome, where Gautier once again stresses the number of people who witness the event; the brother-in-law's healing occurs in the presence not only of the Emperor but also, and at her insistence, the Pope and the Roman Senate (II Mir 9, vv. 3117–20). (Thus she assures that her vindication is complete.) When the brother-in-law has confessed his sins against her, not only all those assembled but the entire city of Rome grieves (II Mir 9, vv. 3255–77), and the rejoicing is equally widespread when the Empress reveals her identity:

> Par toute Rome, par touz leus
> Tans sains et tante cloche sone
> Touz en tonbist, toz en resone

[27] For example, in the climactic scene of the *Chanson de Florence de Rome*, all the men who have abused the heroine (and here there are four, not two: her brother-in-law, the knight, the ship's captain, and a robber whom she rescued from the gibbet) become ill and come to the convent where she has taken refuge. Their retelling of their sins creates a 'mise en abyme' of the narrative reminiscent of hagiography. See Krause, 'Generic Space-Off'.

> Et li païs et la contree.
> De la perdue retrouvee
> Font si grant joie part tot Romme
> Ja recontee n'iert par homme. II Mir 9, vv. 3338–44

Amidst all the emotion over the Empress, the actual healing of the brother-in-law passes essentially unnoticed: Gautier's narrator describes the miraculous cure but not one character comments upon it and the brother-in-law himself vanishes from the miracle.

In addition, by splitting up and thus doubling the scene of healing and reconciliation, Gautier further focuses the narrative on the Empress, and in particular on her ascetic lifestyle in the second half of the tale. For, drawn out in this manner (and in others, for at nearly four thousand lines this is by far the longest of Gautier's tales), the narrative falls neatly into two halves, divided by the Empress's sojourn on the rock and the Virgin's appearance. (The episode on the rock occupies vv. 1880–2322; the numerical midpoint of the miracle occurs at v. 1970.) In the first half, as a beautiful, noble wife, the Empress is constantly victimized by men, sexually and otherwise, and forced to move from place to place at their instigation. In contrast, after the Virgin's appearance, she lives poorly and anonymously, she chooses where to go (choosing to wander from town to town healing the sick), and she suffers no violence of any sort. The dichotomy between the two phases of the Empress's life could not be more obvious: violence and helplessness as part of the 'siècle', healing and power when living outside its norms.

The Empress's rejection of the world culminates in her decision to renounce her marriage and position to become a nun. Given her married state, this is not a simple matter of personal choice, and Gautier describes in detail the arguments she uses to convince the Emperor and the Pope. She begins by stating that she made a vow of chastity during her tribulations:

> 'Saichiez le bien de verité
> Qu'en ma tres grant adversité
> Qui tant fu grans et tant amere,
> A dieu voai et a sa mere
> Et continence et chasteé.' II Mir 9, vv. 3391–95

The remainder of this long speech (vv. 3381–3580) concentrates on her rejection of the fallible world of men in favour of God's unfailing love as it deploys standard pro-conventual topoi. The Empress's monologue allows Gautier to reinforce the lessons of his tale — the dangers of 'le siècle', the instability and violence inherent in human desire, the superiority of God's love — and to take those lessons to the next level, that is to say, to promote the choice of the convent over life in the

world. The logical (as constructed by Gautier) culmination of her tribulations, the Empress's desire to become a nun brings our analysis full circle, returning us to the *Chasteé as Nonains* and its *apologia* for the cloistered life. By replacing her marital vows with those of a nun, the Empress can finally leave behind both the male gaze that leads to sexual desire and violence, and the (unjustly) critical gaze of the 'siècle'. The ending of the Empress's story is, in many ways, the pendant to that of the *Miracle d'un clerc*: life in the cloister offers both protagonists an escape from the other sex, from the desire — whether their own or others' — that threatens their chaste devotion to a heavenly spouse.

If we broaden our perspective briefly to include the entirety of the *MND*, we see that Gautier depicts only three young, non-married women in his collection who are not cloistered, two of whom we have examined here at some length, the Empress of Rome and Leocadia. The third is the young woman of Arras (*Miracle d'une feme qui fu garie a arras*, II Mir 27), whose story follows a similar trajectory to that of both the young cleric and the Empress and thus, although the tale contains neither a description of the young woman nor a scene of gazing upon her, it deserves discussion here. The young woman of Arras is married against her will by her parents (she had wanted to join a convent), but her virginity is miraculously protected when her husband cannot penetrate her. Despite repeated attempts, he is unable to consummate their marriage, and in a moment of violent frustration, he impales her in the vagina with a knife to open a passage — doing with the phallic symbol what he cannot do with his actual phallus. The young woman then becomes gravely ill and disfigured from the *mal des ardents*. Only at this point in the tale does the young woman appear in 'public' as it were, joining the multitudes at the church praying for healing. The Virgin heals the woman after a long period of suffering, whereupon she is finally allowed to join a convent.

Like the Empress and Leocadia, the young woman of Arras experiences extreme sexual violence, and like them she gains release from the world as the reward for her faith and chastity. Moreover, both the Empress and the young woman of Arras lose both their beauty and their feminine appearance, the Empress due to her harsh lifestyle, the young woman due to her illness. In his study of these three miracles, François-Jérôme Beaussart concludes that Gautier leaves his beautiful young protagonists no real choice: all must suffer and then disappear from the world, either behind monastery walls like the Empress of Rome and the young woman of Arras or, like Leocadia, into the heavens.[28]

[28] François-Jérôme Beaussart, 'Figures féminines dans la littérature mariale (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)', *Le Moyen Age*, 104 (1998), 435–59 (457).

What of Gautier's young male non-married, non-clerical protagonists? They too all end their days cloistered: *De l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage* (I Mir 21), *Dou jouvencel que li dyables ravi* (I Mir 22), *De un chevalier* (I Mir 41), and *D'un clerc* (II Mir 29). However, though two are clearly fleeing women (I Mir 21, II Mir 29), none of the young men either suffer physically or lose their sexual characteristics.[29]

The differing treatment accorded young male and female protagonists reflects clearly the realities, and mentality, of medieval society more generally, but it is also, I think, an indication of Gautier's internalization of clerical ideology about women. Gautier's treatment of young, beautiful, 'pure' women reveals a need to hide their bodies and the women themselves: hide them away from his gaze, from any man's gaze, so that neither he nor they will suffer temptation. By mortifying their flesh, Gautier rewrites his pure female characters so that they no longer have a body vulnerable to the gaze, even as he exposes them to the public gaze. Conversely, yet similarly, Gautier rewrites his sinful women's bodies as innocent: at her trial the abbess has the body of a prepubescent girl, the noblewoman of Rome appears young and radiant the second time before the Emperor's court, the woman of Laon emerges unmarked from the ashes. At the same time, by exposing their sexual sins — real or imaginary — to the public gaze and to public judgement, Gautier reveals their (supposed) fleshly depravity. Gautier's infamous women do not die, as do most of his infamous male sinners, for to do so would be to cover up their sexual sins; rather they are rescued from public trial and public execution so that their sins are exposed for all to know. In the end, Gautier's poetic gaze exposes his female characters, whether guilty or innocent, to rhetorical violation, only afterwards rescuing them by taking them out of the world's gaze entirely.

[29] Indeed, Gautier's male characters do not suffer violence from other human beings except soldiers and criminals (the thief condemned to die by hanging, I Mir 30), with one exception, the pilgrim to Santiago whom the devil tricks into mutilating himself (I Mir 25).

Images of the Virgin Mary in the Soissons Manuscript (Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 24541)

Nancy Black

Résumé

L'un des manuscrits les plus raffinés et les plus richement décorés de tous ceux des *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) de Gautier de Coinci, est le manuscrit dit 'de Soissons'. Il a probablement été produit entre 1328 et 1334 pour Jeanne de Bourgogne ou pour son mari, Philippe VI de Valois. Par la suite, le manuscrit a appartenu à d'autres membres de la famille royale française dont: Jean II, Charles V, Charles VI, et Jean, duc de Berry. Cet article classifie et analyse les représentations de la Vierge Marie, attribuées à Jean Pucelle ou à son atelier, afin d'appréhender comment leurs lecteurs royaux auraient pu les lire, et ainsi d'explorer les relations entre ces images et les pratiques de dévotion médiévales. Partant d'une analyse de l'utilisation faite des représentations de la Vierge dans plusieurs miracles et leurs images correspondantes, je continue en mettant cette analyse en rapport au sujet plus large des pratiques de dévotion laïques. Je passe en revue nos connaissances concernant la *lectio divina*; l'individualisation de livres d'heures, missels, et psautiers produits pour des patrons royaux; et le développement d'une liturgie mariale au quatorzième siècle. Je suggère que les textes, images, chansons, et gloses du manuscrit de Soissons avaient pour vocation première d'émouvoir le lecteur à la dévotion à la Vierge Marie et de l'amener à un état d'esprit capable de sentir sa présence.

Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, one of the most elaborate and richly illustrated of the extant manuscripts of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), is datable between the accession of Philippe VI in 1328 and 1333–34, the date of the death of Jean Pucelle, to whom many of its seventy-seven

fine miniatures are attributed.[1] It consists of 244 folios, of which the last is blank, plus two folios (A and B) at the start. Folio A^{v} features a full-page frontispiece of the Throne of Solomon. The manuscript, measuring 340 x 242 mm, with two columns per page, forty-two lines per column, is written in a fine Gothic book hand and includes rubrics, music, and glosses that are all part of the original mise-en-page.[2]

[1] François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century* (New York: Braziller, 1978), p. 20. See below for further arguments in favour of a date in 1329. The text is edited (incompletely) from this manuscript by Abbé Alexandre-Eusèbe Poquet, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge, par Gautier de Coincy* (Paris: Parmantier and Didron, 1857). My sincerest thanks to Alison Stones for her commentary on a previous draft of this article and for many of the references below on the dating and provenance of the manuscript.

[2] For descriptions of the manuscript and its provenance, see Michel Germain, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Soissons* (Paris: Coignard, 1675), p. 356; Abbé Alexandre-Eusèbe Poquet, *Gautier de Coinsy [sic], religieux bénédictin*, Manuscrit, frontispiece, explication, par l'Abbé Poquet, offprint from Société historique et archéologique de Soissons (Laon, [*c.* 1849, date of the engraved frontispiece]), pp. 1–11; Edmond Fleury, *Les manuscrits à miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Soissons* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1865), p. 123, pls 12, 13; Abbé Louis Victor Pécheur, *Histoire des bibliothèques publiques du département de l'Aisne existant à Soissons, Laon et Saint-Quentin, avec notices sur les plus importantes collections et cabinets particuliers* (Soissons: Imprimerie typographique de A. Michaux, 1883); Abbé Alexandre-Eusèbe Poquet, *Les Miniatures des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge, d'après le manuscrit de Gautier de Coincy (fin du XIIIe siècle)* (Reims: Matot-Braine, 1889); Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1907; repr. Amsterdam: van Heusden, 1967), I, 285–305; DG, pp. 19–36; Philippe Lauer, 'Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale pendant les années 1939–40', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 102 (1941), 158–59; Henri Focillon, *Le Peintre des Miracles Notre Dame* (Paris: Hartmann, 1950); Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 42–43, pl.; Francis Wormald, 'The Throne of Solomon and St Edward's Chair', in *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by Millard Meiss, 2 vols (New York: New York University Press, 1961), I, 532–39 (repr. Francis Wormald, *Collected Writings*, ed. by J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown, and Joan Gibbs (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), II, *Studies in English and Continental Art of the Later Middle Ages*, no. V, pp. 61–69 (p. 65, fig. 53)); Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London: Phaidon; New York: Braziller, 1967), pp. 19–20, 128, 316, fig. 340, 526; *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968), no. 151, pl. 15, notice by François Avril; *Fastes du Gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), p. 296, no. 241, notice by François Avril; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale*, 2 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987–89), I, 100–03; Christian de Mérindol, 'Portrait et généalogie: La genèse du portrait réaliste et individualisé', in *118e Congrès national de la Société historique et scientifique, Pau, 1993, Population et démographie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1995), pp. 219–48; Christian de Mérindol, 'Le Livre peint à la fin du moyen âge, support privilégié d'une politique dynastique, familiale ou personnelle, les

The work was most likely produced for Jeanne de Bourgogne or for her husband, Philippe VI;[3] it was inherited by their son Jean II, who lost it to the English at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. It was repurchased by Charles V and remained in the library of the Louvre until 1405, when Charles VI gave it to Jean, duc de Berry. It was listed in the inventory taken in 1416 after the Duke's death,[4] but thereafter we find a gap in the provenance of the manuscript until 1675, when it was recorded in the possession of Henriette de Lorraine, Abbess of Notre-Dame de Soissons.[5] During the French Revolution it was transferred to the Seminary at Soissons; only in 1940 was it acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[6] The familiar name by which it is often referred — the Soissons manuscript — thus acknowledges the more than three hundred years it spent in the religious communities of this town north-east of Paris.

It is not, however, the use of the manuscript by the religious communities in Soissons that interests me, but rather the uses made of the codex while it was in

Miracles de Notre-Dame (B.N., n. a. fr. 24541) et le *Livre d'heures de Pierre II de Bretagne* (B.N., lat. 1159)', in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XVe siècle: Actes du Colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992 organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy*, ed. by Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d´études médiévales; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 499–514 (pp. 507–10); C. Heck, 'L'iconographie de l'ascension spirituelle et la dévotion des laïcs: le Trône de charité dans le Psautier de Bonne de Luxembourg et les Petites heures du duc de Berry', *Revue de l'art*, 110 (1995), 9–22 (pp. 13, 20, n. 23, fig. 4); Kathryn A. Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1997), pp. 198–247. The dissertation by Anna Russakoff, 'Imaging the Miraculous: Les Miracles de Notre Dame, Paris, BNF, n.acq.fr. 24541' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006), was not available to me, except for chapter 5, 'The Royal Patronage of BnF, n.acq.fr. 24542', pp. 223–71, which the author generously shared with me and which was helpful in sorting out patronage issues.

[3] Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 35, suggests Jeanne de Bourgogne (d. 1348), married in 1313 to Philippe VI de Valois (r. 1328–50); Carla Lord, 'Thomas de Maubeuge and the *Miracles of the Virgin*', *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 8–9 (1989), 2–4 (p. 2), posits that Charles IV, who made a large payment for a *Lives of the Saints and the Miracles of the Virgin* in 1327, may have commissioned the book as a gift for his wife, Jeanne d'Evreux; but it is more likely that this payment may be related to Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24 and Paris, BNF, fr. 183; see Appendix I of this volume.

[4] Jules Guiffrey, ed., *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401–1416)*, 2 vols (Paris: Leroux, 1894–96), I, pp. clxxiv no. 58, 248 no. 946; II, 237, no. 502; Delisle, *Recherches*, II, 258 no. 214.

[5] Germain, *Notre-Dame de Soissons*, p. 356.

[6] Lauer, 'Nouvelles acquisitions', pp. 158–59.

the possession of the royal family. For some time, I have been intrigued by the story of its capture by the English at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. To someone living in the twenty-first century, it seems incredible that anyone would carry a large and expensive book such as this to war — a Gideon's Bible, perhaps, but not a treasure from the Royal Library. In an earlier essay, I speculated that the manuscript 'may have been used as a personal talisman, for private consolation, or for public reading prior to battle', but that the most likely explanation was that 'it was simply part of the royal treasure [. . .] that kings took with them as the outward expression of rank'.[7] (Jean II also took his crown jewels with him.)[8] I now think, however, that I underestimated the religious importance of the manuscript. A detailed study of the images of the Virgin Mary suggests that the book not only functioned as an aid to religious devotion but that its images may also have carried iconic valence, lending a spiritual importance to the book that far exceeds its monetary value as a sign of royal status and dynastic legitimacy.

I propose therefore in this essay to look first within the text itself — images referred to in the narratives as well as the miniatures themselves — for clues about the social and religious meanings of the holy images contained within it; and second to look at external historical documents that suggest possible uses of this manuscript by its royal readers, whether on the battlefield or within the safety of the royal palace or its chapel. Although I will not, in the end, answer my own question about why Jean II took the manuscript with him into battle, I will demonstrate the powerful emotional resonance of holy images of the Virgin Mary in the manuscript and speculate about some of the uses that might have been made of it by its lay owners.

Holy and Narrative Images in the Manuscript

Of the images of the Virgin Mary found among the illustrations of the Soissons manuscript, we can distinguish four types:

- two-dimensional tavletes, that is, single-panel paintings or portable carved and painted sculptures that can be carried from place to place;

[7] Nancy B. Black, 'An Analysis and Transcription of the Latin Glosses Accompanying Gautier de Coinci's Miracle of "The Empress of Rome"', *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies*, 14 (2002), 91–108 (pp. 101–02).

[8] Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270–1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982), p. 81.

- three-dimensional statues, usually placed on an altar;
- depictions of Mary in this world, in human form, whether in a vision or a dream;
- depictions of Mary in Heaven, often kneeling and interceding with her son on behalf of some fallible human being.

The first two types — the tavletes and the statues — correspond most closely to what Hans Belting in *Likeness and Presence* refers to as holy images, or representations of a person 'worshipped, despised, or carried from place to place in ritual processions'.[9] They reflect closely the kinds of devotional images of the Virgin Mary that were available and visible, both in private and public settings, in early fourteenth-century Paris.[10] Although Mary is usually stationary in these images, she carries, nonetheless, a special resonance or iconic power. The other two types of images of the Virgin Mary found in the Soissons manuscript — appearances in this world or in Heaven — fit more closely Belting's concept of a narrative rather than holy image: that is, an image that 'presented sacred history and was usually perceived in a way that was more like an act of reading than that of simply viewing'.[11] These depictions of Mary represent her role in the narratives. Thus, she is no longer stationary; rather, she moves and speaks, interacting with characters in the stories, suggesting the possibility that she could likewise appear in the lives of readers outside the text. Pucelle's life-like images emphasize this sense of movement and add to their powerful effect.

Four examples of the first type of image exist within the Soissons illustrations, and I will discuss each of them in order to establish the specific nature of their iconic power. The first tavlete illustrated in the Soissons manuscript accompanies

[9] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Images before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. xxi, draws a useful distinction between holy images and narrative images.

[10] For example, the ivory sculpture of the Virgin and Child from the treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle, *c.* 1250–60, now in the Louvre (OA 57), see *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, ed. by Jannic Durand and Marie-Pierre Laffitte (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), no. 39; or the reliquary statue of the Virgin and Child from Saint Denis, before 1339, now in the Louvre (M.R.IV 349 and 419), see Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Émaux du moyen âge occidental* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1972), no. 206; see also *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. by Peter Barnet (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 148, 154, 161, and Annemarie Weyl Carr, 'Images: Expressions of Faith and Power', in *Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. by Helen C. Evans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 143–207 (pp. 151–52).

[11] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. xxi.

the fourth miracle told in Book I (I Mir 13, fol. 36r): *De la tavlete en coi l'ymage de la mere Dieu estoit painte*[12] (Fig. 1). Set in the home of a Christian in Constantinople, the story takes us into the heart of the conflict between Christian and Jew. The Christian owns a painted image of the Virgin Mary, which he has hung in his window. A Jew visits the house and questions the morality of owning such an image; in fact, he is quite incensed, claiming that:

> Un viez piler ou une estache
> Tout ausi bien puez honorer
> Et encliner et aourer
> Comme celi dont tu me contes. I Mir 13, vv. 32–35[13]

He is so offended by the image that he grabs it and throws it into the latrine, the dramatic moment that is depicted here. The Christian pulls it out, cleans it, and puts it back in the window, where it now demonstrates its miracle-working powers to the entire community by giving forth oil. Pilgrims come to fill their ampullae with it, and those anointed with the oil, if they also have the right faith, are healed. As so often in Gautier's stories, good is pitted against evil, the Jew against the Christian. But it is interesting that the Jew here plays the role of an iconoclast: he accuses the Christian of confusing worship of a material object with worship of a divine being. Herbert Kessler explains: 'Because icons presented the danger that they would be confused with the person portrayed in them, and in the case of holy men and women possibly adored, Jews tended to avoid pure likenesses altogether.'[14] Thus, the story addresses one of the principal issues that concerned Christian theologians in their theoretical writings about holy images. The efficacy of the icon proves not just the correctness of Christian theology but also the power of images to effect miraculous cures. After its rescue from the latrine, the icon in this miracle works its magic and proves that veneration of an object (acceptable Christian practice) is not to be confused with worship of an idol (unacceptable Christian practice).

[12] The rubric is that found in MS L (Paris, BNF, fr. 22928), the copy text for the critical edition by V. Frédéric Koenig, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70), II, 101–04. Variants for this use of the term *tavlete* are *image* (MSS A, Blois, BM, 34, and N, Paris, BNF, fr. 25532), *tablete* (MS B, Brussels, BR, 10747), *ymage* (MSS D, Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18, F, Paris, BNF, fr. 986, and S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541), and *yconia* (MSS E, Paris, BNF, fr. 817, and M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163). The sigla of the manuscripts are those established by DG, and used by Koenig, *Miracles*, I, pp. xxxiv–xxxvii; see also Appendix I of this volume.

[13] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, II, 102.

[14] Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 3.

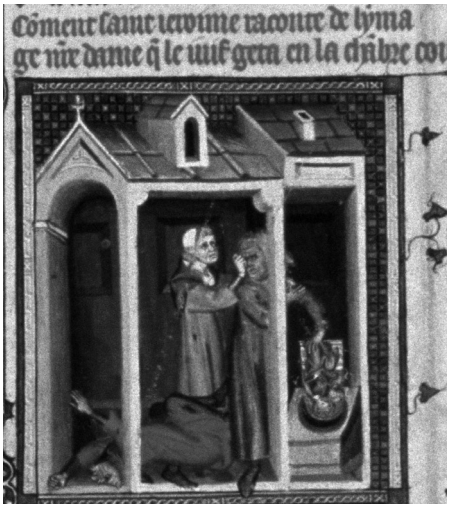


Figure 1. I Miracle 13, *De la tavlete en coi l'ymage de la mere Dieu estoit painte*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 36r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Figure 2. I Miracle 32, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 67v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

A similar illustration of panel painting with iconic properties accompanies I Mir 32, fol. 67v, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame*. The narrative clearly describes a painted panel: 'De riches colors richement / Painte estoit en une tavlete' (vv. 10–11).[15] However, the illustration (Fig. 2) is so life-like that the observer might think that the image had come alive. Indeed, the story tells of a Saracen who owned the image and revered it, mostly for its aesthetic beauty. He kneels before it with joined hands each day and regards its beauty, considering in his mind if it might be possible that a woman could indeed give birth to the heavenly king. Mary responds by performing a miracle that leads to his conversion to Christianity: the statue 'grows' two breasts and oil oozes from them, thus convincing the Saracen of the correctness of the Christian faith and leading immediately to his baptism. The miracle thus reconfirms the fallacy of the iconoclast arguments and illustrates the iconic power of images not just to heal the sick but also to convert non-believers.

[15] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, III, 23.

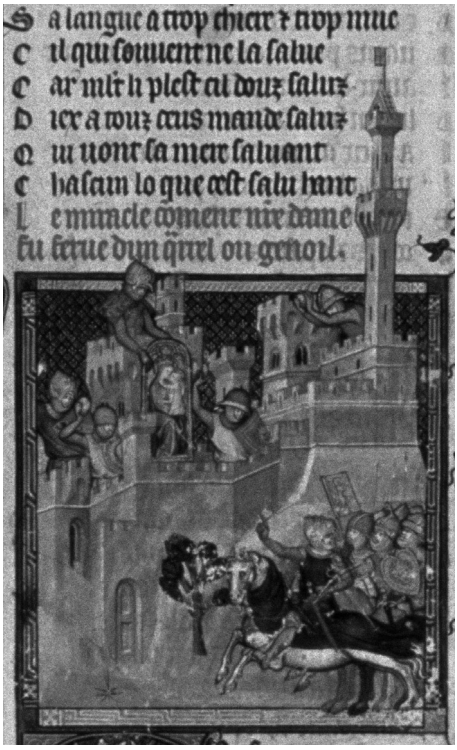


Figure 3. I Miracle 34, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame qui se desfendi dou quarrel*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 70v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

The third icon found in the Soissons illustrations accompanies the twenty-fifth miracle in Book I (I Mir 34, fol. 70v), *De l'ymage Nostre Dame qui se desfendi dou quarrel* (Fig. 3).[16] The illustration clearly depicts a soldier on the wall of the city of Orléans holding a portable, framed image of the Virgin Mary. The story tells us that the image was transported from the church to the gate of the city of Orléans (during a siege). The image protected an archer who took refuge behind it, and it inspired the citizens to defend their city; subsequently, the impious enemies turned away from their evil, greedy adventure and submitted to the Christian faith. The power of this icon of the Virgin Mary goes beyond defeating the iconoclast argument or converting a single Saracen, as in the two miracles previously discussed; here, the icon changes the outcome of the battle and leads to the conversion of the entire offending army.

The presence in the Soissons manuscript of a story in which an icon of the Virgin Mary determines the outcome of battle suggests that one reason Jean II may have taken the manuscript into battle with him at Poitiers in 1356 was for protection. Naturally, he may also have taken two-dimensional icons with him, but having the manuscript at hand would allow the royal chaplain to read this or other stories aloud prior to battle. Admittedly, this line of reasoning is highly speculative, and we will probably never know why Jean II took the book with him. Nonetheless, it is worth noting the presence of

[16] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, III, 42–50. MS L (BNF fr. 22928) supplies the text of the rubric. Variants are: 'l'image' (MSS A, Blois 34, and B, BR 10747) and 'ychonia' (MSS E, BNF fr. 817, and M, BNF fr. 2163).

the battle theme, not only in this story but also, more significantly, in the third miracle of Book II of Gautier's work.

II Mir 12, fol. 154v, *Comment Nostre Dame desfendi la cité de Constantinnoble*, tells of how, under the rule of Theodosius, Constantinople was being attacked by a Saracen named Muselinus. Each night the women of the city carried great torches before the image of Our Lady. In their time of greatest need, while all the pagans were praying to Mahomet, the Virgin Mary appeared in person in a burst of light with a heavenly host, causing the pagans to retreat. This is the moment depicted in the miniature, where we see the Virgin Mary floating down from Heaven (Fig. 4). The reference to Constantinople suggests an allusion to the well-known Virgin Hodegetria that protected the city of Constantinople. The iconic qualities of that image date back to the city's 'miraculous delivery from the Avars in 626' and continue as part of Byzantine rituals until the smashing of the icon in 1453 when the city was taken over by the Turks.[17]

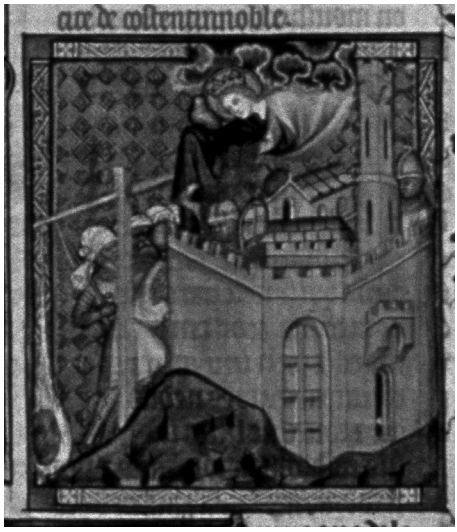


Figure 4. II Miracle 12, *Comment Nostre Dame desfendi la cité de Constantinnoble*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 154v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

The last example of a tavlete comes near the end of Gautier's work in one of his more complex narratives, II Mir 30, fol. 206r, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame de Sardanei*. The text clearly refers to a portable image, 'une tavlete / Ou il a painte une ymagete / De Nostre Dame mout tres bele' (vv. 131–33).[18] The story is set in a Syrian village north-east of Damascus. A monk, passing through the town on his way to Jerusalem, promises to bring back an image of the Virgin Mary for the oratory of the local abbess. Although he initially forgets to purchase it, he turns back to Jerusalem to obtain the image. During his return journey — on shipboard during a storm — he discovers that the image carries miraculous qualities.

[17] Carr, 'Images', p. 148.

[18] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, IV, 378–411.

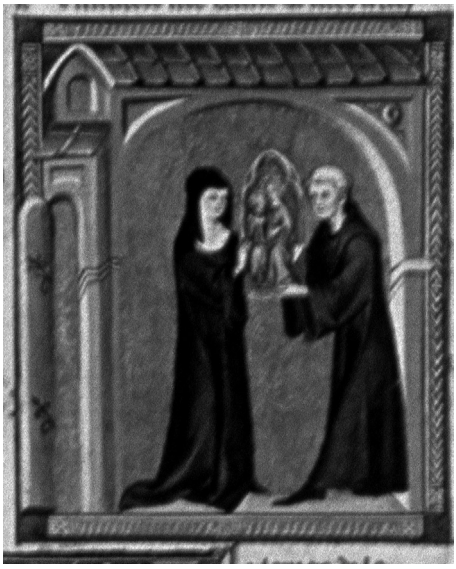


Figure 5. II Miracle 30, *De l'ymage Nostre Dame de Sardanei*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 206r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Consequently, possessed by the desire to retain the image for himself, he is reluctant to turn it over to the abbess. Although he makes a stopover at the convent, the abbess has forgotten the request previously made to him. Each time he attempts to leave the convent with the icon, he is miraculously prevented from doing so. Finally, he submits to the will of the Virgin Mary and offers the image to the abbess, the scene that is illustrated here (Fig. 5). The power of the icon within this story — while not as dramatic as in the stories of battles at Orléans and Constantinople — shows us how dear the icon was to the Virgin Mary. The icon becomes the centre of the monk's spiritual struggle: it cannot be possessed except by its rightful owner, the abbess to whom the monk has promised to bring it. The moment illustrated by the artist is the moment of the monk's redemption, his turn away from sin towards salvation, a moment precipitated by the intercession of the Virgin Mary into his affairs.

Examples of the second type of illustration in the Soissons manuscript, three-dimensional statues of Mary and Child, usually seated and often placed on altars, are even more frequent than the portable, two-dimensional icons I have been discussing. Typical is an illustration accompanying the second miracle in Book I (I Mir 11, fol. 29v), *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete* (Fig. 6).[19] The illustration comes slightly after the midpoint in the narrative and shows a figure kneeling

[19] Although most of the miracles are accompanied by only one illustration, placed at the start of the story, this tale is one of two exceptions. The other exception is II Mir 9, *De l'empeeris qui garda sa chasteé contre mout de temptations*, the first miracle in Book II, a narrative that — through its length and positioning — parallels the first story of Book I, the story of Theophilus; its illustrations appear both at the beginning of Book II (fol. 112v) and at the start of the narrative itself (fol. 119r). See Nancy B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 22–25.

before the altar but looking away from the Virgin and Child. There are four other illustrations of miracles that depict similar statues. In addition, we have a portrait of the author himself kneeling before the seated Virgin and Child towards the end of the work (fol. 231^{v}); following it and accompanying the 'Aves' and other prayers are a series of nine portraits of royal figures, eight of whom kneel in prayer before the Virgin and Child, sometimes placed on the floor, sometimes on an altar (fols 232^{v}, 234^{r}, 235^{v}, 237^{r}, 238^{v}, 241^{r}, 242^{r}, 242^{v}, and 243^{v}).

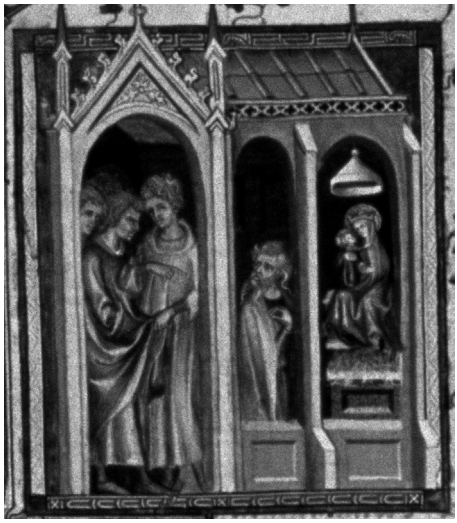


Figure 6. I Miracle 11, *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol 29^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

One might argue that these illustrations of the Virgin and Child are simply mimetic depictions of objects found in chapels and cathedrals in France, and thus that they hold little of the iconic power of the previous type of visual images. However, the defacement of a thirteenth-century manuscript of Gautier's *Miracles* (BNF fr. 25532 (N)) shows that on occasion these statue-images elicited a response from the viewer — whether to preserve a picture of a sculpture of the Virgin Mary for personal devotion or to erase evidence of icons no longer acceptable to his or her religious beliefs. Whatever the reason they were removed, their removal suggests that someone at some time believed in their power.[20]

The real power of the visual images in the *Miracles*, however, resides not only in their physical presence but also in their ability to move people to prayer. The promotion of Marian devotion is central to Gautier's work; it is the reason he translated and collected the miracles, accompanying them with songs, music,

[20] The manuscript contains evidence of heavy use witnessed by tears and repairs as well as rubbed and worn text and pictures, in addition to actual cutting out of entire historiated initials and the image components of the initials. In all but one case the cutouts have been repaired with glued-in parchment. In one case the text on the back of the page has been recopied by a scribe whose work is extremely close to, if not the same as, the original, as if to suggest that some at least of the mutilations occurred during or soon after the making of the book (note by A. Stones).

prayers, and sermon-like discursions.[21] The many depictions of people kneeling in prayer before statues of Mary and the Child in the Soissons manuscript keep the reader's attention on this aspect of the book. Although the text does not usually describe the sculptures as coming to life within the miracles, their poses and the drapery of Mary's garments in the accompanying illustrations convey a sense of liveliness in comparison to earlier, more static, frontal depictions of the Virgin Enthroned type that would have appeared on altars in earlier centuries.[22] By the fourteenth century, sculptors and other artists had adopted a more graceful, fluid pose, one that emphasizes the loving relationship of Virgin and Child, and this style is reflected in the illustrations here. In *The Gothic Idol*, Michael Camille describes this development of three-dimensional sculptures of the Virgin Mary from the enthroned, frontal style to the S-shaped, more life-like Gothic style of the standing figure. He notes a number of stories in which the Virgin Mary 'comes to life' and draws a parallel between them and three-dimensional images of the Virgin Mary that acquired cult status in the Middle Ages as powerful magic objects.[23] In other words, he suggests that the actual 'coming to life' of the Virgin in the narratives parallels the heightened sense of movement in the sculptures. The artist of the sculptures depicted in the Soissons manuscript has also captured this bodily movement, thus making the Virgin more accessible to its readers than in earlier illustrated manuscripts. The more immediate the presence of the Virgin, the more powerful the private and/or public devotions that emerge from its use.

One miracle in Gautier's collection provides an example of a sculpture that is actually described in the text as moving (at least one finger does), and this is the very moment that the artist depicts (I Mir 21, fol. 51^{v}). The story concerns the well-known account of the young clerk who places a ring on the finger of a statue of Mary. Although the sculpture shown here would normally be found inside the church (Fig. 7), we are told that it has been placed outside while renovations are being carried out within, suggesting that this sculpture plays a liminal role, crossing the normal boundaries between religious and secular life.

A young cleric who has been given a ring by his mistress wants to put it in a safe place while he plays ball, but he is so taken by the beauty of the statue that he pledges his love to Mary instead. When he places his ring on her finger, she curls

[21] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, I, 1.

[22] See Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

[23] Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 220–41.

her finger around the ring so that it cannot be removed. Hearing of this miracle, the cleric's friends advise him to become a monk and abandon the pleasures of this world, but he soon forgets his pledge to the Virgin and marries his mistress instead. Soon afterwards, the Virgin appears to him in a dream, actually lying down between him and his wife in bed; she reminds him of his vow to her, warning him that:

> La rose laisses por l'ortie
> Et l'aiglentier por le seüz.
> Chetiz ! tu iez si deceüs
> Que le fruit laissez por la fuelle,
> La lamproie por la suetuelle;
> Por le venim et por le fiel
> Laissez la ree et le doz miel.
> I Mir 21, vv. 126–32[24]

Figure 7. I Miracle 21, *De l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 51v (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Not finding her near when he awakes, he falls back to sleep. When the Virgin appears again, this time in great anger, he takes her warning to heart, flees to a hermitage, and serves her devotedly all the rest of his days.

This story, like so many in the collection, demonstrates that holy images of the Virgin, both sculptures and depictions of her appearance in this world, not only have the power to attract the feelings of a young man, as any beautiful laywoman might; they also have the power to evoke spiritual transformation. The spiritual transformation of a character in a story is but a short step away from the spiritual transformation of the reader of that narrative. When Mary appears in human form, seeming to move, breathe, and touch, she demonstrates the power to move the heart from wickedness to goodness, and to fill it with love and devotion. Hearing a story read aloud about a living, breathing Virgin Mary who intervenes on behalf of sinners encourages members of Gautier's aristocratic audience to pray to her and seek their own salvation.

Many other illustrations show the Virgin Mary moving and acting both in this world and in Heaven. She may appear in a vision or in a dream, sometimes

[24] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, II, 201–02.

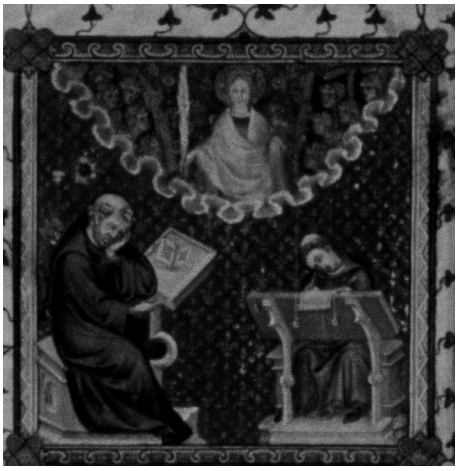


Figure 8. I Prologue 1, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a fr. 24541, fol. 2r (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

accompanied by angels, sometimes not. She performs many acts of mercy: delivering the child of a pregnant abbess; healing the sick, sometimes by offering milk from her breast or by touching the sick. When she is depicted in Heaven, she inspires the author in his work, she flies in from Heaven to rescue the embattled citizens of Constantinople, or she intercedes with her son on behalf of a sinner. The holy images evoke a Virgin Mary who functions powerfully within the text — converting pagans to Christianity, absolving sinners, healing diseased bodies; if, then, she functions so powerfully within the text, might not she also function similarly for readers outside the text?

This is precisely what happens to the author himself. At the start of the Soissons manuscript (Fig. 8), Gautier's Virgin is far off in Heaven (fol. 2r); the author is shown meditating, envisioning her in his memory and heart, dictating to his scribe. Mary appears as the Queen of Saints,[25] crowned and holding the palm in her right hand, in a frontal, seemingly static view. By contrast, at the end of the work (Fig. 9), Gautier's virgin is more immediately present (fol. 231v). She is seated on a throne with the Christ Child caressing her neck with his arms. The love of mother and child is palpable, seemingly felt by the author, who kneels and prays before her. The aristocratic readers'/listeners' experience of the Virgin Mary through the medium of the Soissons manuscript is analogous. For them also, she moves from an abstract idea far off in Heaven to a palpable, living presence.

The opening diptych, a full-page illustration of the Throne of Solomon,[26] may refer to a similar kind of transformation through meditation available to readers

[25] I adopt the term used by Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, Event, 1000–1215*, rev. edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 157, which explains better the presence of the palm in her hand than the alternative titles, Queen of Heaven or Queen of Virgins.

[26] See discussions by Wormald, 'Throne of Solomon', p. 536; Heck, 'L'iconographie de l'ascension spirituelle', pp. 11–12; Mérindol, 'Le Livre peint', pp. 508–10.

of this manuscript. In the centre, two scenes separate heavenly and earthly space. The divine space at top centre features the gilded throne to which the viewer's gaze is immediately drawn and the soul yearns; on the throne sits the crowned Virgin Mary with her child standing on her left knee, her arms tenderly keeping him from falling. Just below is earthly space, in which the key Christian scene of human suffering is depicted: the crucified Christ with the grieving Mary and John on either side. From contemplation of the crucifixion the viewer is drawn to contemplation of the illuminated Queen of Heaven above. Left and right of the crucifixion scene are six steps, each with a lion, a royal symbol, placed on it.[27] On top of each staircase are allegorical depictions of three virtues, and in the space above them are three prophets/apostles. Like the movement from crucifixion to heavenly throne, the staircases on either side of the central panels suggest a spiritual path available to the reader through meditation, prayer, and good works.[28] The meditative aspects of the frontispiece open the larger question of just how this manuscript may have been used by its royal owners, the subject of the remainder of this essay.

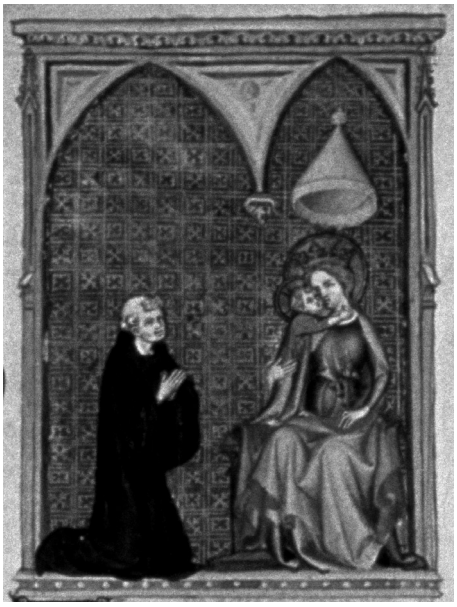


Figure 9. End of *MND*, MS S, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 231^{v} (photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France)

[27] Mérindol, 'Le Livre peint', p. 509, writes that the lion is 'l'emblème personnel de Philippe VI'.

[28] Heck, 'L'iconographie de l'ascension spirituelle', pp. 9–14, demonstrates that the iconography of the Throne of Wisdom (where the steps are associated with the apostles) is closely related to the iconography of the Throne of Charity (where the steps are more directly associated with virtues). The latter iconographic schema has its origin in St Bonaventure's *De Triplici via*, which outlines a religious path from purgative to illuminative to perfective states, a path that might have been known to a royal observer of this illustration, or at least to his or her spiritual advisor.

Uses of the Manuscript by the Royal Family

Scholarly work to date on the possible social and religious uses of Gautier's text has focused on *lectio divina*, a type of reading closely associated with meditation. As Rachel Fulton explains it in her illuminating study of devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary in the early Middle Ages,

> Reading was to be done slowly, with frequent pauses, and charged with emotion (ideally, love; but one could begin with fear); words were not so much to be spoken as chewed; texts were to be savored on the tongue, to be assimilated into the mind much as food was assimilated into the body. Reading in this way was expected not simply to instruct but, rather, to transform the reader; it was the basis for creating the spiritual self, much as eating created the physical.[29]

Gautier may have had this type of reading in mind for his religious audiences. The fact that he sent his book to Béatrix de Chérisi, Abbess of Notre-Dame de Soissons, and to Berte, Abbess of Fontevrault, suggests this (II Chast 10).[30] Many of the extant copies of the *Miracles* belonged to religious communities, and certainly the poetic nature of the work invites reading aloud. For Gautier, the properly pronounced word is directly related to devotion. In a sermon-like discourse at the end of *De l'ymage Nostre Dame de Sardanei*, Gautier castigates those who say prayers to the Virgin in a haphazard or rushed manner and speaks of the power of the literary image to fill our hearts with devotion. Pronounced properly, the word 'Maria' is as sweet as a clove on the tongue:

> Seur *Maria* bien delaier
> Doit on un peu et demorer
> Por bien le mot assavourer.
> Qui bien le suce entre ses denz
> Si grant douceur trueve dedenz
> Que tout en est l'ame saoule [. . .]. II Mir 30, vv. 760–65[31]

Gautier thus encourages readers, listeners, worshippers to experience this living presence of the Virgin Mary, to feel her love and saving grace.[32] His text brings the

[29] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 156.

[30] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, III, 461–62.

[31] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, IV, 406. For the general context, see Nicole Bériou, Jacques Berlioz, and Jean Longère, *Prier au moyen âge: Pratiques et expérience* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

[32] His frequent use of the word 'cuer' (used 653 times) and 'amor' (used 171 times) provide statistical evidence for this. ARTFL Database, Textes de Français Ancien, <http://colet.lib.uchicago.edu>.

practice of *lectio divina*, normally associated with monastic settings, into the worlds of his lay readers.

Clues about the function of the book in lay devotions can also be found in devotional aids such as books of hours, missals, and psalters. Adelaide Bennett describes a thirteenth-century book of hours created for one Marie 'early in the reign of Philippe III (1270–1285)' as 'a family book' that would have been used for private devotions and for instruction of younger members of the family.[33] Although this particular book of hours belonged to a wealthy woman, not a member of a royal family, it provides an excellent example of how a book of hours, through its illustrations and choice of text, could be individualized for a woman and her family. Similarly, Margaret Manion discusses three fourteenth-century royal prayer books that were individualized to accommodate the interests of their royal readers.[34] In one of them, the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, a miniature depicts the owner kneeling before a standing figure of the Virgin with the Christ Child. Later in the manuscript, a historiated initial echoes that image and introduces a highly personalized prayer to the Virgin:

> I beg you O Lady, most holy Mary, mother of the Lord Jesus Christ, most full of pity, daughter of the most high king, most glorious mother, mother of orphans, consolation of the desolate [...] that you intercede for me your handmaid, Jeanne of Navarre, queen, in the sight of your son so that through his blessed mercy and your holy intercession he will grant me that before the time of my death I may be cleansed of my sins through confession and true penitence and that after death I may have eternal life and rest with his saints and elect.[35]

[33] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, L. 1990. 38; Adelaide Bennett, 'A Thirteenth-Century French Book of Hours for Marie', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), 21–50 (p. 29).

[34] Although I have found no prayer book containing a miracle of the Virgin Mary, Margaret Manion tells us that the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg* includes an excerpt from the legend of 'The Three Living and the Three Dead', thus demonstrating that narrative texts outside of the liturgical tradition could be incorporated into prayer books. Margaret M. Manion, 'Women, Art and Devotion: Three French Fourteenth-Century Royal Prayer Books', in *The Art of the Book: Its Place in Medieval Worship*, ed. by Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), pp. 21–66 (p. 38). Troyes, BM, 1905 (MS 35), a book of hours with prayers including the Prayer of Theophilus, also has the *Vie de sainte Marguerite* by Wace, *La Vie de sainte Marguerite*, ed. by H. E. Keller (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990). For manuscripts containing the Prayer of Theophilus, see Appendix V at the end of this volume.

[35] Manion, 'Women, Art and Devotion', pp. 34–35.

The Soissons copy of Gautier's *Miracles* is clearly another example of a set of devotional texts individualized for the practices of royal readers. The strongest evidence lies in the royal portraits that accompany the Marian prayers at the end of the work. Although these prayers are found in other manuscripts, in the Soissons manuscript they are uniquely accompanied by a series of nine illustrations of suppliant royal men and women. Whereas the earliest studies of the manuscript paid little attention to these portrait miniatures,[36] recent studies have convincingly identified each of the suppliants with a member of the royal family and argue that the series of figures constitute a royal genealogy aimed at supporting the legitimacy of the Valois dynasty.[37] The series begins with Clémence de Hongrie (second wife of Louis X le Hutin, r. 1314–16), and continues with Philippe V le Long (r. 1316–22), Jeanne de Bourgogne (his wife, daughter of Count Othon IV), Charles IV le Bel (r. 1322–28), followed by his three wives, Blanche de Bourgogne (repudiated in 1322, died at Maubuisson in 1325), Marie de Luxembourg (his second wife, married 1322, died 1324), Jeanne d'Evreux (his third wife, married 1324), Philippe VI de Valois (r. 1328–50), and Jeanne de Bourgogne (his first wife, daughter of Duke Robert II).[38] Christian de Mérindol notes that the only portrait shown in profile is that of Philippe VI de Valois, whose regal authority is underlined by his profile pose. Mérindol further associates the manuscript's production with the foundation of a royal chapel in

[36] Poquet, *Les Miniatures*, reproduced only the last image under the heading 'Sujets supplémentaires', no. IV, giving it the title 'Une reine en prière devant Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, sauveur du monde' (note by A. Stones).

[37] Mérindol, 'Portrait et généalogie', pp. 236–48; and Mérindol, 'Le Livre peint', pp. 507–10.

[38] Mérindol argues that the inclusion of three queens following the second king can only refer to Charles IV and his three wives; thus the first queen in the series must be Clémence de Hongrie and the series ends with Philippe VI and Jeanne de Bourgogne. Mérindol suggests that the portrait of Clémence is intended to address the legitimacy of the indirect succession of the Valois: '[il fait] allusion à la première succession indirecte au trône de France à la suite de l'accord survenu les 16 et 17 juillet 1316, qui permit à Philippe V de succéder à son frère aîné Louis X. Cette allusion facilitait la justification de l'accès au trône pour la troisième fois en moins de douze ans d'une branche cadette, en l'occurrence celle des Valois' ('Portrait et généalogie', p. 241). The clothing, coiffure, and crowns of the queens, with the exception of Blanche de Bourgogne, are not individualized, and all of them, with the exception of Blanche de Bourgogne, wear a transparent wimple. Blanche's wimple and veil are painted in opaque white, a difference explained by the fact that she took the veil and died in the abbey of Maubuisson in 1325 (note by A. Stones).

September 1329 by Philippe VI and Jeanne de Bourgogne at Gué-de-Maulny, near Le Mans, in Philippe's personal domain.[39]

Thus far, I have looked at ways in which the Soissons manuscript may have been used for private devotion. However, the inclusion within it of songs, music, clerical discourses, glosses, and prayers also suggests wider usage than individual private devotion. If the codex was merely intended to be read by an individual layperson, much in the way that books of hours were used, there would be no need to include musical notation, which suggests use by musically trained clerics. The fact that the glosses are written in Latin and keyed to familiar clerical texts suggests that someone other than the royal patron was using them, probably the royal chaplain. Perhaps the Latin glosses provided him with a basis for oral commentary on the narratives following a public reading of the miracles. Certainly, as we think about the uses that might have been made of this manuscript by its royal readers, we need to think of it as having both private and public uses. In addition to hearing a public performance of the songs, the Queen might have turned to the manuscript in a private moment to be reminded of songs heard earlier; or perhaps she used the texts of the 'Aves' at the end of the work to aid her or her children in memorizing the prayers. The King might have used the illuminations as aids in locating and rereading a favourite narrative, or he might have preferred to have a professional reader come to his chamber and read it for him.

In seeking to understand both public and private roles for the manuscript, it is useful to review some of the broader cultural contexts in which Marian miracles were being used. Shortly after the production of the Soissons manuscript, in 1339, the confraternity of goldsmiths in Paris began performing dramatized versions of the Miracles of the Virgin Mary annually (*Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*). Paris, BNF, fr. 819–20 — a manuscript that may have been produced for Charles VI and his wife, Isabelle of Bavaria — memorializes this tradition by collecting together forty plays produced from 1339 to 1382 (with gaps for 1354 and 1358–60, when no plays were permitted).[40] The production of dramatized versions of the Miracles seems a natural progression from the 'coming to life' of the

[39] Russakoff, 'Imaging the Miraculous', pp. 258–59, argues against this occasion and suggests two other possibilities: Philippe VI and Jeanne de Bourgogne's coronation in 1328; the marriage of Bonne of Luxembourg to the Duke of Normandy (the future Jean II) in 1332. Controversy over the occasion for which the manuscript may have been produced does not invalidate Mérindol's argument about the royal portraits.

[40] Graham A. Runnalls, 'Medieval Trade Guilds and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*', *Medium Ævum*, 39 (1970), 257–87 (p. 258).

Virgin Mary in sculpture, narratives, and illuminations that Camille has described.[41] If reading aloud permits greater liveliness and dramatic effect through modulations of one person's voice, then how much more effective are the stories when — as in the dramatized versions — speeches are assigned to 'actors' and the story is staged (however simple the props and scenery may have been).

But were the miracles read aloud as part of the liturgy in the fourteenth century in Paris? I would like to address this question by a somewhat circuitous route. In the process of preparing this essay, I learned about a collection of miracles of the Virgin Mary, admittedly a much later manuscript in an entirely different language and from a completely different part of the world. This eighteenth-century collection of miracles from Ethiopia begins with an account of the rules for uses of the miracles in the church; we learn that 'On every Sunday, that is to say, on every first day of the week, and on every festival day of our Lady Mary, they shall not fail to recite the Miracles of our Lady Mary in all the churches with great honour and with great gladness'.[42] Rich in details, it tells us that all, both men and women, are required to come to the church to hear the miracles read, to take off their ornaments, and to uncover their heads. Those who do not attend will be excommunicated. This codex, London, BL, Oriental 643, suggests a scenario for ritualistic use of the miracles within the church that is highly suggestive of the function that the Soissons manuscript might have played in the hands of Jean II's resident priest. Would that we had a similar document from fourteenth-century Paris to inform us about the role of miracles in the liturgy. Although, to my knowledge, we lack such a precise document, we can draw some inferences from related materials, both within the text and from outside it.

What we do know about fourteenth-century Parisian religious practices suggests that Saturday rather than Sunday was the Virgin's special day.[43] Gautier

[41] A fruitful topic for future research would be the role of the confraternities in the development of Marian devotion; William E. Coleman, ed., *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981), p. 4, speculates about a performance of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary at the Confraternity of St John in Venice.

[42] *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary, Translated from Ethiopic Manuscripts for the most part in the British Museum*, ed. by E. A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. xlvii.

[43] Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 157–58, writes: 'Mary could be invoked anywhere and by anyone; the canon of the mass commemorated her first among those whom each mass celebrated; and major festivals of the year were established in her honour as well, such as the Office of the Virgin and the dedication of Saturday to her honour.'

himself mentions Saturday as a day devoted to Mary. In the second miracle in Book I, the thematic and structurally important story of St Ildefonsus, Mary appears before the Bishop and hands him an alb, stating:

> Mais je te di
> Qu'a ma messe le samedi
> En l'onour de moi la revestes
> Et mes vegiles et mes festes [. . .]. I Mir 11, vv. 627–30[44]

In addition to special services on Saturdays, the Virgin Mary was honoured in the early fourteenth century, according to the Parisian calendar, on five feast days: Purification (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Assumption (15 August), Nativity of the Virgin (8 September), and Conception of the Virgin (8 December).[45] All of these occasions might have included public reading of miracles of the Virgin Mary. Benedicta Ward believes this was true of some of the earliest shrine miracles, citing as evidence the miracles of Rocamadour that are grouped in sections ending with a doxology and an amen (completed by 1172). She also describes later, larger collections known as *Mariales* that were used on Saturdays in devotion to the Virgin Mary.[46]

During a yearlong visit to Avignon in 1372, Philippe de Mézières produced a new liturgy for the Feast of Mary's Presentation, which was performed on 21 November 1372 at the church of the Friars Minor. The next year Philippe became counsellor to Charles V of France, and the Feast was celebrated again in the royal chapel on 21 November 1373. Philippe memorialized the Avignon event in a manuscript that includes a letter of justification followed by records of the events themselves: a miracle, the office, a liturgical drama, the Mass, and a sermon, possibly the one given at the first Feast of Mary's Presentation by a Franciscan friar from Assisi. This manuscript thus illustrates the close connection between miracles and the development of liturgy, preaching, and drama.[47]

In addition to offices performed on Saturdays and Feast Days, the Little Office of the Virgin was a regular part of clerical practices at the cathedral of Notre

[44] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, II, 29, in *D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete*.

[45] Paul Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1933), pp. 90–92, 113–14, 201–05, 220, 260–61, 273.

[46] Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 145–46, 156.

[47] Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*, pp. 3–5, 11, 14, is the editor of this text, which exists in two manuscripts, Paris, BNF, lat. 17330 and 14454. Another feast day for Mary instituted in the late fourteenth century was the Feast of the Visitation.

Dame in Paris by the thirteenth century. Rebecca Baltzer writes that the office was performed in the choir 'on most ferial days and feasts of three lessons at the cathedral of Paris'.[48] She lists four thirteenth-century manuscripts of Offices of the Virgin of the use of Paris: one of these was for clerical usage; the other three were for private devotional use. The latter three 'exemplify one change that occurred in such books during the course of the thirteenth century: the change from a preference for large, decorated psalters to the combined psalter/hours and then to small, decorated books of hours without psalters'.[49] Indeed, the Hours of the Virgin became a standard part of books of hours and a major vehicle for extension of devotion to Mary from church to home. The inclusion of the Little Office of the Virgin within these books meant that veneration of the Virgin Mary was a part of daily devotional practices among their owners.[50] A royal chaplain who had access to the Soissons manuscript would be able to use the songs, glosses, and narratives to complement his performance of other offices devoted to the Virgin Mary.

The arguments I have presented suggest that the Soissons manuscript needs to be studied in the context of the development of Marian liturgies and other devotional texts used by the royal French family. The people concerned include Jeanne de Bourgogne, queen of France and wife of Philippe VI, probably the original patrons of the book; Jean II, who inherited it from his parents and then lost it to the English; Charles V, who bought it back from the English; and Charles VI, who gave it to Jean, duc de Berry, in 1405. As in the numerous devotional books produced for French royalty in the fourteenth century, the magnificent images in the Soissons manuscript have the primary function of moving the heart to devotion, thus fulfilling Gregory the Great's rationale for images as *compunctio*, or 'motors of one's devotion'.[51]

[48] Rebecca Baltzer, 'The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography. Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner,* ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 463–84 (p. 463).

[49] Baltzer, 'Little Office', p. 466.

[50] Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: Braziller 1997), p. 22, writes that books of hours 'linked church and home' and quotes a fascinating description of daily usage from an introduction to a 1538 printed book of hours.

[51] Brigitte Buettner, 'Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions, Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society', *Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 75–90 (p. 79). The term 'motors of one's devotion' is Buettner's translation of *compunctio*, one of two justifications Gregory provides for the use of

By way of concluding, let me suggest that the 'holiness' or 'sanctity' of the book itself and its images can be thought of in two ways: both as an open book and as a closed book.[52] Most of my analysis has concerned the former, thinking about how a royal person or a resident priest would have used the book on a daily or weekly basis. As an open book, the manuscript teaches us in internal ways. Through the combination of image and text, it encourages individuals to feel the same love for Mary that she expresses in her tender gaze on the Christ Child. For members of the royal audience, the experience of hearing a miracle read aloud, accompanied perhaps by the singing of a song or the explanation of the moral meaning of the text hinted at in the glosses, brought the Virgin literally into their minds and hearts, inviting new miraculous appearances and encouraging a life of devotion to her with the hope of grace and salvation thereafter.

However, it is also useful to think about the manuscript as a closed book, an isolated object, an artefact, one that surely functioned as a sign of royal status, but which may also have functioned as a religious symbol with iconic power. That is, the presence of the book near the body of the king, especially at the Battle of Poitiers, suggests that the book itself could serve as an agent of miraculous events, not unlike other medieval artefacts associated with the Virgin Mary, such as the tunic of the Virgin at Chartres, the hairs of the Virgin at Laon, or the slipper of Our Lady at Soissons. As a closed book, the Soissons manuscript may have been taken to battle not only as a sign of the king's status and wealth but also as an aid to religious devotion or even as an icon that could have provided protection to the royal body. The mere presence of the book in the proximity to battle may have evoked the protection of the Virgin Mary.

images. See also her comments on Richard of Fournival's theory of images in the *Bestaire d'amour* (pp. 79–80).

[52] I have borrowed the distinction between 'closed' and 'open' book from Buettner, 'Profane Illuminations', p. 79.

Appendix

Four types of images of the Virgin Mary in the Soissons manuscript

1. Tavlete: a portable, painted panel or painted statue in a niche depicting a seated Mary and Child.

I Mir 13, fol. 36^{r}
I Mir 32, fol. 67^{v}
I Mir 34, fol. 70^{v}
II Mir 30, fol. 206^{r}

2. Statues: three-dimensional depictions of a seated Mary and Child, usually in a chapel or just outside it, often depicted with someone kneeling before it in prayer.

I Mir 11, fol. 29^{v}
I Mir 21, fol. 51^{v}: this one is life-size
II Mir 18, fol. 165^{v}
II Mir 21, fol. 175^{r}: shrine with opening doors
II Mir 22, fol. 177^{v}
II Mir 32, fol. 212^{v}: Mass is being performed in front of it
Fol. 231^{v}: Gautier finishes his book and kneels before a life-size Virgin and Child
Fols 232^{v}, 234^{r}, 235^{v}, 237^{r} (four portraits of royal figures kneeling and praying before a life-size statue of seated Mary and Child), 238^{v} (royal figure before a life-size standing figure of Mary and Child)
Fols 241^{r}, 242^{r}, 242^{v} (three portraits of royal figures kneeling and praying before a statue of seated Mary and Child on an altar), 243^{v} (royal figure kneeling before an open book on altar; God visible in Heaven)

3. Mary appearing in human form (with bodily movement and speech), either in a vision or in a dream, interceding in the lives of fallible human beings, sometimes accompanied by angels, sometimes not.

I Mir 14, fol. 37^{r}
I Mir 17, fol. 39^{v}
I Mir 18, fol. 41^{r}
I Mir 19, fol. 45^{v}
I Mir 20, fol. 49^{r}
I Mir 26, fol. 59^{r}
I Mir 29, fol. 63^{r}
I Mir 30, fol. 65^{r}
I Mir 31, fol. 66^{r}

I Mir 36, fol. 73^{r}
I Mir 40, fol. 84^{v}
I Mir 41, fol. 86^{v}
I Ch 47, fol. 111^{v}
II Mir 19, fol. 169^{r}
II Mir 24, fol. 181^{r}
II Mir 25, fol. 185^{v}
II Mir 27, fol. 193^{v}
II Mir 29, fol. 200^{v}

4. Mary in Heaven.
Fol. A^{v}: Throne of Solomon image in the frontispiece
I Pr 1, fol. 2^{r}: Mary as Queen of Saints and inspiration for Gautier
I Mir 24, fol. 56^{r}
I Mir 28, fol. 61^{v}
I Mir 33, fol. 69^{v}
I Mir 42, fol. 89^{r}
II Mir 12, fol. 154^{v}

Contexts

The Rose, the Blessed Virgin Undefiled: Incarnational Piety in Gautier's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Laurel Broughton

Résumé

Les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci offrent des aperçus du développement de la dévotion associée à l'incarnation et à la passion. Cet article examine des figures de l'incarnation dans les *Miracles* de Gautier. D'abord, l'article présente le schéma pour la participation au moment de l'incarnation développé dans les sermons de Bernard de Clairvaux sur l'Annonciation et montre comment ce schéma est reflété dans les miracles de la Vierge appelés 'miracles de lys'. Deuxièmement, l'article montre brièvement le développement des collections de miracles mariales et leur spiritualité de l'incarnation afin de placer la collection de Gautier dans le contexte du genre du récit marial. Enfin, il examine les implications 'incarnationnelles' de certains miracles dans la collection, à savoir *Le clerc de Chartres*, *Le sacristain noyé*, *Les cinq psaumes*, *Le diable en service*, et *Le clerc mort sans confession/absolution*. L'introduction par Gautier des roses et de la prière 'O intemerata' dans des miracles où l'on s'attendrait à trouver des lys et 'Ave Maria' paraît, au premier abord, nier le message de l'incarnation trouvé dans d'autres miracles 'de lys'; mais à y regarder de plus près, les changements effectués par Gautier célèbrent la crucifixion comme l'aboutissement du cycle de l'incarnation et anticipent la dévotion à la passion qui deviendra populaire à la fin du XIVe et au début du XVe siècles.

Gautier de Coinci loved roses almost as much as he loved the Virgin and used the flower in conjunction with Mary to convey subtle but strong images about his understanding of incarnational piety. As an artist and

a cleric, Gautier stands out as one possessed of many talents, and he used these diverse gifts in harmony to create one of the monumental works of the Middle Ages. His collection of miracles of the Virgin unites his abilities as a compiler, storyteller, poet, and musician to make a work unique among the overwhelming number of Marian miracle collections. Gautier's miracles of the Virgin not only strive for an art beyond that of more pedestrian, prose collections, they bring fresh perspective to tales that had been told over and over, particularly with respect to incarnational piety. These legends, collected in the early thirteenth century, are significant in the overall context of miracle collections in that they were written relatively early in the development of the genre, they have a known author, and they are written in the vernacular.

Many scholars attest to Gautier's abilities as storyteller, poet, and musician. However, his *Miracles de Nostre Dame* also provides a window on the development of Marian miracle collections and their promotion of affective piety, suggesting his understanding of the incarnation and of individual pietistic practices in its celebration. By using incarnational images that differ from those found in early, prototypical miracle collections, Gautier heralds the passion meditations of the later Middle Ages. In order to show how he achieves this, this essay will briefly outline incarnational piety and show how this manifests itself in miracles of the Virgin. After providing some background on the evolution of Marian miracle collections to put Gautier's work in the context of the larger genre, I will lastly look at the incarnational implication of five individual miracles: *The Clerk of Chartres*, *The Drowned Sacristan*, *Five Psalms*, *The Devil in Service*, and *The Unshriven Clerk*. This examination reveals Gautier varies traditional images found within the 'lily' miracles, those legends in which a miraculous manifestation, often a lily, rewards the protagonist for his recitation of *Ave Maria* or some other text in honour of the Virgin. While Gautier demonstrates knowledge of this basic lily pattern in his versions of *The Clerk of Chartres*, *The Drowned Sacristan*, and *Five Psalms*, his tellings of *The Devil in Service* and *The Unshriven Clerk* significantly vary the basic lily pattern.

Incarnational Piety

Gautier made his collection of miracles during a period of exploding individual devotion to the Virgin. Perhaps the most influential expression of incarnational piety as a personal devotional practice can be found in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux. Sometime shortly after 1115 (approximately one hundred years before Gautier compiled his collection of miracles of the Virgin), Bernard, ill, dispirited,

and on enforced retreat from his community at Clairvaux, composed four sermons in praise of the Virgin, based on the text *Super missus est*, Luke 1. 26–27.[1] While these sermons do not expound any radical new ideas about Mary, they articulate clearly the value of saluting the Virgin as did the angel Gabriel and they became the blueprint for incarnational piety that was to capture the popular consciousness throughout the late Middle Ages. Bernard articulates two ideas crucial to our analysis: first, he combines flower imagery with the concept of the 'Word', and secondly, he emphasizes individual participation in the incarnational moment.

Taking as his text the first chapter of Luke's Gospel, Bernard fuses the importance of Mary hearing and accepting the word (as understood in John 1, 'In the beginning was the word'), Marian flower imagery, and a Marian interpretation of the Song of Songs into a cohesive whole. These elements all work together to establish the importance of the Annunciation to individual salvation. He uses this to define a devotional practice in which he or anyone who repeats the angelic salutation actively participates in the incarnation.

Bernard maintains that Mary's grace and apprehension of Christ result from her ability hear the word, to 'incline her ear' (Psalm 45. 10). He links this flower symbolism with the concept of the word, saying that 'Nazareth' means 'flower' and 'It was at Nazareth therefore that Christ's birth was first announced, because in the flower lies the hope of the fruit to come [. . .]. I think no one doubts that the Word is the fruit and the Word is Christ' (1. 3).[2] Further on he explains that the flower shall grow out of Jesse's root, that 'the rod symbolized the Virgin and the blossom the virgin birth' (2. 5).[3] Bernard and others associate the blossom with the lily of the Song of Songs; thus the lily represents Christ, not just the purity of the Virgin.[4]

Individual participation in the incarnational moment becomes the foundational principle on which Bernard builds his message. He draws his reader's eye to Mary's room, 'the private chamber of her modest room where, I suppose,

[1] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Four Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. by Mary-Bernard Said (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1993), pp. xiii–xxiv.

[2] Bernard, *Four Homilies*, p. 8.

[3] Bernard, *Four Homilies*, p. 19.

[4] Both Gertrud Schiller, *The Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Janet Seligman, 2 vols (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1971), I, 51, and Emil Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, trans. by Dora Nussey (1913; repr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 244, trace this association.

having shut the door she was praying to the Father in secret' (3. 1).[5] He exhorts his audience to enter Mary's room to witness Gabriel's visit:

> Gather round this virginal chamber and, if you can, enter your sister's chaste inner room. Behold, God has sent down for the Virgin. Behold, Mary is spoken for by the angel. Put your ear to the door, strain to listen to the tidings he brings. (2. 2)[6]

Putting his ear to the door allows the reader not only to witness the incarnational moment, but also to take part as Bernard himself participates in the event. In his powerful closing image, he puts himself in the place of both the angel Gabriel, who brings Mary the word, and Mary herself, as she accepts the word. He, like the angel, waits poised for the answer:

> The angel is waiting for your reply [. . .]. We, too, are waiting for this merciful word, my lady [. . .]. Give your answer quickly, my Virgin. My lady, say this word which earth and hell and heaven itself are waiting for. The very King and Lord of all, he who has so desired your beauty, is waiting anxiously for your answer and assent, by which he proposes to save the world. (4. 8)[7]

Here Bernard stresses the critical relationship between the incarnation and the climax of salvation history. Without the Virgin's acceptance, salvation through the crucifixion becomes impossible: the world would not be saved. Therefore, the faithful should emulate Mary, the first Christian, who by her perfect faith and complete acceptance of Christ sets the example for all the faithful who follow, as Bernard emphasizes by putting himself in Mary's place when he uses her language to offer himself to God: 'May the Word [. . .] deign to be in me, deign to be to me according to your word. Let it be for the whole world, but let it be to me uniquely "according to your word"' (4. 11).[8] Thus Bernard, with his audience in tow, projects himself into the two major personages of the Annunciation scene. With Gabriel he brings Mary the word, articulated in the greeting, *Ave Maria*, and like Mary he accepts the word in saying with her, 'Be it unto me according to thy word'. In other words, participation in the incarnational moment can be achieved by anyone reciting *Ave Maria*, and Bernard and all the faithful can thereby become actors in this simple but potent drama.

[5] Bernard, *Four Homilies*, p. 33.

[6] Bernard, *Four Homilies*, p. 16.

[7] Bernard, *Four Homilies*, p. 53.

[8] Bernard, *Four Homilies*, p. 58.

In these sermons, Bernard identifies the Annunciation as the heart of what Gail McMurray Gibson has called the 'incarnational aesthetic', the fascination with the human physicality of Christ. Gibson defines this as

> a growing tendency to see the world saturated with sacramental possibility and meaning and to celebrate it [. . . —] the insistence on particular, corporal religious image perceived in the world — is extended as far as, quite literally, the human eye can see. The spiritual object of meditation is held earthbound for as long as human ingenuity (and pious curiosity) will permit. Thus it is the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which first produced images of the Annunciation with the conceived Lord already visibly present to the human worshipper on fecundating beams of light sent from God's hands.[9]

We can more clearly understand this practice by looking at medieval depictions of the Annunciation, particularly in manuscripts and church decoration. Illuminated books of hours were becoming fashionable in the early thirteenth century. These devotional volumes usually begin with the Hours of the Virgin, where a depiction of the Annunciation almost always accompanies the opening verses for matins. The iconography was fairly standard: Gabriel, frequently holding a scroll with the words *Ave Maria*, addresses the Virgin, who is often seen kneeling in prayer or reading. A vase of lilies usually stands between the angel and the Virgin. A dove or some other representation of the Holy Spirit makes its way to Mary's ear as she conceives the 'Word'.[10] By the early thirteenth-century, this iconography is widespread; for example, we find this treatment of the incarnation in stained glass at Chartres, Laon, and Lyon.[11] Mâle suggests that the flower starts as a generic blossom and evolves into the lily.[12]

Like Bernard in his sermons, many of these depictions encompass the whole cycle of salvation and redemption within the Annunciation scene. The vase of lilies becomes more than a representation of the Virgin's purity. As defined by Bernard and noted by both Schiller and Mâle, the lily represents Christ himself, who becomes

[9] Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 6–7.

[10] See Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: Brazillier, 1997), pp. 55–59, and *Time Sanctified* (New York: Brazillier, 1988), pp. 60–61.

[11] At Chartres, the lily appears in two Annunciation scenes, in the Life of the Virgin window, Delaporte no. 16, and the north transept clerestory infancy window, Delaporte no. 136. Yves Delaporte and Etienne Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 4 vols (Chartres: E. Houvet, 1926), III: *Plates*, pls CCXLIV, CCLX.

[12] Mâle, *Gothic Image*, pp. 242–45.

a living, physical presence in the vase of flowers between Mary and Gabriel.[13] This association between Christ and the lily flourishes in the later Middle Ages. For example, an Annunciation window in York Minster reinforces the idea with a crucifix placed among the lilies. The crucifixion window at Long Melford, Suffolk, makes explicit the connection between the lily and Christ and the flower's association with the sacrificial cycle of redemption set in motion at the moment of the incarnation by depicting Christ crucified on a lily instead of a cross.[14]

The inclusion of patrons in many of these visual representations links them with the participation motif outlined by Bernard. Depictions of donors become standard in books of hours, altarpieces, and stained glass. John de Pabenham and Joan Clifford kneel in prayer under the Annunciation in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 242. Two thirteenth-century Annunciation windows at Chartres show donors in the bottom panels. One (Delaporte 136) places the donor outside an arched door.[15] In the infancy of Christ window at Saint-Denis, Abbot Suger prostrates himself at the Annunciate Virgin's feet. His head and shoulders penetrate the actual Annunciation roundel, placing him clearly on the incarnational spot.

Gautier was writing in the early thirteenth century, after Bernard but before the standard form for depicting the Annunciation became fixed and found its fruition in later visual expressions. The iconography of the Annunciation was evolving around him as he collected his miracles, and the choices made in the versions he renders give us an interesting window on that evolutionary process, particularly in the lily miracles he chooses to tell.[16]

[13] See note 4 above.

[14] The Long Melford lily crucifixion window is found in the Clopton Chantry Chapel, Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Suffolk (late 15th c.). A view of the window can be found at <http://www.stedmundsbury.anglican.org/longmelford/tour.htm>. Brian Coe, *Stained Glass in England, 1150–1550* (London: W. H. Allen, 1981), following p. 80, documents another crucifixion with lily in Westwood, Wiltshire. The Annunciation with crucifix is found in York Minster, North Choir, Window 8.

[15] I am grateful to Kathy Krause for calling these windows to my attention.

[16] The Infancy window at Saint-Denis bears witness to this evolutionary process. In this window Gabriel carries what appears to be a palm branch instead of a lily or a staff with lily-shaped finial. The earliest image of the Annunciation under discussion here, this window was most likely made during Bernard's lifetime. The later (thirteenth-century) Annunciation windows at Chartres contain lilies.

The Lily Miracles

Bernard's blueprint for individual participation in the Annunciation constructs the plot vehicle for the lily miracles, the largest subgroup of miracles of the Virgin, included in every major collection.[17] Named for the flower that figures prominently in many versions, these legends might better be called incarnation miracles for their plots recapitulate the Annunciation. The basic lily miracle plot involves a protagonist who faithfully repeats *Ave Maria*. When he dies, a flower, usually a lily, springs from his grave and is discovered to be rooted in his mouth. Like Bernard, who impatiently urges the Virgin to respond to Gabriel's message, lily miracle protagonists actively participate in the cycle of redemption that begins with the Annunciation. They unite themselves with the angel in repeating *Ave Maria* to Mary, but they also emulate Mary herself in that their faith enables them to bear Christ in the form of the lily that springs from their mouths.

As didactic proponents of the incarnational aesthetic, these legends contain two key components: first, a prayer or hymn, usually but not always *Ave Maria*, that commemorates Mary's conception of Christ; and second, the miraculous manifestation, usually flowers in the protagonist's mouth, or some other symbol of Christ incarnate. Although in their 'purest' form, lily miracles include the *Ave Maria* and a lily, many miracles vary one or both of these elements (for example, Chaucer's 'Prioress's Tale'). In this way, incarnational miracles extend beyond the 'pure' lily pattern to reflect a variety of Marian motifs and incarnational concerns. In addition to *Ave Maria*, we find the hymns *Gaude Maria* and *Alma redemptoris*, the repetition of psalms, and in two of Gautier's versions, the prayer *O beata et intemerata*. Similarly, although the lily predominates as the incarnational symbol, it is by no means the only manifestation found in these tales. The flower can be a rose, as in Gautier's version, or unspecified. Other manifestations include the word *Ave* imprinted on the protagonist's tongue, the return of the protagonist's soul to his body, and the devil put to flight: passion and resurrection images that evoke the complete cycle of salvation history, incarnation to redemption.[18]

[17] Of the approximately 2070 tellings of miracles I have catalogued to date, approximately 270 are lily or incarnational miracles.

[18] Laurel Broughton, 'Ave Maria: The Incarnational Aesthetic and Mary Miracle Collections', *Studia Mystica*, 20 (1999), 1–14.

Miracle Collections

Many collections of Marian miracles reflect this incarnational concern. The first significant analysis of Marian miracle collections was done in the late nineteenth century by Adolfo Mussafia, whose monumental and complex study of the miracles of the Virgin has shaped our ideas about the organization of Mary miracle collections. He identifies three base collections: the Elements series, HM (from the framing titles Hildefonsus-Murieldis), and TS (Toledo-Saturday).[19] R. W. Southern attributes the Elements series to Dominic of Evesham and HM/TS, which he notes rarely appear one without the other, to Anselm of Bury St Edmund's.[20] Early collections, such as those found in London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra C. X and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Balliol 240, adhere fairly closely to this structure.

BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X dates from the late twelfth century, making it slightly earlier than Gautier's work.[21] As noted above, BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X contains the three earliest collections identified by Mussafia: the Elements, Hildefonsus-Murieldis, and Toledo-Saturday. As a representative of the prototypical collection, BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X shows its incarnational concern by the inclusion of seven miracles (17%) that make direct reference to *Ave Maria* or to saluting the Virgin. These legends, all of which clearly demonstrate the rewards of reciting the angelic salutation, reflect the pietistic practices preached by Bernard, and like his sermons on the Annunciation, encourage the audience to participate in the incarnational moment by reciting *Ave Maria*.

[19] Adolfo Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, 5 vols (Vienna: Gerold's Son, 1887–98; orig. pub. in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien (phil.-hist. Klasse)*, 113 (1886), 917–94; 115 (1888), 5–93; 119 (1889), 1–66; 123 (1891), 1–85, 139 (1898), Facs. viii). Evelyn Faye Wilson also discusses the relationships between collections. See *The 'Stella Maris' of John of Garland, edited together with a study of certain collections of Mary legends made in Northern France in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. by Evelyn Faye Wilson (Cambridge, MA: Wellesley College and the Medieval Academy of America, 1946).

[20] R. W. Southern, 'English Origins of "Miracles of the Virgin"', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), 176–216 (pp. 182, 185, and 199).

[21] See Koenig, 'Introduction', to Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70), I, p. xxx. See also H. L. D. Ward, 'Miracles of the Virgin', in *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883–1915), II, 586–748 (p. 600), for dating of BL, Cotton Cleopatra C. X.

To place Gautier's work in the context of incarnational concerns reflected in the genre of Mary legends as a whole we can use Gautier's collection as it comes to us in London, BL, Harley 4401 (MS C). I chose this manuscript because it is one of the earliest and because it was one of two to make its way to England, possibly as part of the migration identified by Southern.[22] Gautier himself tells us that he based his collection on one he found in the Saint-Médard library.[23] Most likely, the now missing Saint-Médard collection was not firmly based on one of the prototypical collections. Even taking into account Koenig's observation that Gautier was not a servile translator, when one looks at the collection in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X next to Gautier's, they do not match up. Only seventeen out of the fifty-three legends found in BL Harley 4401 appear in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X.[24] However, Gautier's collection does include nine (16%) miracles that promote *Ave Maria*.

Miracles Shared with BL Cotton Cleopatra C X: The Clerk of Chartres *and* The Drowned Sacristan

Of those seventeen legends shared by BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X and Gautier, two are incarnational or lily miracles. To better understand Gautier's incarnational concerns we can compare the presentation of *The Clerk of Chartres* and *The Drowned Sacristan* in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X and Gautier, and then explore Gautier's miracles *The Five Psalms*, *The Devil in Service*, and *The Unshriven Clerk Buried Outside the Churchyard*, which do not appear in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X.

[22] I have been able to find little information on the provenance of Harley 4401, one of the earliest copies of Gautier's miracles. Although part of the famous library of Robert Harley, Duke of Oxford, compiled in the early eighteenth century, the lack of information suggests this to be a late acquisition, made after the death of Harley's librarian. Harley himself died 21 May 1724. His librarian, Humfrey Wanley, died in 1726. If this is so, then the acquisition may have been made by Edward, the second duke, who died in 1741. See Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harlieani* (London: British Museum, 1972), pp. xv–xx. The second manuscript to find its way to England is Phillipps 3643, now Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106 (MS 7).

[23] See Koenig, 'Introduction', p. xxxi.

[24] As another point of comparison, London, BL, Royal 20. B. XIV, a later collection in French verse, follows BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X in content and organization, rather than Gautier, suggesting that Gautier's collection may have had a limited influence on subsequent compilers.

Where Gautier's version of *The Clerk of Chartres* (I Mir 15) closely follows that found in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X, his treatment of *The Drowned Sacristan* (I Mir 42) does not. In both cases, his protagonists do not specifically recite *Ave Maria*. Instead, they 'salute' the Virgin, clearly a reference to the angelic salutation, but without naming the prayer or quoting the words, as do the versions in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X. More significantly, Gautier's versions add details to the miraculous manifestation in each tale. So, while the overall plots run parallel, the details show that he was not impelled by the same incarnational impetus that informs not only the proto-collections that form the basis for the Mary-legend genre but many of the collections that follow him.

The Clerk of Chartres as found in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X offers us one of the earliest lily miracles, and one of the most generic. It tells of a clerk of light habits, living in Chartres, who gives himself up to worldly cares and carnal desires. The man, however, keeps the mother of God in mind and most frequently salutes her with the angelic salutation when he passes her altar. When enemies murder him, the clergy, knowing he led an irreligious life, decide to bury him outside of the cemetery. After thirty days, the Virgin appears to a clerk and asks why her chancellor is unjustly buried outside the cemetery. When the clerk asks who is her chancellor, she tells him that he who thirty days ago was buried outside the churchyard was her devoted servant and saluted her frequently before her altar. She tells him to move the body from this unseemly place to the churchyard. When they open his grave they find a beautiful flower in his mouth and his tongue, which had praised God, intact and healthy. They take his body to the churchyard and, with seemly praise to God, bury him.[25]

While this Latin version does not specifically mention *Ave Maria*, it is clear from the use and description of the 'angelic salutation' that the clerk's devotion to Mary includes praying at her altar, using the words of Gabriel, those being *Ave Maria*: 'Hic tamen sanctam dei genitricem nimis in memoria habebat. et sicut supra de altero retulimus. eam saepissime salutatione angelica salutabat'[26] (This man, however, very much had the holy mother of God in mind and most frequently saluted her with the angelic salutation when he passed her altar). And while the flower is not named, even a generic flower, as the blossom that grows out of the root of Jesse, fulfils the incarnational pattern of the lily miracles.

[25] Latin text found in Carl Neuhaus, *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den Alt-Französischen Adgar'schen Marienlegenden* (Aschersleben: H. C. Bestehorn, 1886–87), pp. 32–33.

[26] Neuhaus, *Vorlagen*, p. 32.

Gautier's version, which is much longer, contains certain variations and elaborations but retains the essential elements of the tale. Where in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X, the clerk prays at Mary's altar, in Gautier's version he passes before an image of the Virgin, which he salutes on his knees. He is murdered and dies without making confession. Gautier emphasizes his shame, saying he is buried like a thief in unconsecrated ground: 'Com un larron l'ont enfossé' (I Mir 15, v. 42).[27] Thirty days later, Mary appears to a clerk of the city and wants to know why her 'chancelier' has been buried in unholy ground. She defends him stoutly, describing his devotion to her, including the salutation, which he made 'night and day':

> Soventes fois a jointes mains
> S'agenoilla devant m'ymage.
> Quelz folz qu'il fust en son corage,
> Avoit mout bon proposement.
> A chaudes larmes doucement
> Me saluoit et jor et nuit. I Mir 15, vv. 62–67[28]

She tells the clerk to tell the rest of the clergy that they should move the body. When they go to his grave they find a flower in his mouth (of an unspecified type, although one manuscript, Blois, BM, 34, names a rose) and his tongue as red as a new May rose: 'La langue avoit ausi vermeille / Com est en mai rose novele' (I Mir 15, vv. 90–91).[29] Gautier's elaborations show the clerk's more ostentatious piety, but also introduce, as a simile for the dead clerk's tongue, the rose which, as we will see in the discussion of *The Unshriven Clerk*, recurs in his work as a passion motif.

While Gautier's version of *The Clerk of Chartres* parallels that found in BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X, his version of *The Drowned Sacristan*, one of those miracles in which the manifestation is life restored, takes more liberties. In the Cotton Cleopatra version, a sacristan is very deceitful and often by devilish instigation burns with desire. However, he loves the holy mother of God not a little and passing the sanctuary salutes her with reverence, saying at her altar, 'Ave maria gratia plena dominus tecum'. Beside this same monastery lies a river, which the brother crosses when he goes to fill his desire. One night as he goes to his crimes he stops and salutes holy Mary. As he crosses the river a demon pushes him and he falls in. Soon many demons snatch at his soul, desiring to carry him down to a pit.

[27] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, II, 110.

[28] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, II, 111.

[29] Blois 34 mentions the rose in the rubric: 'Du clerc en qui la rose fu trove'. See Koenig's textual note, *Miracles*, II, 109.

When confronted by angels, the demons say the soul is theirs because he did bad works. Sadly the angels know he did insufficient good works, but suddenly the Virgin comes and with authority demands to know why the demons are snatching the soul. They respond that he did only bad works in his life. She contradicts them, pointing out that when he went anywhere he saluted her upon leaving and returning. She places the soul in judgement of the 'highest king' who, for the merits of his mother, returns the monk's soul to his body so that he can do penance. Meanwhile, back at the monastery, the brothers gather to sing matins. They search for the sacristan and, going to the river, find him submerged in the water. They take the body from the water and he comes alive and tells the brothers what happened to him and how he escaped with the help of God's mother. From that time he lives a good life, serving God and Mary fervently, and doing good works until in peace he gives up his soul.[30]

The Cotton Cleopatra version emphasizes *Ave Maria* by actually quoting the words of the prayer. Gautier, as in *Clerk of Chartres*, implies it by using the verb form of 'salute', 'La mere Dieu a jointes mains / Saluoit mout devotement' (I Mir 42, vv. 42–43), and by noting his habitual recitation of matins of the Virgin (vv. 32–33).[31] Playing with well-known Marian motifs, he creates elaborate dialogue in which Mary takes on an angry tone of voice, thus exploiting the dramatic possibilities of the situation many Latin renditions ignore. But most significantly, in Gautier's version, Mary returns the drowned sacristan's soul to his body whereas the Cotton Cleopatra version clearly places agency with Christ: 'placuit altissimo domino pro meritis sanctissimae suae matris. ut anima fratris rediret ad corpus quatinus poenitentiam ageret de suis reatibus'[32] (It was pleasing to highest lord, for the merits of his mother, that he returned the monk's soul to his body so that he could do penance). Gautier's version reads:

> Atant s'en depart Nostre Dame,
> Mais tot avant commande a l'ame
> Son cors repraigne isnelement
> Et qu'ele vive chastement. I Mir 42, vv. 349–52[33]

In effect, Mary, not Christ, resurrects the monk.

[30] Latin text in Neuhaus, *Vorlagen*, pp. 31–32. In BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X, *Clerk* and *Sacristan* appear in sequence. Gautier separates them by twenty-seven tales, cutting their impact.

[31] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, III, 166.

[32] Neuhaus, *Vorlagen*, p. 32.

[33] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, III, 178–79.

The Five Psalms

While Gautier's version of *The Clerk of Chartres* hints at the rose as a simile for the tongue, *The Five Psalms* overtly uses this flower as a symbol of devotion rewarded. In this tale, a monk honours the Virgin by saying five psalm verses whose first letters form an anagram for her name: MARIA. Most versions of the tale name these verses as forming the anagram: Magnificat, Luke 1. 46 (Ps. 96, 97); Ad dominum cum tribularer, Ps. 119. 1 (120. 1); Retribue servo tuo, Ps. 118. 17 (119. 17); In convertendo, Ps. 125 (126. 1); and Ad te levavi, Ps. 122 (123. 1).[34] The *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais is considered to be the source for later versions of this miracle.[35] Vincent and his successors describe a monk named Joscius who hears a bishop mention encountering the MARIA psalms devotion in the Holy Land. Joscius makes this his personal devotion, reciting the five psalms daily. After his death, five roses grow from his face, with MARIA written on them. Historical details serve to validate the miracle, placing the occurrence at the Abbey of St Bertin in St Omer. One version names the bishop as Theobold of Canterbury (d. 1161) and cites 1163 as the year of the monk's death.[36] Thus this legend would have had time to circulate before Gautier made his collection. However, either Gautier or his source eschews the historical details. He does not name the monk or his abbey. Instead, he emphasizes the monk's lack of learning and his inability to remember the proper prayer of the Virgin:

> Mais mout estoit ses cuers destrois
> Et destorbez de grant maniere
> Quant ne savoit propre proiere
> Dont il fesist propre mimoire
> De la propre dame de gloire. I Mir 23, vv. 14–18[37]

[34] All these psalms can be found in the Divine Office and four of them occur in the Little Office of the Virgin, well established by Gautier's time. See John Harper, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 87–108. For the Little Hours of the Virgin, see Rebecca Baltzer, 'The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography. Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 463–84.

[35] Ward, 'Miracles of the Virgin', p. 592, gives 1264 as the year of Vincent's death. Although clearly not Vincent's source, Gautier's version of *Five Psalms* may pre-date it.

[36] Ward, 'Miracles of the Virgin', pp. 632–33.

[37] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, II, 224.

This attention to the monk's simplicity resembles that found in another miracle tale, the story of the monk who was capable only of learning *Ave Maria*; after his death too, a lily grows from his mouth.[38] While the incarnational significance is less explicit in the recitation of the five psalms than in that of *Ave Maria*, the psalms serve as well as a vehicle to praise the name of Mary (a devotional imperative supported by other miracles of the Virgin, including *A Girl Named Mary*). Beyond that, their association with the daily office, in particular the Little Hours of the Virgin, connect the psalms with commemorations that come to be linked to episodes from the infancy of Christ, emphasizing his humanity resulting from the incarnation.[39] We might then see the Five Psalms legend as a bridge between miracles that celebrate more general Marian piety and those that focus closely on the incarnational aspects of that piety.

O beata et intemerata*: Passion and Penitence*

Gautier's variations on what was becoming at this point in the development of the miracle of the Virgin genre a fairly standard pattern for inculcating the repetition of the angelic salutation can be seen as anticipating later medieval passion piety and Mary's role in the crucifixion drama. Gautier's use of the rose simile in *The Clerk of Chartres* and Mary's power to effect the resurrection of the dead monk in *The Drowned Sacristan* point in this direction. In the last two miracles I want to discuss, his (or perhaps his source's) substitution of *O beata et intemerata* for the angelic salutation (in *The Devil in Service* (I Mir 38) and *The Unshriven Clerk* (I Mir 39)) and his use of the rose instead of the incarnational lily in *The Unshriven Clerk* further emphasize his passion tendencies and would seem to have significant implications for the pietistic impulse of the lily pattern.

The standard version of *The Devil in Service* tells of a robber knight who takes a holy man captive. This monk (in some versions named Bernard) tells the knight to call all the members of his household. The chamberlain doesn't appear. Others find him out and bring him to the holy man who forces him to confess that he is a devil who has served the knight for fifteen years in the hope that he would one day forget to say *Ave Maria* and thus be carried to hell. Gautier's version takes a different slant. The devil insinuates himself into the household of a rich man in

[38] See Beverly Boyd, who makes this connection in her discussion of Lydgate's 'Legend of Dan Joos', *Middle English Miracles of the Virgin* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1964), p. 123.

[39] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, p. 60.

order to kill him. A bishop who visits the rich man exposes the devil, who says he has been unable to kill his victim because each day he prays to an image of the Virgin, saying *O beata et intemerata*.

The miracle that appears just after *The Devil in Service* (in BL Harley 4401 and most manuscripts) also substitutes *O beata et intemerata* for *Ave Maria*. Very few examples of this legend, *The Unshriven Clerk*, appear. The generic title, coined by H. L. D. Ward in his catalogue of miracles found in British Library manuscripts, has been applied to those legends that involve burial in unconsecrated ground, but are distinct variants of *The Clerk of Chartres*. Gautier's version seems to be the earliest of these. The only other tellings I have found of this particular version of *The Unshriven Clerk* appear in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 95 and Dublin, Trinity College, 167, the largest extant collections of miracles of the Virgin. Both manuscripts, dating from the early fifteenth century and probably compiled in England, also contain Gautier's version of *The Devil in Service* and other miracles promoting *O beata et intemerata*.[40] How Gautier's versions migrated to England to resurface in Latin in Sidney Sussex 95 and Trinity College 167 remains a mystery. However, their appearance in these collections supports Southern's hypothesis that miracles moved from England to France and then back to England.

In this legend Gautier (or his source) conflates the abbot/uncle story of *150 Aves* with *The Clerk of Chartres* (dissolute cleric) motif. The plot is essentially the same as *The Clerk of Chartres*, with the addition of the uncle who warns the clerk to lead a better life and instructs him to say the prayer. This tale varies the incarnational elements found in the basic lily pattern. Instead of a lily, a rose grows from the clerk's mouth, and more significantly, the prayer that engenders the flower is not *Ave Maria* but *O beata et intemerata*. In fact, the miracle doesn't name the prayer; however, we know that the abbot instructs his nephew to say *O beata et intemerata* because the rubric in the manuscripts, 'De cele meïsme

[40] Sidney Sussex 95, fol. 91^{v}, and Trinity College 167, fol. 34^{v}. Sidney Sussex 95 dates from 1409 and was probably compiled in East Anglia. See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp. 76–109, for contents. N. F. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 88, places Trinity College 167 at Fountains Abbey in the early fifteenth century. See Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* (Brookfield: Published for Trinity College Library, Dublin, by Scolar Press, 1991), pp. 284–304, for contents. These two manuscripts are very closely related in contents and appearance. The Trinity College 167 version retains Gautier's rose; however, Sidney Sussex 95 says that in the clerk's mouth 'sub lingua florem pulcherime pullulantem invenit'.

orison', refers the reader to the prayer in the previous tale, the variant of *The Devil in Service*.[41]

These two tales appear to be the earliest to promote the recitation of *O beata et intemerata*. According to Wilmart, *O intemerata* first appears in the twelfth century, often in collections attributed to Anselm of Canterbury. He argues that Anselm did not write the prayer, nor did his successor, Edmund, although St Edmund is closely associated with the text.[42] Wilmart suggests that the prayer may have been composed in Paris, which might have given Gautier earlier exposure to it. Like *Ave Maria*, *O beata et intemerata* was a popular personal devotion, but unlike *Ave Maria*, it has no place in the liturgy.[43] It does, however, appear regularly in books of hours, usually in tandem with *Obsecro te*, another personal devotional prayer.[44] The text emphasizes the supplicatory position of the one who recites the prayer as s/he pleads for the intercession of both the Virgin and St John the Evangelist.

Gautier's miracle unites this prayer with the rose. The rose, although not as closely associated with the incarnation as the lily, has long-standing associations with the Virgin. In later centuries, it occasionally appears in depictions of the Annunciation, for example in a fifteenth-century woodcarving by Veit Stoss. The fifteenth-century Merode Altarpiece also sports a rosebush, climbing up the wall of the garden from which the donors watch Gabriel address Mary. Other visual associations of the Virgin with roses abound. She is often depicted in a rose bower or in an enclosed rose garden; sometimes roses are worked into the drapery that surrounds her.[45] Other miracles of the Virgin use the rose as a symbol of the Virgin, among them *Aves Seen as Roses*, in which a young monk's salutations to the Virgin turn into roses, which she gathers in heaven, and *Five Psalms*, discussed above. While the rose blossom is generally thought to represent the joys of the Virgin and the thorns her sorrows, Schiller points out that the flower can represent Christ as well, and thus has a double meaning similar to that of the lily.[46]

[41] See Koenig's textual notes, *Miracles*, III, 121.

[42] André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1971), pp. 474–504.

[43] Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 474.

[44] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, pp. 86–87.

[45] Examples can be found in the work of the Van Eycks and Stephan Lochner, among others. See Charles D. Cuttler, *Northern Painting* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, 1968).

[46] Schiller, *Iconography*, I, 51.

Gautier fills his book with roses in both songs and miracles, the prologues setting the floral tone for the miracles that follow. In the first prologue he writes: 'Ele est la flors, ele est la rose' (I Pr 1, v. 91).[47] In the second prologue, he elaborates:

> Tout cest livre volrai joncier
> Et florir d'odorans floretes.
> C'iert de flories chançonnetes,
> Qui si tres doucement flairront
> Tout li cuer celz en esclairront
> Qui la rose aimment fresche et clere
> Dont Diex daigna fair sa mere. I Pr 2, vv. 32–38[48]
> [. . .]
> La sainte flors, la sainte rose
> Ou est toute douceurs enclose,
> Tous celz escrire par sa grace
> Ou saint livre de vie face [. . .]. I Pr 2, vv. 49–52[49]

In addition, not only do most of Gautier's songs include references to flowers that compare Mary to a rose, a number of Gautier's miracles other than those under discussion use the rose as a symbol of the Virgin or in some way associate her with the flower.[50]

On the surface, Gautier's versions would seem to break the lily pattern identified earlier in this essay by substituting the seemingly unrelated *O beata et intemerata* for *Ave Maria* and the rose for the lily. The prayer *O beata et intemerata* exists in at least two forms, both long first-person supplications.[51] The later version (fifteenth century) includes an extensive description of Mary's gift of flesh and blood to the saviour and thus would appropriately initiate the incarnational cycle found in the lily miracles. However, this version obviously appears long after Gautier's death; therefore he must be referring to the older version of the prayer (twelfth century) that begins by praising the Virgin as blessed and undefiled, but then diverts to St John the Evangelist to establish the relationship between them as witnesses to the crucifixion: 'as the reward for your most sincere virginity, confirmed this as his special privilege, thus saying to you as he was hanging on the

[47] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, I, 6.

[48] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, I, 21.

[49] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, I, 22.

[50] Gautier refers to roses in *Theophilus* (I Mir 10), *Hildefonsus* (I Mir 11), *The Priest of One Mass* (I Mir 14), *Incest* (I Mir 18), *Ring Given to Mary Image* (I Mir 21), and *Milk: Monk Laid out for Dead* (I Mir 40).

[51] Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, pp. 474–503.

cross, "Woman, behold thy son", and then to the other, "Behold thy mother."'[52] We may argue however, with medieval theologians, that in the crucifixion and subsequent resurrection, salvation reaches its climax, a climax that would not be possible without the incarnation; the incarnation begins the cycle of redemption made possible through the crucifixion. Without the incarnation, God would not have become man, clothed in the flesh of the Virgin. Christ offers himself through his incarnation as well as the crucifixion as the willing human sacrifice through which medieval Christians believed each individual could be saved from sin.

Indeed, Gautier himself defines the incarnational significance of the rose. In one of the songs that introduce the miracles of Book I, he calls the rose the precious flesh given to Christ in the Virgin's womb:

> La rose iez ou la flors de pris
> Char precïeuse a prise.
> [. . .]
> Char precïeuse en tes flans prist,
> Par coi le souprenant souprist
> Qui toz nos vielt souspenre [. . .]. I Ch 3, vv. 28–35[53]

He underscores this understanding with the 'Salus de Nostre Dame' that follow the miracle tales. In this section, Gautier emphasizes the importance of repeating the angelic salutation to individual spiritual health. He writes a long elaboration on the text of the *Ave Maria* and, in the song that follows, reminds us that the thorn produces the rose, the bramble produces the flower: 'De l'espine ist la rose, et la fleurs de la ronce' (II Ch 36).[54] This section of Gautier's book not only indicates Gautier's understanding that appropriate incarnational iconography includes symbols representing the presence of Christ in the flesh, it shows his knowledge of the participatory aspects of repeating the angelic salutation as recommended by Bernard in his sermons on the Annunciation.

In one of his songs, Gautier neatly links Christ's death for sinners with the floral concept, much like the later Long Melford lily crucifixion:

> Mere Dieu, tu iez la fleurs
> Ou li sires descendi
> Qui en crois por pecheürs
> Ses sains menbres estendi. I Ch 7, vv. 14–17[55]

[52] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, p. 164.

[53] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, I, 25–26.

[54] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, IV, 576.

[55] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, I, 40.

Gautier reiterates this idea in his miracle *The Unshriven Clerk* as the dying man recalls not the joy of the incarnational moment, but the sorrow of the dying Christ and the hope of Mary's intercession:

> Doz Diex, fait il, misericors!
> Si vraiement con ton sait cors
> Livras por nos a passion,
> Daigne wi avoir compassion
> Par la prïere de ta mere
> De cest chaitif qui a misere
> Et a dolor fine et trespasse. I Mir 39, vv. 175–81[56]

The rose that grows from his mouth blooms as living proof that his prayers have been heard. In this way, Gautier's use of *O beata et intemerata* anticipates the passion meditations that were to become an integral part of medieval incarnational piety. Beyond this, he uses the prayer in conjunction with the rose, which, as Schiller notes, like the lily represents Christ himself, with its thorns a reminder of the passion and subsequent resurrection.[57]

As we have seen, Gautier's collection (and perhaps that contained in his source) bears little relationship to the prototypical collections found in manuscripts like BL Cotton Cleopatra C. X. While Gautier tells a number of lily miracles, none of these contain a lily. When he names a flower, his blossom of choice is the rose. Working on the cusp of the burgeoning cult of the Virgin, Gautier eschews the incarnational imagery that becomes conventional as Marian devotion increases. Rather than see him as breaking the pattern defined by the lily miracles, we should consider him as pursuing floral imagery consistent with the incarnational imperative. His choices show Gautier's theological and poetical sophistication. He presents an alternative pietistic structure based on the repetition of *O beata et intemerata* as a reminder of Christ's passion and pain and associates the prayer, the rose, and the Virgin as an iconographical reminder not only of the passion, but also of Mary's role in enabling the redemption of humankind. In this context, the rose, bearing both blossom and thorn, appropriately reflects the paradox of salvation.

[56] *Miracles*, ed. by Koenig, III, 128.

[57] Schiller, *Iconography*, I, 51.

Telling the Same Tale? Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the First *Vie des Pères*

Adrian P. Tudor

Résumé

À première vue ces deux textes présentent beaucoup de similarités: ils datent tous deux du premier tiers du treizième siècle; on les retrouve souvent dans les mêmes manuscrits; ils partagent de nombreux thèmes et motifs; et ils sont des recueils de récits brefs didactiques. Toutefois un même récit composé soit par Gautier de Coinci soit par l'auteur anonyme de la *Vie des Pères* révèle de subtiles différences qui soulignent les attitudes disparates des deux auteurs, surtout envers la vie laïque. Notre étude comparative de ces récits suggèrera qu'au fond de ces différences textuelles, parfois fondamentales, se cachent les demandes de deux publics initiaux considérablement différents.

It might be said that medieval authors were not 'shackled by the chains of originality' (to borrow an expression used by Michael Camille about medieval artists).[1] Even if Gautier de Coinci was startlingly original in certain aspects

[1] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 160. Tony Hunt makes a similar point with regard to Gautier's use of existing models and sources: 'The appropriation of already existing texts and music [. . .] is not negatively conceived but achieves superior sense through re-contextualisation.' Tony Hunt, '"Monachus curialis": Gautier de Coinci and *courtoisie*', in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture: Selected Papers from the Tenth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society. Universität Tübingen 28 Juli–2 August 2001*, ed. by Christoph Huber and Henrike Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto, 2002), pp. 121–36 (p. 124).

of his work — in particular stylistic and linguistic elements, which themselves led to rich pictorial and illustrative traditions — the requirement for texts to be rooted in authority and *auctoritas* offered by precursors applied to him also. So, it is hardly surprising to find many similarities in subject matter with other Latin and vernacular texts. In many ways the most striking contemporary analogues are provided by the anonymous first *Vie des Pères*.[2] It may seem odd to find Virgin miracles in a text entitled 'La Vie des Pères', but not all of the narratives of this text are connected to patristic legend. In this chapter I will consider two tales appearing in both texts and suggest that our two authors, almost certainly with no knowledge of the other, exploited a number of common sources in different ways to fit their own particular needs.

It is important to establish why Gautier's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*) and the first *Vie des Pères* can be compared so closely. This is not difficult. First of all the extraordinary talent of the two authors is beyond question. Both authors are far more than translators, even in the medieval sense. It is now standard to acknowledge Gautier's superb lyricism, narrative technique, and storytelling skills. As for the author of the first *Vie des Pères*, the very highest praise is heaped upon his text by Michel Zink:

> L'auteur, en encadrant [les contes] entre un prologue et un épilogue, en les liant l'un à l'autre par un commentaire, marque assez l'unité qu'il entend donner à son ouvrage. Voici une œuvre [. . .] dont la profondeur, la densité, l'audace parfois, l'habileté stylistique, la force poétique sont proprement stupéfiantes et devraient valoir à son auteur une place au voisinage de celle qu'occupent pour nous celui de la *Chanson de Roland* ou Chrétien de Troyes.[3]

Tony Hunt and Claudio Galderisi are equally fulsome in their praise: the former notes that 'no student of medieval literature can afford to ignore [these tales]'; in

[2] The Old French *Vie des Pères* is not a translation of the *Vitae Patrum*; rather it is a collection of pious tales and miracles, only some of which are taken from patristic sources. The original series — the first *Vie des Pères* — dates from the around the 1220s and was twice added to during the course of the thirteenth century. Manuscript evidence suggests that both the primitive text and the 'supercomposition' enjoyed a good deal of popularity throughout the Middle Ages. The only edition is by Félix Lecoy, *La Vie des Pères*, 3 vols (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1993–99). For a discussion of the text's authorship, see Adrian Tudor, 'Past and Present: The Voice of an Anonymous Medieval Author', *Mediaevalia*, 24 (2003), 19–44. For commentaries to the forty-one tales of the first *Vie*, see Adrian Tudor, *Tales of Vice and Virtue: The First Old French 'Vie des Pères'*, Faux Titre, 253 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005). Edouard Schwan's article, 'La Vie des Anciens Pères', *Romania*, 13 (1884), 233–63, is still very useful.

[3] Michel Zink, Preface to Tudor, *Tales of Vice and Virtue*, pp. 11–13 (p. 11).

Galderisi's eyes the tales 'ne sont pas sans rivaliser avec quelques-uns parmi les plus beaux passages [de la *Divine Comédie*]'.[4] The author of the first *Vie des Pères* and Gautier de Coinci can stand shoulder-to-shoulder with authors of the very highest calibre. But of course, this is not enough. Other points of comparison are easy to find:

- Both are long, collective texts (the first *Vie des Pères* numbers over twenty thousand lines, its forty-one tales being enclosed by individual prologues and epilogues; the entire collective text comprises over thirty thousand lines and seventy-four tales).
- The first *Vie des Pères* is continued twice (the first time relatively seamlessly) and these continuations are predominantly Virgin miracle tales.
- Both texts are contained in numerous manuscripts (in the case of the *Vie des Pères*, over fifty) which is usually a strong indication of medieval popularity.
- Both texts date from the first third of the thirteenth century.
- Both are inspired by a desire to promulgate Christian teaching. The first *Vie des Pères* aims specifically to promote confession, the *MND* the Cult of the Virgin.
- Both are composed largely in octosyllabic rhyming couplets and share other stylistic features (e.g. a liking for *annominatio*).
- Both operate on at least three levels of word-play: narrative, lyrical, and satirical.
- Both are examples of the deliberate appropriation of secular lay culture.
- The first *Vie des Pères* ends with a prayer to the Virgin in alexandrines.
- Both use abundant proverbs and saws.
- Both offer *queues* / epilogues.
- Both speak out (in differing measures) against the Jews, heretics, and contemporary clerical abuses.
- There are frequent reminders of the Last Things in both.
- The dramatis personae is extremely varied in both.
- And the most obvious link: a good number of manuscripts contain material from both texts.

[4] Hunt, '"Monachus curialis"', p. 136; Claudio Galderisi, *Diegesis: Études sur la poétique des motifs narratifs au Moyen Age (de la 'Vie des Pères' aux lettres modernes)*, Cultures et Société Médiévales (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), cover note.

Indeed, comparing Arlette Ducrot-Granderye's list of Gautier manuscripts (DG) with Félix Lecoy's list of *Vie des Pères* manuscripts, one is struck by the many crossovers. Since access to Lecoy's edition of the *Vie des Pères* is not always easy, and Ducrot-Granderye's research has been in the public domain for some seven decades, it seems useful to list the *Vie des Pères* manuscripts and then note which ones also contain Gautier's *MND*.

Table 1. Manuscripts of the *Vie de Pères*

A Paris, BNF, fr. 1546
B Paris, BNF, fr. 1039
C Paris, BNF, fr. 23111
D Paris, B. Ars., 3527
E Paris, BNF, fr. 1544
F Paris, BNF, fr. 25440
G Paris, BNF, fr. 20040
H Paris, BNF, fr. 25438
I Paris, BNF, fr. 1545
K Paris, BNF, fr. 1547
L Paris, BNF, fr. 35439
M Paris, BNF, fr. 24300
N Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816
P Paris, BNF, fr. 12471
Q Paris, B. Ars., 3518
R Paris, B. Ars., 5216
S Paris, B. Ars., 3641
T Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828 (Familienbesitz von Steiger, ehem. ms. Von Steiger-von May)
U Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 150
V Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 154
a Paris, BNF, fr. 24758
b Paris, BNF, fr. 24759
d Paris, B. Ars., 5204
e Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586
f Paris, BNF, fr. 24301
g Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6835
h Montpellier, BIU, Section Médecine, H 347
i Brussels, BR, 9229–30
k Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24 (olim Y. 389)
l Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521

m Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 178
q Paris, BNF, fr. 2187
r Paris, BNF, fr. 12604
s Paris, BNF, fr. 15110
t Paris, BNF, fr. 17230
u Paris, BNF, fr. 2094
v London, BL, Add. 32678
x Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106 (olim Phillipps 3643)
y Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475

To these can be added:
n Paris, BNF, fr. 818 (eight tales)
aa Paris, BNF, fr. 1613 (two tales)
p Paris, BNF, fr. 1807 (seven tales)
z Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (nine tales and two fragments)
c Paris, BNF, fr. 15212 (six tales and one fragment)
ab Besançon, BM, 551 (two tales)
Arras, BM, 657 (not 617 as listed by Lecoy, one tale)
Tours, BM, 948 (one tale)
Paris, BNF, lat. 10769 (one tale)[5]
Bologna, Biblioteca Università, 261 (fourteen tales, in Italian)

Those manuscripts containing both some or all tales from the *Vie des Pères* and part or all of Gautier's *MND* are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Manuscripts containing tales from both the *Vie des Pères* and the *MND*
Ducrot-Granderye Group I: Manuscrits Complets

Gautier de Coinci	Vie des Pères
D	*Q* B. Ars. 3518
K	aa BNF fr. 1613 (two tales)
T	ab Besançon 551 (two tales)
a	*i* BR 9229–30
d	*k* KB 71. A. 24 (Y. 389)
g	*d* B. Ars. 5204
r	*e* Paris, Sainte-Geneviève, 586

[5] For the fragments see Lecoy, *La Vie des Pères*, p. xix.

Ducrot-Granderye Group II: Manuscrits Fragmentaires

Gautier de Coinci	**Vie des Pères**
b	*y* Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475
e	*N* Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816
f	*D* B. Ars. 3527
l	n BNF fr. 818 (eight tales)
m	*A* BNF fr. 1546
n	p BNF, fr. 1807 (seven tales)
s	Tours 948 (one tale, not two as stated by Ducrot-Granderye; cf. Lecoy's edition of the *Vie des Pères*, p. xix)
t	*C* BNF fr. 23111
x	*s* BNF fr. 15110

Ducrot-Granderye Group III: Manuscrits ne renfermant que quelques miracles de Gautier de Coinci

Gautier de Coinci	**Vie des Pères**
13	*T* Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828
22-bis	z BNF fr. 12483 (nine tales, two fragments)
23	c BNF fr. 15212 (six tales, one fragment)
26	*M* BNF fr. 24300

This comparison demonstrates without a doubt that throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the two texts were considered at the very least complementary.

The major differences between the two texts should also be noted:

- Anonymous authorship of the first *Vie des Pères*.
- The Cistercian sympathies of the first *Vie des Pères*.
- Most first *Vie des Pères* tales are not Marian.
- The first *Vie des Pères* is less obviously 'courtly' (lack of lyrical nature / less courtly phraseology / fewer allusions to courtliness) and more openly sympathetic to lay members of all social classes.[6]

[6] This is not to say that the *Vie des Pères* was not courtly at all — far from it, indeed. With regard to Gautier's *MND*, Hunt ("'Monachus curialis'", p. 132) argues for 'the idea of a courtly literary background appropriated as the landscape setting for a new religious adventure', and these words could just as easily be applied to the *Vie des Pères*. But the *Vie des Pères* does lack some of the overt, close integration of the religious and the courtly which Gautier was so keen to establish. As Hunt has pointed out, 'the interpenetration of narrative and song, the secular and the spiritual,

- The first *Vie des Pères* tales are preceded by long introductions.
- The first *Vie des Pères* has a looser structure.

The second and third *Vie des Pères* — continuations dating from some fifty years after the original text — are of little concern to us here. True, they are much more Marian in nature than the first *Vie des Pères*, but then that's the whole point: they were composed late enough for the Cult of the Virgin in general, and Gautier's tales and other vernacular miracle texts in particular, to have had direct influence on their form and content. Gautier and the anonymous author of the first *Vie des Pères* are unlikely to have known each other's texts. This leads us to wonder whether, when the two authors choose to recount the same story, are they in fact telling the same tale? Put more simply: what similarities and differences are there in their versions of the same story, and how can these be explained?

At least six tales from the first *Vie des Pères* appear at first glance to have direct parallels in Gautier's *MND*. These are:

- JUITEL (vv. 355–722; I Mir 12, *De l'enfant a un gïu qui se crestïena*)
- FOU (vv. 4285–5361; I Mir 37, *D'un escommenié*)
- IMPÉRATRICE (vv. 5668–6439; II Mir 9, *De l'empeeris qui garda sa chasteé contre mout de temptations*)
- IMAGE DE PIERRE (vv. 8249–8912; I Mir 21, *De l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage*)
- ABBESSE GROSSE (vv. 9268–9763; I Mir 20, *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse*)
- INCESTE (vv. 16952–17475; I Mir 18, *De une noble fame de Rome*)

At least another four tales seem to share a common source for certain key elements:

- MISERERE (vv. 2743–3116; I Mir 14, *De un provoir qui toz jors chanoit* Salve*, la messe de Nostre Dame*)
- SACRISTINE (vv. 6842–7403; I Mir 26, *D'une nonain qui vaut pechier, mais Nostre Dame l'en delivra* / I Mir 43, *De la nonain*)
- AVE MARIA (vv. 7404–7629; I Mir 15, *Dou clerc mort en cui boche on trova la flor* / I Mir 23, *D'un moigne en cui bouche on trouva cinc roses nouveles*)
- IVRESSE (vv. 15136–541; I Mir 16, *De un moigne que Nostre Dame delivra dou Dyable*)

is finely adjusted so that Gautier's listeners are drawn into a world presided over by Our Lady, a world which transcends, whilst at the same time incorporating the celebration of earthly love in the everyday world of lay aristocracy' (ibid., p. 126).

I intend here to offer commentaries on two tales: the tale of the noble woman of Rome who becomes pregnant by her son, and that of the pregnant abbess. The first will illustrate that the two texts operate very much in the same tradition and are perfectly capable of doing so in like manner; the second will demonstrate how the same story can be adapted and retold to suit different ends. The other four direct parallels have been discarded for good reason: the tale of the Jewish boy thrown in an oven by his father, though quite remarkable, has been quite widely studied;[7] the tales of the excommunicated knight and of the boy who slips a ring onto the statue's finger have likewise been the subjects of detailed scholarly studies.[8] As for the tale of the empress of Rome, there are too many significant differences for us to be at all certain that the two versions share a common source at all.[9]

The First Vie des Pères *and Gautier de Coinci's* MND

As is already clear, these two texts are intimately related. There are still other ways in which the two texts overlap, not least in their dramatis personae: both have protagonists who are male and female, religious and lay, adults and children, and from every social level. Indeed, lay characters are central to both authors: Jean-Louis Benoît had noted that of Frédéric Koenig's fifty-eight miracles, twenty-six definitely have lay characters as heroes, with twenty-six having religious as the hero. A rough count of the forty-one tales we are certain comprise the first *Vie des Pères* suggests that a higher proportion, some twenty-five, have lay characters as the hero, with sixteen religious heroes. This is not an exact science and, as we shall

[7] See for example Eugen Wolter, *Der Judenknabe*, Bibliotheca Normanica, 2 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1879); Gilbert Dahan, 'Les juifs dans les Miracles de Gautier de Coincy, I', *Archives Juives*, 3 (1980), 179–200 (*Juitel*, pp. 180–85); and Adrian Tudor, 'La légende de l'enfant juif: peinture des personnages, mouvance d'épithètes', in *Les Lieux Interdits: Transgression and French Literature*, ed. by W. L. Duffy and A. P. Tudor (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1998), pp. 31–62.

[8] For example: Jacques Chaurand, *Fou, Dixième conte de la Vie des Pères* (Geneva: Droz, 1971); P. F. Baum, 'The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue', *PMLA*, 34 (1919), 523–79; and Axel Wallensköld, *Le Conte de la femme chaste convoitée par son beau-frère: Étude de littérature comparée*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, 34.1 (Helsingfors: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1907).

[9] François-Jérôme Beaussart is the most recent scholar to highlight the fundamental differences between the version in the *Vie des Pères* and other medieval versions in 'Héroïsme ou sainteté: Les versions religieuses et profanes de l'histoire de Florence de Rome', *PRIS-MA*, 16 (2000), 3–30.

see, it is not always clear who exactly is the hero of a particular tale. It is nonetheless interesting to note both the crossover here and also the incongruity: a text entitled *La Vie des Pères* would surely be expected to be about precisely that, namely, the Desert Fathers. In fact the title of the text is misleading: although there are many links with patristic literature, the text is rooted in contemporary society and is written for a lay audience which will see itself reflected in the heroes of the stories.

The first *Vie des Pères* and Gautier's *MND* would appear to share at least some common sources, and the way in which the two authors use these sources tends to be quite similar. Koenig's comment regarding Gautier could just as easily be applied to the author of the first *Vie des Pères*:

> Il ne s'est pas borné à traduire servilement les récits qu'il a trouvés dans ses modèles: non seulement il a su rehausser l'intérêt de ces récits par l'emploi d'images et de traits plus vifs, mais il y a introduit de longues digressions morales et des observations sur les mœurs de son temps. D'ailleurs, même pour la partie narrative, il ne s'en est pas toujours tenu aux données des ses modèles, mais il les a complétées et élargies en recourant à d'autres sources.[10]

What is especially interesting is that the texts are practically contemporaneous: unlike Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale* or the author of the second and third *Vie des Pères*, Gautier de Coinci and the author of the first *Vie des Pères* would almost certainly not have known each other's work. There is, I think, little question of a direct intertextual link from one author to another — the dates alone would seem to exclude this possibility — but every chance that their chosen stories were plucked from similar sources. (Indeed, as we will see, there are too many similarities in small details for tales such as *Inceste* and *De une noble fame de Rome* for them to have emanated from different sources.) Since we have on the one hand an author with clear Cistercian sympathies, reacting to Lateran IV and whose intention is to urge his lay audience to confess, and on the other a Benedictine monk writing in Soissons — at the epicentre of the burgeoning Marian cult — for an aristocratic audience, and initially for one consisting at least in part of fellow religious, urging them to redouble their devotion to the Virgin, it should not surprise us to find many subtle differences — and some not so subtle — in their redactions of what is, to all accounts, the same story.

Perhaps the closest tie between Gautier's *MND* and the first *Vie des Pères* is the intention of each author. Of course, both are clearly improving texts, but the

[10] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70). Henceforth 'Koenig'.

relationship is much closer than that. Olivier Collet's words concerning Gautier's work apply to both texts:

> Connaissant parfaitement la littérature profane contemporaine de langue française et son succès, sa séduction, Gautier l'imite pour rivaliser avec elle et lutter contre elle, au nom d'une inspiration édifiante, et avec des armes qu'il lui emprunte.[11]

The inspiration behind both works is almost identical on this level and this has been noted by a number of scholars. As Zink might put it, both are conversion poems.[12] Two brief passages are emblematic of the authors' desire to divert their audiences away from the profane and towards the pious:

> Longues fables et sermons cors
> Demandent mais aval ces cors.
> Larges mençoignes, bordes amples
> Aimment mais mielz que les essamples
> Ne les bons dis de l'Escriture. II Pr 1, vv. 149–53

> Une gent sont ki vont contant
> de cort a autre et vont trovant
> chansonetes, moz et flabiaz
> por gaaignier les biaz morsiaz.
> Mais je pris petit lor affaire. *Fornication imitée*, vv. 33–37

Jean Larmat, following Koenig in asserting that Gautier's principal audience was aristocratic, highlights the proselytizing nature of the *MND*:

> Le prieur de Vic-sur-Aisne destinait son oeuvre aux nobles plus qu'aux vilains, mais sa religion est la religion populaire, comme est volontiers son langage [. . .] Dans un style direct, souvent rude et familier, il y assume le devoir fondamental du prédicateur: instruire sur la foi en exaltant la vertu e en confondant le vice.[13]

This too is no doubt true of both texts. However, other commentators point out the lyrical nature of the *MND* and Gautier's appropriation of pre-existing vernacular and profane traditions. William Calin, for example, has noted the similarity between Gautier's songs and the *grand chant courtois*: Gautier uses the technique of *contrafactum*, the 'conscious, willing imitation of a well-known,

[11] Olivier Collet, *Glossaire et index critiques des œuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 227 (Geneva: Droz, 2000), p. xxii.

[12] Michel Zink, *Poésie et conversion au Moyen Âge*, Perspectives Littéraires (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003).

[13] Jean Larmat, 'La religion populaire chez Gautier de Coinci', *Marche Romane*, 30 (1980), 167–75 (p. 167).

fashionable genre, in this case the courtly lyric, but with the purpose of transforming the secular genre into a sacred one'.[14] Ardis Butterfield has equally indicated how Gautier appropriates secular models to serve his purpose, noting how 'his work conforms as much as it rejects courtly secular values [. . .]. His tactic is the old ecclesiastical trick of using the very forms of lewd entertainment as the material for his own spiritual performance'.[15] Koenig makes a similar point:

> Bien qu'à maintes reprises Gautier exprime son mépris de la littérature profane, on est en droit de douter un peu de sa sincérité à cet égard; car il montre nettement qu'il connaissait trop bien cette littérature pour n'en avoir pas fait ses délices.[16]

In effect, this is exactly what the first *Vie des Pères* does also.

Both the *MND* and the first *Vie des Pères* are deeply intertextual. The first *Vie* interweaves biblical, patristic, and homiletic quotations and allusions with themes, motifs, and scenarios borrowed from secular texts. Gautier's text 'stakes out a claim against the secular tradition, setting itself in antithesis to or proclaiming its superiority over the secular while, of course, using it, indeed grounding itself in it'.[17] This is hardly uncommon in medieval works; but it is vital to remind ourselves just to what extent our authors use and adapt materials — content and style — available to them. In both the first *Vie des Pères* and Gautier's *MND*, the author's voice acts as a bridge between the secular and profane on the one hand, and the sacred, divine, and pious on the other. The author's voice can also be highly critical of what is witnessed here on Earth: in both texts clerical abuses are roundly condemned. To a degree, both Gautier and the author of the first *Vie des Pères* share the characteristic trait of Marian miracle tales as set out by David A. Flory:

> Far from being a self-indulgent sentimentalism, [Marian miracle tales] become a subtle tool for calling authoritative structures into question, and their authors emerge not as orthodox conformists, but as sensitive thinkers who were insisting while remaining essentially within the bounds of dogmatic properties on precisely those qualities of intercessional grace that would increasingly be incorporated by the Church in subsequent centuries.[18]

[14] William Calin, 'On the Nature of Christian Poetry: From the Courtly Lyric to the Sacred and the Functioning of *Contrafactum* in Gautier de Coinci', in *Studia in Honorem Prof. Martín de Riquier*, 4 vols (Barcelona: Quadrens Crema, 1988), III, 385–94 (p. 387).

[15] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 105.

[16] Koenig, I, p. xxxiii.

[17] Calin, 'On the Nature of Christian Poetry', p. 392.

[18] David A. Flory, 'The Social Uses of Religious Literature: Challenging Authority in the Thirteenth-Century Marian Miracle Tale', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 13 (1996), 61–69 (p. 67).

This is not to say that there are no differences between the two texts. There is no overt indication that music played any part in the composition and performance of the *Vie des Pères*, nor is the lyricism in Gautier's text reflected to such a degree in the other work.[19] Together, these two factors might have changed radically the experience of performance and reception. Flory postulates that Gautier's texts 'became sermons illustrated with music or at least intensified by lyricism, and to that extent became liturgical in nature and thus return to their roots, since liturgy clearly preceded the tales'.[20] The tales of the first *Vie des Pères*, on the other hand, lend themselves more to a lively, if not dramatic, delivery. The long homiletic prologues and epilogues which enclose the stories render the narrative space one for the storyteller, the social commentator, and only at times the preacher.[21]

Another notable difference is what exactly the heroes of the narratives have to do to gain salvation. Gautier's protagonists tend to abandon themselves to the Virgin, placing in her hands their eventual salvation. As Benoît points out, they are at her mercy: 'Ce qui est mis à l'épreuve, surtout dans les malheurs qui les acablent, c'est leur confiance humble et fidèle [. . .]. Peu importent les œuvres.'[22] On the one hand, although it is clear that at some stage the heroes of the first *Vie des Pères* must do likewise, the process is subtly different. In the first *Vie des Pères*, characters tend to undergo a voluntary hardship during which they receive divine reward.

The attitudes of the two authors regarding various sections of society also seem to differ. Koenig, for example, remarks that Gautier seems to have had little time for villeins:

> Gautier concédait aux vilains une âme qui pouvait être sauvée pourvu qu'ils fissent preuve d'actes de dévotion envers la Vierge, mais il montre avec évidence qu'il connaissait mal les

[19] Jacques Monfrin spoke of pious tales — as opposed to miracles — as 'une amplification et souvent une dramatisation de l'*exemplum*'; cf. 'L'*exemplum* médiéval: Du latin aux langues vulgaires', in *Les Exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives*, ed. by Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Nouvelle Bibliothèque de Moyen Age, 47 (Paris: Champion, 1998), pp. 243–65 (p. 264).

[20] Flory, 'Social Uses of Religious Literature', p. 65.

[21] See my 'Preaching, Storytelling and the Performance of Short Pious Narratives', in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. by E. Birge Vitz, N. Freeman Regalado, and M. Lawrence (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2005), pp. 141–53.

[22] Jean-Louis Benoît, 'La sainteté dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *Essais sur la perfection: Le héros et le saint*, vol. II (Poitiers: PRIS-MA, 2000), pp. 31–46 (p. 43).

> gens du peuple, ne comprenait rien à leur manière de vivre, et avait peu de véritable sympathie pour eux.[23]

The first *Vie des Pères* is quite different. Throughout its twenty thousand lines we encounter sympathetic peasants leading pious, hard lives, and the author certainly appears to have close knowledge of how they live. It would be a great surprise to find amongst Gautier's miracles a tale such as *Merlot*, a sanitized pendant to the fabliaux of *Le vilain asnier* and of *Les quatres sohais saint Martin*: this is a secular tale with a religious flavour in which the hardships and aspirations of two peasant families are majestically depicted by the author.[24] Then, there is a marked difference in the authors' views of lay life. François-Jérôme Beaussart suggests that Gautier's original project — to show the way to salvation to a predominantly lay audience — is contradicted by what he actually does:

> Loin d'accorder une valeur quelconque à la vie séculière, même placée sous la protection de la Vierge Marie, Gautier de Coinci porte sur celle-ci un jugement pour le moins négatif et survalorise la vie monacale au moment même où cette dernière, tout au moins dans sa conception traditionnelle, se voit forcée de composer avec le siècle.[25]

In the first *Vie des Pères*, pious, secular life, in the world, is shown to be as valuable as — if not greater in value than — a cloistered life. This almost revolutionary message can partly be explained by the authorship and audience of the text: our author is not yet, it would seem, a religious, although at the end of his text he does appear to set out his intention to become a Cistercian monk. His audience was almost certainly the new, urban-dwelling middle classes, male and female, young and old. Gautier's status — as a high-ranking religious — gives him another perspective and experience, and his aristocratic audience also moves in a seemingly different world from that of the audience of the first *Vie des Pères*. This, I believe, must play a vital role in our interpretation of the two texts.

[23] Koenig, I, p. xxvii. Larmat, for his part, seems to consider Gautier very much one of the people: '[Gautier] resta [...] près du peuple dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* [...] non seulement parce qu'il prend à son compte les accusations populaires contre les prélats, mais parce qu'il représente Dieu, la Vierge, les saints et les diables conformément à l'imagerie populaire et voue un culte naïf à la "douce dame glorieuse."' See Larmat, 'La religion populaire', p. 174.

[24] *Merlot* is in volume II of Lecoy's edition, vv. 18238–855; for *Les quatres sohais saint Martin*, see Willem Noomen and Nico Van den Boogaard, *Nouveau Recueil Complet des Fabliaux*, 10 vols (Assen: Van Gorcum 1983–98), IV/31. Henceforth *NRCF*, followed by the volume and fabliau number, *Le vilain asnier* is *NRCF*, VIII/92.

[25] François-Jérôme Beaussart, 'Sémiotique du corps dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 12 (1986), 43–47 (p. 44).

Inceste / De une noble fame de Rome

Here we have an example of the same story — Frederic Tubach's exempla #2735, 3650; Stith Thompson C773.1[26] — being told in slightly different ways, but where ultimately the differences are minor. Both versions teach us to praise the Virgin, and both offer the story as evidence that true confession really is to the sinner's advantage. The tales are of unequal length — Gautier's version numbers some 730 lines, that of the *Vie des Pères* 522 — and *Inceste* also has a more substantial prologue (seventy lines) and epilogue (forty lines), meaning that the narrative proper comprises only about four hundred lines. Gautier's *queue* consists of forty lines and there is no introduction. As a consequence, his narrative of around seven hundred lines is in real terms substantially longer than the *Vie des Pères* version. This is most noticeable in some of the monologues, in the act of confession, and in the description of the devil's work at court.

Inceste illustrates reward for loyalty to the Virgin. These notions sit less uncomfortably here than in other first *Vie des Pères* Virgin miracles since there is, throughout the tale, a constant and conscious thread serving as a reminder of the reciprocity of Marian devotion. Justification for the miracle has solid foundations in the prior service of the *borjoise*. This comprises not simply the odd mention of her love of the Virgin but also details of that love and a clearly delineated progression in her devotion: the level of her piety is inversely proportional to the seriousness of her sin. The prologue prepares the ground rather neatly, stressing that each individual will reap the reward he deserves, including damnation if God's will is not followed. Using a hunt image it preaches that, if we chase after worldly goods, we also chase after hell (vv. 16958–69). Nothing can be hidden from God at the time of judgement, so by pursuing worldly wealth we also pursue hell:

> Damledeus qui bien le connoit,
> qui lor granz iniquitez voit,
> selonc lor fet les jugera,
> quant les angeles les huchera
> au jor dolent, au jor plein d'ire.
> Ilueques lor convendra dire
> lor mesfez et, espoir, sanz conte,
> el puis d'enfer et en la honte
> seront danpné par jugement. *Inceste*, vv. 16974–82

[26] Frédéric Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1981); Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols (Copenhagen: Rosenkild and Bagger, 1956).

Thus the bipartite nature of salvation is highlighted. This notion seems to attach itself more to the atmosphere of *contemptus mundi* of the Church Fathers than to what is, in effect, an extremely indulgent Virgin miracle:

> Au dire voir, or esgardez
> a qoi li mondes est donez. *Inceste*, vv. 16970–71

> Mout est hardiz qui pechier ose
> et de voir set q'a la parclose
> le convient par la mort venir
> et la voie d'enfer tenir
> por son delit, por son talent. *Inceste*, vv. 16988–92

> Si doient fuïr lor talent
> cil qui de bien fere sont lent,
> tant que Deus les preigne en sa cure
> si svront vie et mort seüre. *Inceste*, vv. 17000–03

The prologue begins and the epilogue ends with the same proverb, an indication that the author has a well-defined purpose not only in his choice of material but also in the enclosing devices housing his homiletic message:

> Bien est gardez cil qui Deus garde *Inceste*, v. 16952

> Bien est gardez cui ele garde. *Inceste*, v. 17476

The switch here is from God to the Virgin: at the end of the tale both author and audience can place the emphasis more firmly on the Mother of God as a merciful intercessor (judgement, of course, always representing a major theme in the narratives).

In Gautier's *De une noble fame de Rome*, the woman is very sad because she has no children. God eventually grants her wish and she gives birth to a son. Whereas in the *Vie des Pères* we are dealing with a normal boy — 'Por sa jonece riens ne sot / li enfes, quar d'entor .X. ans / n'est nus enfes sages ne granz' (vv. 17013–15) — Gautier's son already has another dimension: he is a gift from God. Then, Gautier's father loves his son to the detriment of his Christian duty — 'Ha, Diex! qu'il est de celz encore / Cui l'amors des enfans acore!' (I Mir 18, vv. 37–38) — and it is the realization of this sin which eventually leads him to leave the world. In the *Vie des Pères*, the father simply 'tendi mout a sauver s'ame' (v. 17041). He becomes a religious with no suggestion of prior wrongdoing, and he does so properly, that is, with his wife's permission (Gautier notes that 'mout s'esmaie de ceste oevre', v. 52, and 'Mout demora tristre la dame', v. 67). So, Gautier is already preparing the way for the subsequent carnal sin: the wife is sad and even lonely. There is no mention of this in the *Vie des Pères*: she simply remains a worthy

character who still sleeps alongside her son. The sin of incest happens quite abruptly (vv. 17067–74) and is the work of the devil ('Li deables [. . .] / la mist en une volonté / dont vilainnement la deçut', vv. 17067–70). For Gautier too, notwithstanding their unwise physical closeness, the devil is at the root of their sin ('Li uns a l'autre dognoia / Tant qu'anemis les faunoia', vv. 103–04; 'Le feu souffla tant li maufez [. . .] Q'engenra son fil en son frere', vv. 105–08). At this early stage Gautier also introduces the pope to the audience. Again, the *Vie des Pères* version will be seen to be quite abrupt, introducing the pope only when the narrative requires his intervention. These differences, however, only have importance on the level of the narrative. Gautier's story appears to be rather better constructed at this point, but the two stories are otherwise more-or-less identical.

In the *Vie des Pères* the couple pursue their incestuous affair for quite some time, both textually (vv. 17075–105) and in narrative terms. We learn that the mother is aware of her sin — she redoubles her devotion to the Virgin — and also, and essentially, enjoys having sex with her son. She only becomes pregnant once these two details have been made abundantly clear. Gautier, on the other hand, moves quickly to the pregnancy once he has told us of the affair (v. 108). The passage reads as though the child is conceived the first and only time the couple have sexual relations. For the author of the first *Vie des Pères*, the woman's acknowledgement and understanding of her sin is vital: he is composing tales with the purpose of promoting confession, and we can only confess what we know to be true. There is little mileage for him in having the devil solely at the root of the sin. Of course, it is the devil who initially corrupts this good woman, but sin itself is appealing and human nature is to give in:

> Tant s'i aüsa longuement
> qu'a ce fere del tot s'amort
> si conme li poissons qui mort
> en l'esche et, quant bone la sent,
> tant la vuet que tote la prent,
> et li ains, qui est desoz mis,
> l'acroche a soi tant qu'il est pris.
> Ensi la borjoise le fist,
> la s'amort ou ele se prist,
> car son fil ama par amors. *Inceste*, vv. 17075–84

Now, Gautier is equally concerned with the institution of confession, his *queue* offering a long and vivid eulogy of its merits. And yet the details of the woman's awareness of and attitude towards her sin would appear superfluous to him: he is preaching the same lesson as the author of the first *Vie des Pères*, but he will get there by another route. So, for Gautier it is enough that the mother has fallen into

the devil's trap and sinned with her son. The sin itself is not important: Gautier's greater purpose is to show the glory and compassion of the Virgin. But the stages of repentance, confession, and penance are well illustrated by the mother's confession to the pope, by the pope's confident and wise words, by the change in physical appearance of the post-confessional mother, and by the fifty-five line epilogue.

Gautier skims over the murder of the child in order to tell us that the mother is still devoted to the Virgin and that the devil is delighted with her sin but displeased that it has not become public knowledge (vv. 143–51). In *Inceste*, on the other hand, the pregnancy, birth, and murder of the child again occupy our attention, again highlighting the enormity of the mother's sins and revealing her to be quite aware of what she is doing (vv. 17106–26). It is at this point that the devil enters Gautier's narrative in person, taking on human form and dazzling all — including the emperor — with his wisdom and knowledge. He becomes the emperor's master and is feared through his ability to root out criminals. Eventually he tells the emperor of the woman's sins. The assembled court refuse to believe him, citing her many good works. To them she is a holy woman, but the devil is so convincing that they have her brought before them. She weeps, prays, and asks for time to prepare her defence. The devil protests and demands that her house be searched, but has overstepped the mark: the emperor becomes angry.

> — Taisez vos, maistre, taisez! cui!
> Volés me vos tenir si cort
> Que soiez sires de ma cort?
> Tot vo conseil ne querrai mie.
> La dame est mout de bone vie,
> De grans gens et de grant affaire. I Mir 18, vv. 350–55

The mother is granted her wish and must return the following day. If found guilty she will be burned alive. She prays to the Virgin and then, in a long passage, visits and eventually confesses to the pope (vv. 377–504). The pope proves most understanding: he absolves her and assures her that the Virgin will come to her aid. Indeed, he calls her 'bele suer' (v. 496) and does not seem overly shocked by her revelation. This is a kind and wise pope whose words occupy more time and space than the woman's crimes. Gautier has now expertly prepared the way for the miracle. He has shown the pope and the emperor in the very best light and has given the audience confidence that the woman — who, let us not forget, has been wickedly deceived by the devil — will not suffer unjust punishment.

On the day of the trial the emperor has the fire lit early and a great crowd weep for the mother. But the Virgin gives the mother courage and makes her physically radiant. The devil is unable to recognize this newly transfigured woman and cows

away in fear, since he sees the Virgin holding her hand. He magically disappears and the crowd is overjoyed:

> Bien seurent tuit, c'en est la some,
> Qu'en forme d'ome c'estoit mis
> Li dyables, li anemis,
> Pour faire ardoir la sainte fame. I Mir 18, vv. 662–65

The Virgin is honoured by the whole city of Rome and, by the intercession of the Mother of God, the mother is eventually welcomed into Paradise. The epilogue (vv. 685–730) praises the virtues of confession: true confession can cleanse even the foulest sin and has the ability to blind the devil.

In the *Vie des Pères* version we are made aware of the mother's inner turmoil and her physical delight in the sex she enjoys with her son. She lives in this way for ten years, without confessing, but otherwise doing such good deeds that the devil is worried she will be saved. So he takes human form and becomes 'fisiciens, devins, legistre' (v. 17152). His fame spreads so widely that the pope hears of him and the emperor calls him to court: as in Gautier's tale, the emperor is extremely impressed and the devil's influence increases. But we are also told that the pope too holds him in high esteem. Gautier is careful in his description of how the devil gains the confidence of the court, but the devil's 'good works' are not stressed in the *Vie des Pères*. Rather, his political guile — committing two murders, but telling the emperor that he knows of a much worse crime — is at the forefront. At court, the devil tells of the incest and infanticide, stories that the emperor does not believe. The woman is then brought before the court. She prays to the Virgin for succour, admits her sins, and asks immediately to be put to death since she trusts in the Virgin to save her soul. Her prayer (vv. 17266–96) is followed by her confession to the pope (vv. 17308–19). In the broad context of the *Vie des Pères*, one would perhaps have expected to find the emphasis placed on the confession rather than the prayer to the Virgin, but this is not the case. Also, unlike in Gautier's version, we do not hear the pope's words to her (vv. 17320–43). However, we are told that for penance she is told to go through with the trial and place her trust in God and the Virgin, and she is absolved (v. 17342).

She is now brought before the devil to go through with her judgement. But the devil is unable to recognize the woman, her confession having blinded him. The assembled company do recognize her, though, and they take the devil for a madman. He manages to escape and it is then that they understand his true identity: all accept that they have been taken in by him. The woman is released and returns home, establishes a church and spends the rest of her life in the Virgin's service. When she dies she is welcomed into heaven; her son also makes up for his wicked ways.

The epilogue puts forward the notion that money is worthless whereas a loyal friend is everything. There is more insistence upon the incompatibility of worldliness and salvation (e.g. vv. 17448–49) but also praise for the Virgin and a call for the audience to revere her as an effective intercessor. In both cases the woman's motivation may appear uncertain — she confesses not because she hates her sins but because she is afraid — but her devotion to the Virgin is rewarded with a miracle. Her judgement is originally of an earthly nature, but there is *mouvance* towards a concentration on her heavenly judgement. It is true that the *Vie des Pères* tale seems confused in its general teaching if the complexities of motivation and the enjoyment of sin are taken into account. However, *Inceste* remains a neat example of the value of pious faith in the Virgin as an effective intercessor and instrument of spiritual justice. Gautier's tale does the same in, perhaps, a more accomplished way.

Overall, Gautier and the author of the first *Vie des Pères* are telling the same tale, to the same end. These two tales provide a useful example of how changes in detail can refocus the attention of the audience, but do not necessarily imply divergent authorial intentions. However, this is not always the case, as we shall now see.

Abbesse grosse / De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse

The story of the abbess who falls pregnant combines many popular elements into its narrative: the Christian *merveilleux*, the pre-Christian supernatural, quest themes and scenes of justice, revenge and fidelity. Although this should provide an ideal platform for the author to convey his serious, didactic message, the *Vie des Pères* narrative is actually rather ambiguous and its moral less clear than that of Gautier's version (or indeed that of Adgar, Miracle XLIX).[27] The tales are quite comparable: Gautier's miracle is 406 lines in length, the *Vie des Pères* version 495 inclusive of the prologue (twenty-five lines) and the epilogue-cum-conclusion (forty-seven lines). Both versions of the story are Virgin miracles praising the virtue of reward for prior service. We shall see that the main differences regard human relationships (the bishop and the abbess / the abbess and the nuns) and the relationship of the abbess with the Virgin: the tone in Gautier's miracle is one of love, in the *Vie des Pères* more one of duty.[28]

[27] Adgar, *Le Gracial*, ed. by Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1982).

[28] Although composed much later than either the *Vie des Pères* or the *MND*, Jean de Condé's fabliau of *La nonete* (*NRCF*, X/117) provides us with a wonderful comic foil to the pious stories.

Gautier begins by telling of the abbess's virtue and of the rancour felt by the nuns in her charge. The general remarks of the prologue in the *Vie des Pères* version lead quickly into a narrative set in Egypt (v. 9295), where an abbess serves the Virgin loyally. Both texts note that she has undertaken this service for a long time and with a pure heart. This justifies the ensuing miracle, but already we must interpret the two tales differently: in Gautier's version, the abbess's sin is rewarded by the Virgin's love, whereas in the *Vie des Pères* it is rewarded by the Virgin's rancour and a miracle being granted almost grudgingly; it is as if the abbess's wrongdoing is tantamount to an act of treason against her heavenly mistress.

Things are obviously becoming distinct in the two redactions: just to what point are the two authors telling the same tale? At first glance there are many similarities. Indeed, the many small details shared by both versions strongly suggest a common source.[29] There are many examples: one is set 'jadis', the other 'en Egypte'; both abbesses fall asleep in front of a statue of the Virgin; the Virgin appears with two angels; the baby is delivered in the abbess's sleep; both feel their stomachs after the miracle; the child stays with hermit for seven years; the narrative structures mirror each other with prayers of supplication and joy appearing at the same point in the action and even stressing the same details; etc. Any narrative differences seem relatively minor until when the abbess calls upon the Virgin's help, at which point they become more obvious:

- In Gautier's version the abbess is actively disliked by the nuns: she is just too perfect (I Mir 20, vv. 8–10, 11–17). In the *Vie des Pères* she not only strictly follows the Rule but also instructs the nuns to do so. The criticism is less that she was disliked but rather that she could be too harsh (vv. 9304–07).
- Gautier's abbess's holy life angers the devil (vv. 18–22). In the *Vie des Pères*, the devil simply wants her soul as a sort of challenge (vv. 9309–11).

[29] Even differences of detail and emphasis do not necessarily imply different sources. Kjellman indicates that the two vernacular Anglo-Norman versions of the story share a common source; notes that Gautier's version shares the same source as Vincent de Beauvais and other Latin collections; and seems to imply that the *Vie des Pères* tale is based on a third version of the story. But it must be said that the similarity in so many small details between Gautier's redaction and that found in the first *Vie des Pères* suggests that, if two different sources were indeed being used, then these were very close indeed. There are in fact a number of inconsistencies in Kjellman's brief summary of the *Vie des Pères* version. See Hilding Kjellman, ed., *La Deuxième collection anglo-normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin* (Paris: Champion, 1922; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), pp. xli–ii.

- Gautier offers no details of the temptations of the flesh: he seems to avoid the issue (vv. 27–30). In the *Vie des Pères*, the seduction and the abbess's doubts are witnessed. We gain a real insight into how the devil works on even this most holy woman (vv. 9318–54).
- Upon noticing the abbess's pregnancy, Gautier's gleeful nuns call for her to be burned (vv. 41–42). In the *Vie des Pères*, she herself wants to be burned or hanged (vv. 9361–63).
- Gautier's nuns are delighted at the turn of events (vv. 48–49) whereas although the nuns in the *Vie des Pères* also take the news to the bishop, there is no direct mention of their delight: this is just suspected, between the lines (vv. 9400–05).[30]

The emphasis placed on the nuns' active dislike of the pious abbess certainly suggests that Gautier has had some experience of something similar, or that he knows his audience will relate to such a motif. It is extremely tempting to imagine that his version is intended for real nuns, with some ironic or even satirical details, but there is no hard evidence for this reading. What is sure is that the tale displays a real understanding of how communities work. Gautier's tale is very much about the behaviour of the nuns in the abbey, whereas the *Vie des Pères* tale merely hints at this: its emphasis is placed elsewhere, namely on the power of confession and the mercy of God and the Virgin. Another difference is the description of the abbess's carnal temptations, demonic seduction, and surrender to lust, absent from Gautier's story. This in fact has only a small effect on the narrative, but it does serve to show the audience that however holy the abbess in the *Vie des Pères* may appear, she suffers the same temptations as they. Indeed, this is a characteristic of a number of *Vie des Pères* tales: the author is something of a 'humanist', offering examples which are accessible to all. At this stage we certainly feel that we know the abbess in the *Vie des Pères* version better than in that of Gautier. It is at this point in the narratives where the reader begins to notice more major variations in the telling of what remains the same story (for the small details in common do not stop here).

The reader of Gautier's text now witnesses a quick step forward: we are not privy to the abbess's sorrowful prayers until the day of the bishop's visit (of which

[30] Both texts provide interesting examples of a point raised by Kathy Krause: men's sins are public, whereas women's sins require exposure. Cf. 'Virgin, Saint, and Sinners: Women in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', in *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 26–52.

she is still unaware). After 'le haut service Nostre Dame' she wishes she could give birth secretly and be spared shame (vv. 60–75). There is no suggestion that her tears here are tears of contrition — she just wants to avoid shame and punishment. At the same point in the *Vie des Pères* narrative there is a long lament: when the abbess learns she is pregnant she instantly realizes what has happened and sheds tears of contrition (vv. 9364–9487), even before she learns of the bishop's visit. Gautier's abbess's tearful prayer to the Virgin invokes her prior devotion but offers nothing concrete in return. In the *Vie des Pères*, the abbess promises to be the Virgin's *esclaive* (v. 9430), whilst also reminding her of her prior service (v. 9451). In Gautier's version, the Virgin makes it clear that it is not she but her son who forgives sin (and this notion is repeated at the end of the miracle, vv. 398–99). But Gautier shows that the Virgin is the one who performs the miracle. She responds to the prayer in very sweet and gentle terms:

> 'Or n'aies mie de peür,
> Fait Nostre Dame, bele amie.
> Je sui la mere Dieu, Marie,
> Qui mon doz fil sanz nul sejor
> Por pecheeurs pri nuit et jor.
> Tes chaudes larmes ai veües
> Et tes prïeres entendus.
> Por les services que m'as fais
> Li rois dou ciel toz tes mesfais
> Par ma prïere te pardone
> Et sa grace t'envoie et done.' I Mir 20, vv. 128–38

The Virgin in the *Vie des Pères* is very different. She is furious that the abbess has dishonoured her and threatens damnation at her next indiscretion (vv. 9478–83):

> 'Malvese, malvese,
> en grant honor et en grant ese
> t'ai tenue por ton servise,
> dont conme fole t'es hors mise.
> Trop vilainement t'es menee,
> Dont tu es au point amenee
> Que honte et reproche en avras
> Toz les jors mes que tu vivras,
> Se par pitié n'es delivree,
> Vilz qui estoies enivree,
> Come malvese, conme fole,
> Du pechié qui le monde afole,
> De la luxure dechaciee
> Qui hors de t'onor t'a chaciee.
> Mes a cest point t'aïderai

Et une chose te dirai
Que, se des ore en avant peches
Et a vilain pechié t'aleches,
Cest fet te renovelerai
Et a perte te chacerai.' *Abbesse grosse*, vv. 9464–83

These are not soft words of sweet affection but rather those of an outraged and offended — perhaps even spurned — woman. Gautier's Virgin does warn the abbess that she will be angry if she falls into sin again, but this in a speech beginning with the honorific 'bele amie' (v. 153), and again in quite gentle terms:

'Or te garde d'autre peril
Par mon conseil autre foïe,
Car trop m'aroies corecie
Et s'en seroit vers toi maris
Li haus espeus, li haus maris,
Ou tu piece a t'iez marïee.' I Mir 20, vv. 158–63

Gautier's Virgin reminds the abbess that she is married to Christ, and that she is not therefore a 'mal mariée'. She also warns her of the bishop's visit:

'De l'evesque ieres destravee
Et laidengie durement,
Et nequedent legierement
Trespasseras tot cest afaire,
Car consentir ne puis a faire
Anui ne vergoigne a nul fuer
Cialz qui me servent de bon cuer.' I Mir 20, vv. 172–78

The bishop here is not painted in kind terms. He is almost the enemy of both the Virgin and the abbess. He is certainly not presented as the arbiter of truth (a role he will indeed play — not here but at the end of the story by confirming the abbess's virtue). In the *Vie des Pères* the bishop so far is presented neutrally, if not positively: after all, the abbess is shown to be something of a protégée of his. Perhaps significantly, the bishop is not mentioned by the Virgin in this version.

There now follows a long passage where the two versions differ in many important details (Gautier, vv. 204–335). This passage relates the bishop's reaction, the tests to see whether the abbess is pregnant, and the revelation of the miracle. In Gautier we learn of the bishop's fury: he has been well informed by the nuns. Indeed, he arrives at the abbey 'toz eschaufez de li mal faire' (v. 210) and the nuns are evidently all out to get the abbess: 'L'une a l'autre eut bien en covent / Que l'abbeesse honiroit / Et del noalz toz jors diroit' (vv. 214–16). They have to hunt high and low to find the abbess who is eventually found in her chapel, praying before a statue of the Virgin. When brought before the bishop, the bishop is full

of rage: 'Mais l'evesques, qui toz boloit / De mautalant, d'ardeur et d'ire, / Assez honte li prent a dire' (vv. 244–46). The abbess is chased out of the chapter house — an act symbolic of her descent in the worldly pecking order — and is not allowed to say a word. The physical examination to test if she is pregnant is first undertaken by 'deus clers meürs' (v. 256), then by the bishop himself. Gautier emphasizes the humiliation of the process, humiliation borne gracefully by the abbess. The bishop does not believe the conclusions of the two clerks charged with the task when say that the nuns are lying: he thinks that they have been bribed. Blinded by his anger he continues to believe the nuns' tittle-tattle: although they are technically telling the truth, this shows him to be a bad judge of character. When the bishop comes to check the abbess for himself, we learn that he still does not do so delicately: 'Mout la laidenge et mout l'assaut' (v. 292). It is only when he finds the abbess to be pure that he becomes less disagreeable in our eyes: he tearfully begs forgiveness and this is instantly given, although the abbess does not yet reveal the miracle. In fact, the bishop is still full of anger, wanting now to punish the nuns and chase them from abbey. The abbess stops this by telling of the miracle: she does not want to see the nuns harmed (vv. 336–40). The bishop is full of remorse, but still sends the clerks to a hermitage. There is no explicit suggestion that this is to check the abbess's story: he already seems to have no doubts about the veracity of what the abbess has told him. The miracle is shown to be wondrous, and Gautier will return to the marvellous pity and power of the Virgin, but at this point in the narrative the bishop is also very firmly sharing centre stage.

The *Vie des Pères* version differs markedly, and these differences seem to place the emphasis on the character of the abbess rather than on the bishop. There is no search for the abbess since she come to the chapter house willingly. We are, however, told that the bishop now hates her (v. 9562), the implication possibly being that he has taken her sin personally:

> 'Com je suis de vos esmeüz
> et de vos oevres deceüz!
> A vostre vie m'acordoie
> por les biens que j'en vos cuidoie.' *Abbesse grosse*, vv. 9564–67

> 'Vostre guile sera seüe,
> fause ypocrite aconseüe.' *Abbesse grosse*, vv. 9576–77

The idea of the virginity check comes from abbess herself (vv. 9586–96) and the bishop wisely listens: his anger does not blind him to good sense (vv. 9596–97). She is checked by an archdeacon and six women who know about such things ('qui sorent privetez des fames', v. 9601). They are certainly more authoritative than the two clerks in Gautier's version, even — especially — if they hate

the abbess for her sin ('l'abaesse haoient / por le crime q'en cuidoient', vv. 9602–03). It is clear here that it is the sin they despise, not the person. The women check the abbess but are not immediately believed by the archdeacon. The latter calls for others to check and as such replaces the bishop in Gautier's version. The bishop is thus distanced from the sordid affair of checking the abbess's virginity and remains quite a sympathetic character. Indeed, we are told that now 'Li evesques, qui fu humains, / tint por musardes les nonains' (vv. 9628–29). The bishop in fact runs the nuns out of the convent, which is at first sight a surprising turn of events. (However, it does give the abbess the opportunity to invite them back, again putting flesh on the bare bones of her character as painted by Gautier: more of her inner self becomes visible in this act of forgiveness.) The bishop now believes the episode to be over, but the abbess asks him to hear her confession. This is the crux of the tale: the author depicts the proper way for her to reveal her sin and the miracle, thereby providing a good advertisement for the sacrament of penance. He hears her confession, calls her 'amie', warns her not to fall into the sin of pride for the miracle and the Virgin's mercy, and absolves her (vv. 9640–60). Notwithstanding, he still wants independent evidence and so checks with the hermit for confirmation of the abbess's story. It is not surprising in the context of the *Vie des Pères* — a text at times highlighting the *contemptus mundi* of the holy heroes and heroines it describes — that the abbess now mortifies her flesh, fasts, and prays. She lives a saintly life and earns salvation (vv. 9674–93).

The differences outlined above suggest that our two authors, both remarkably skilled and fully able to express what they want to say in the way they want it said, have different agendas. Gautier of course appears to be using the material to show the awesome power and compassion of the Virgin. However, the central human character for him is not necessarily the abbess — of whom there is no further mention once she has revealed the miracle to the bishop — but perhaps rather the bishop and the love-child. He seems to be diverting our attention from the abbess: although worthy of our sympathy, she fulfils the role of the 'great and holy person brought down by the devil', a role played by legendary and distant characters. The nature of her sin is far from distant, of course, but the more rounded, human character in the story is the bishop: his anger in the *MND* seems to replace the wrath of the Virgin Mary, at the same time both distancing him from and endearing him to the audience (who very probably knew the story before it began anyway). The audience must surely better be able to relate to him and to the jealous, spiteful nuns than to the saintly heroine. The bishop's change in character is perhaps no less remarkable than the abbess's childbirth: not a good word is said about him until the miracle is related to him. The nuns too must remain in the

convent and swallow their pride. Is it too much to suggest that the characters of the bishop and the nuns are expertly depicted with a specific, perhaps mixed audience in mind?

The *Vie des Pères*, on the other hand, shows all the inner turmoil of the abbess. The bishop is a narrative facilitator, allowing the action to proceed without really becoming the central object of attention. The abbess remains at the heart of the story, her *contemptus mundi* emblematic of a sinner cleansed through the sacrament of penance. There is no suggestion that the audience should inflict such hardship on themselves, just that they should live piously and value the sacrament of penance. In the same vein as Gautier, the author of the first *Vie des Pères* uses the abbess as a vehicle for the broader message of his collective text, but these vehicles and messages are subtly different.

The tales are not yet over: in Gautier's version nothing more is said about the abbess. We learn rather of the bishop's holy life, his love for the boy, his instruction of the boy, and his success latterly in having the boy named bishop. The boy is a worthy character — 'mout fu sainz home' (v. 377) — and we are told that he makes a most holy bishop. The end of the story therefore underlines the bishop's reformed character, the son's wonderful virtues, and the power and compassion of the Virgin. The *Vie des Pères* too still has much to say. The boy is not given a bishopric but rather earns his promotions (vv. 9704–23). He is shown to do much good and is eventually appointed the bishop's successor (vv. 9748–49). There is, however, an important authorial aside which is a typical thirteenth-century criticism of corruption, but with a suspicion of Gallicanism. The distinction is made (vv. 9724–29) between the righteous clergy 'of that time' — that is, of the almost mythical time of the narrative set, let us remember, 'en Egypte' (v. 9295) — and the present-day Chapters in the control of *vilz papelars* (v. 9725) who are money-grabbing and corrupt.[31] An important parallel is drawn, presumably so that the audience should not ally the bishop in the story with any corrupt clergy of which they might know: the great bishop Saint Nicholas was naturally not affected by the vices that mark unworthy churchmen of today, bishops who are appointed through bribery or influence, and even Rome that ratifies all such appointments so as not to miss out on the bribery (vv. 9730–38). There is an

[31] Compare this with lines 534–43 of II Mir 27 (*D'une fame qui fu garie a Arras*): 'Diex, quel tüer! Diex! Diex! Qui que / Aint telz larrons, telz menestreuz, / Jes has de mort. Ausi fait Diex, / Sa douce mere et tuit si saint. / Sainte Marie! Diex me saint! / Por ce s'aucun sermoneür / Goulïardoys et guileür, / Qui toute jor par ces viletes / Fiertres comportent et clochetes, / Fauz myracles font a la fois.'

indictment of those who do exactly what the first *Vie des Pères* preaches against: 'qui toz jors ont les mains hauciees / por seignier et qui plus n'en font' (vv. 9741–42). Through the homonymy of *seignier* and *enseignier*, the author insists that those who perform blessings without ever preaching the true lessons of faith will themselves be found out by their sins (vv. 9743–47). Rather than ending with a long section in praise of the Virgin (cf. Gautier, vv. 384–406), the *Vie des Pères* tale ends with the rather perfunctory:

> et il [the bishop] veoit bien sa [the boy] provance
> et sot le fet de sa nessance
> que la mere Deu fet avoit,
> por qoi plus amer le devoit. *Abbesse grosse*, vv. 9712–15

and a slightly less perfunctory (and remarkably indulgent):

> Par cest conte doivent avoir
> pecheor confort et savoir
> que tuit doivent la dame amer
> et sa grant douçor reclamer,
> non por son preu, mes por les noz.
> Bien est maleürez et soz
> qui de li servir se recroit,
> que son cors et s'ame deçoit. *Abbesse grosse*, vv. 9756–63

The *Vie des Pères* tale ends with a short piece in praise of the Virgin, and although other manuscripts append longer passages reflecting a stronger devotion to the Mother of God, these add little to the story as a whole.

As I mention above, one significant difference between the two texts seems to be the role played by the bishop. Gautier's bishop is not a sympathetic character: until the miracle is revealed to him, he cannot seem to see any good in anyone. The author of the first *Vie des Pères* seems to be approaching the issue from a different angle: he tells his audience that the nun is made into an abbess *par son evesque* (v. 9303) and I would argue that this is no throwaway detail. In the *Vie des Pères* the bishop will certainly play a major role in the tale: it will be the same representative of the Church who will judge the abbess in a neat role reversal. The same can be said about Gautier's bishop, but much more so: in fact, by the end of Gautier's miracle the reader is under the impression that the bishop's anger, and subsequent remorse, are more central to Gautier than the abbess herself. In the *Vie des Pères* there is something unsaid which muddies our view of the relationships between the bishop and the abbess, the nuns, the Virgin Mary, and the audience. We learn that the bishop has been fooled by the devil into believing that the nun is evil. In fact, he will also be fooled by the Virgin, who will spare the abbess the

shame of facing up to her sin on the bishop's terms. This manipulation by the author of the bishop's attitude towards the abbess mirrors to some extent the feelings of the audience. However, the audience's complicity with the abbess and the Virgin in the *Vie des Pères* will prove the bishop wrong when he continues to believe her hypocritical. This is less the case in Gautier's miracle: the bishop is a much less sympathetic character and his anger contrasts sharply with the warm, soft words exchanged between the abbess and the Mother of God.

When the bishop in the *Vie des Pères* comes to the abbey to check for himself the sin of the abbess, the text tells us that he 'hates' her. This, of course, might well simply be due to her sin and his virtue, but there appears also to be an element of betrayal, a subtext responding to the fact that the abbess is in some way his protégée:

> Li esveques, qui la haï,
> li dist: 'Dame abaesse, ahi!
> Com je sui de vos esmeüz
> et de vos oevres deceüz!
> A vostre vie m'acordoie
> por les biens que j'en vos cuidoie,
> et vos estes grosse d'enfant,
> si con l'en me fet entendant.' *Abbesse grosse*, vv. 9562–69

The implication of the narrative is that the reason for the nuns' antipathy towards the abbess is only too human: 'Vos fesïez la chape a choe / qeinse me dire, tele sui / qui doi bien chastïer autrui' (vv. 9581–83). This also suggests that the author has little sympathy for them. They, like the bishop, will have to eat their words; indeed, the bishop will become the love-child's guardian. He will seek and find proof of the miracle and will show honour to the abbess via her son. This is similarly the case in Gautier's text. This final notion of justice is an essential element in both narratives, for the bishop, to varying degrees, serves as something of a barometer of approval in both versions. Gautier's bishop undergoes a striking change of character, whereas in the first *Vie des Pères* things are more subtle: the tale begins with an apparently superfluous detail — the bishop had appointed her abbess — but it soon becomes clear that this detail is relevant throughout the narrative and represents an essential thread for the audience to follow. The end of the tales brings together the various elements of the story, all of which stress the importance of the male characters. Notwithstanding the centrality of the abbess in *Abbesse grosse*, this is the case in both versions. Could it be argued that Gautier shows remarkable sensitivity to women's issues having such an unsympathetic bishop? The abbess is for large parts of the narrative beyond reproach and is certainly above the petty bickering that seems to envelope the nuns and the bishop. With this in mind, it ought also be noted that Gautier's abbess is lost from view

once the bishop is a reformed character. In fact, the abbess is not mentioned in either dénouement: she has been elevated to heaven, but the important pride of place for the authors — the end of the narrative — is given to apparently subsidiary, but in fact vitally significant, male characters.

Overall, in *De l'abeesse que nostre dame delivra de grant angoisse* Gautier stresses the woman's prior devotion, the vindictiveness of the nuns, the Virgin's sweet love, the awfulness of pregnancy, the bishop's realization that he has mistreated the abbess, and the boy's good life. The *Vie des Pères* has a subtly different emphasis, stressing the abbess's sin, the Virgin's mercy but also her anger, the bishop's fairness, the corruption of today's clergy, and that we should praise the Virgin. The Virgin is already very firmly at the centre of both tales, performing a wonderful miracle and saving a lost soul. For the modern reader, however, it is in apparently more peripheral details that *Abbesse grosse* and *De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse* prove such a rich object of study.

Conclusions

Both the first *Vie des Pères* and the *MND* lead their audiences to prayer. Readers are taught to spot diabolical ruse, hate sin, and hope for eternal salvation. Both authors show the power divine intervention has over evil. For the medieval book manufacturer and reader they quickly became closely related texts, as is revealed by the manuscripts where they were often copied together, at times even becoming jumbled. But however similar they may at first appear, both in form and in content, redactions of the same story are not interchangeable. The first *Vie des Pères* places the emphasis very firmly on the individual's responsibility to understand the need for repentance prior to earning heavenly reward, whereas Gautier de Coinci seems keener to encourage his readers to contemplate the beauty and kindness of the Virgin and expect reward for prior service.[32] Paule Béterous has noted how Marian miracles played 'un rôle de vulgarisation' at this time, making Church doctrine accessible at a time when the Church itself was largely unable to do so.[33]

[32] For modes of prayer in the *MND*, see Dominique Colombani, 'Savoir prier Nostre-Dame à l'exemple de Gautier de Coinci', in *Le Livre des Miracles de Notre-Dame de Rocamadour: IIe colloque de Rocamadour, 19–21 mai 1973, sous la présidence de Michel François* (Luzech: Boissor, 1973), pp. 96–115.

[33] Paule Béterous, *Les Collections de miracles de la Vierge en gallo- et ibéro-roman, au XIIIe siècle* (Dayton: Marian Library Studies, 1983), p. 502.

Both texts play this role and both texts have many of the same qualities. In principle, both works show salvation to be within the reach of all, although the cost of salvation does vary, both between the authors and from tale to tale. Essentially, the first *Vie des Pères* shows a pious life in the world to be one full of virtue, potentially even superior to a pious, cloistered life. This appears to oppose fundamentally Gautier's opinion of lay life. The two authors' attitudes necessarily colour their narratives: the first *Vie des Pères* is resolutely spiritual but also practical, ending up optimistic, in Jean-Charles Payen's eyes (although he overstates rather) avant-garde and almost revolutionary.[34] It offers realistic solutions to the question of finding salvation in the world. Gautier's *MND*, initially addressing a different audience, are more conservative. Beaussart would agree with this interpretation: 'Le progressisme apparent de l'auteur des *MND* dissimule, finalement, en réalité, un conservatisme profond et une paradoxale incompréhension des préoccupations de ces fidèles à qui il destine justement ses textes.'[35] The *Vie des Pères* was certainly composed for a lay audience, most probably the urban middle-classes; Gautier's miracle for a more aristocratic public. There is no suggestion in the *Vie des Pères* that the author expected his tales to be read in religious communities, and this is surely at the root of the differences in emphasis I have highlighted in this essay. There seems to be clear textual evidence that here we have two remarkable contemporary authors who were rewriting the same story but not necessarily telling the same tale.

[34] Jean-Charles Payen, *Le Motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale* (Geneva: Droz, 1971), p. 556.

[35] Beaussart, 'Sémiotique du corps', p. 45.

Or escoutez une merveille! Parallel Paths: Gautier de Coinci and the Fabliaux

†Brian J. Levy

Résumé

Il existait une échelle 'trans-générique' variable pour le copiste médiéval, comme en témoignent les similarités souvent frappantes entre les *tituli* donnés aux contes pieux et aux fabliaux comiques, ainsi que la forte symbiose générique établie entre des textes comiques et moralisants dès qu'ils se trouvent — et se lisent — côte à côte dans le même manuscrit. Dans le monde textuel foisonnant des récits brefs en ancien français, la présence d'un carrefour métaphorique à l'intérieur du récit devient rapidement évidente: débutant d'un assemblage de matériels narratifs en commun, un récit peut prendre la route pieuse menant au conte moralisant ou miraculeux, ou bien il peut choisir la route plutôt profane. Le miracle et le fabliau se rapprochent quand on considère l'évidence des manuscrits, les sujets, les motifs narratifs et certaines questions de présentation. Suivant le fameux article de Jacques Ribard, 'Et si les fabliaux n'étaient pas des contes à rire?', il est également provocateur mais non moins plausible de se demander, 'Et si les miracles de Gautier n'étaient pas des contes pieux?'

† Brian Levy died before he was able to prepare a written version of this paper. The current essay, compiled by Adrian P. Tudor using the oral text and copious notes left by Brian, is not exactly as Brian would have wished to publish his work; it does, however, give a clear idea of how Brian was able to bring together learned scholarship and an infectious sense of enthusiasm and fun.

It would be only fitting to introduce an essay on Gautier de Coinci with a formal acknowledgement to *auctoritas*: after all, our prior of Vic-sur-Aisne himself constantly refers to the authority of documentary *escrit* and of his predecessors and informants. In embarking upon this comparative study, I have in the very first place been encouraged by the Dutch scholar Paul Wackers, whose trenchant 2000 article, 'There Are No Genres: Remarks on the Classification of Literary Texts', argues the point, with greater cogency than some others, that our approach to the whole question of literary genres may still remain too deeply committed to categories, too firmly embedded in twentieth- (and even nineteenth-) century critical theory.[1] As a result — despite all Jaussian or *Mentalités* School promptings — we may still persist in setting up generic Chinese walls between medieval texts, thus ignoring the conditions of reception in the Middle Ages. Hard on the heels of Wackers has come Ardis Butterfield from the musicological side, and Keith Busby, whose recent pugnacious magnum opus *Codex and Context* offers us an important study of manuscript *mise en page*, pointing out at least two observable facts of particular interest for our present purposes.[2] Firstly, there are often striking similarities between the *tituli* given by the scribe to 'contes pieux' titles (notably, to the individual miracle stories of the *Vie des Pères*) and to individual fabliaux, to the extent that they seem practically interchangeable. Running alongside this is a second observation, of the strong generic symbiosis set up between comic and moralizing texts, once they are found — and read — side-by-side in the same manuscript. We may be able to deduce from this that the copyist at least is aware of what one might call a sliding 'transgeneric' scale, and so provides titles that are sufficiently ambivalent to refer appropriately — or even suggestively — to texts on different points on the scale.

In more general terms, Busby is inviting us to consider more closely the narrative qualities of vernacular miracle tales, and to engage in further comparative research into the relationship between sacred and profane Old French shorter verse narrative. In picking up this baton, and in looking at Gautier de Coinci's miracles in conjunction with the comic fabliaux, I am only too well aware of the

[1] Paul Wackers, 'There Are No Genres: Remarks on the Classification of Literary Texts', *Reinardus*, 13 (2000), 237–48. Even more recently is the brief *cri de coeur* by Adrian P. Tudor, 'Les fabliaux: encore le problème de la typologie', *Studi Francesi*, 47 (2003), 599–603.

[2] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, Faux Titre, 221–22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002).

need to acknowledge more *auctoritates* — those Gautier scholars, most recently Anna Drzewicka, Jean-Louis Benoît, and Olivier Collet — who have underlined Gautier's evident knowledge of the profane literature of his time, including *chansons de geste*, courtly romance, and beast epic.[3] First and foremost, and of course most famously, Gautier finds himself at once repelled by and attracted to the courtly love lyric. In his celebrated outburst on mercenary and ungodly minstrelsy in I Mir 11, *St Ildephonse* (vv. 2315–56), he declares himself ready to set himself up as the Virgin's *trouvère* — and indeed will of course compose his own lyrics, with the aim of turning people from the vain love of 'Marion' to the most essential veneration of Mary.[4]

It is one thing to accept Gautier as the Virgin's *trouvère* par excellence; it may be quite another to claim for him the extra, more ambivalent title of the Virgin's *fableor*. Here, by way of *apologia*, I must cite Olivier Collet, since what he says is, I think, very much to the point of the argument:

> [Gautier] intervient dans une période de renouveau essentiel de la littérature française [. . .]. Le début du XIIIe siècle donne surtout l'essor à une tradition de réflexion et de critique sociales aux accents mi-religieux, mi-profanes (les fabliaux en constituent l'un des aspects).[5]

It is from this point that I wish to proceed. Twenty years ago, Jacques Ribard of the Université de Picardie at Amiens posed a deliberately provocative rhetorical question in the title of one of his articles: 'Et si les fabliaux n'étaient pas des contes à rire?'[6] He was duly reproached for trying to turn black into white and did not pursue the matter further (indeed, he never again wrote on the fabliaux). But more than one of us following in the field of fabliau scholarship have moved the argument on. In the heavily populated medieval world of the shorter vernacular

[3] Anna Drzewicka, 'Le Livre ou la voix? Le moi poétique dans les *Miracles de Notre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 96 (1990), 245–63; Jean-Louis Benoît, *L'Art littéraire dans les 'Miracles de Nostre Dame' de Gautier De Coinci: Un art au service de la foi* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1999); Benoît, 'La sainteté dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *Essais sur la perfection: Le héros et le saint*, vol. II (Poitiers: PRIS-MA, 2000), pp. 31–46; Olivier Collet, *Glossaire et index critiques des œuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 227 (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

[4] All references are to Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70).

[5] Collet, *Glossaire*, p. xviii.

[6] Jacques Ribard, 'Et si les fabliaux n'étaient pas des contes à rire?', *Reinardus*, 2 (1989), 134–46.

verse narrative, one becomes very conscious of the frequent presence of a metaphorical fork in the road of the *récit*: starting from a common assemblage of narrative material, a story may take the high pious road (we are bound to say, the right-hand fork) — that leading to the moralizing or miracle tale — or it may choose the low, very profane path (that of the comic or satirical text).[7] This point is well illustrated as early as the very beginning of the thirteenth century, when we consider the work of Jean Bodel — so frequently called 'the father of the fabliaux', not least since he may well have coined the term — some of whose own fabliaux occupy a very interesting median position, hovering as it were between the two directions. Indeed, I find it quite appropriate that the narrative of his fabliau *Du Couvoiteus et de l'Envieus*, which converts a cautionary tale on the deadly sins of jealousy and envy into a black and potent joke, should lead its protagonists precisely along a highway to a crossroads.[8] We find, interestingly, parallel reverse analogies in late thirteenth-century sermon exempla, which convert fabliau plots into pithy didactic anecdotes (and then reverse again in later medieval German *maere*, which develop into miracle stories, stripping only the miracle).[9]

The very polarity I have just sketched out serves in my opinion only to reinforce the essential links between the two types of tale, and to highlight the presence in both of them of a whole pattern of shared motifs. It is at this point that we may turn back definitively to Gautier de Coinci: of his fifty-eight *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, no fewer than thirty-three contain elements that also happen to be very much part and parcel of the fabliau world — and that, if translated into a different resting-place (si j'ose employer ce verbe hyper-pieux) would arouse laughter with no further serious intent.

Before we move to a study of these links and motifs, we must be prudent and recognize the obvious nature of the polarity. To be sure, there are the clearest differences of aim and intention between an often obscene or scatological comic text

[7] A similar fork may be said to exist along the profane highway itself: some of our more parodic fabliaux notoriously switching from an ostensibly courtly register to one of low humour.

[8] Willem Noomen and Nico Van den Boogaard, *Nouveau Recueil Complet des Fabliaux*, 10 vols (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983–98), VI/71. Henceforth references to fabliaux are to this edition, *NRCF*, followed by the volume and fabliau number.

[9] Cf. Brian J. Levy, 'Le fabliau et l'exemple: étude sur les recueils moralisants anglo-normands', in *Epopée animale, Fable, Fabliau: Actes du IVe Colloque de la Société internationale renardienne (Evreux, 7–11 sept. 1981)*, ed. by Gabriel Bianciotto and Michel Salvat (Paris: Presses Universitaires françaises, 1984), pp. 311–21, and Levy, *The Comic Text: Patterns and Images in the Old French Fabliaux*, Faux Titre, 186 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

and the ardent retelling of a Marian miracle. Nor should we minimize the immediate evidence (and *évidence*) that in the case of Gautier's work we have an overall single-author composition of a multi-story collection — which in itself has much more in common with the first *Vie des Pères*, so appositely labelled a 'collective text' by Adrian P. Tudor.[10] There are clear diegetic differences as well. While the fabliaux feed on disorder, miracle tales see the disorder of the world put to rights by divine intervention. Making just this point, Busby observed that 'in the fabliaux, even though justice of a sort (sometimes poetic) usually prevails in the end, the world remains a place of anarchy and confusion'.[11] This is true — although, slightly running ahead of myself here, I would venture to suggest that this very chiasmus may be seen rather as much of a link as of a division: one 'tale' turning the other on its 'tail', as it were. It is this feature that would in part explain the dual applicability of the manuscript *tituli* — and to which we will return.

But, while ever looking out for parallels along the line of polarity, we are still engaged with the negative pole. The particular difference noted by Busby above may be illustrated by reference to one of the most striking structural differences between the two genres. Each of Gautier's miracles is accompanied by its *queue*, its long homiletic *coda*, often twice (or even three times) as long as the preceding narrative. In absolute contrast to the religious's extended commentary is the *fableor*'s succinct and sardonic mock-moral conclusion (although, as we shall see, some distinctly fabliau-like nuggets may be found embedded in Gautier's *queues*). And there is another clearly observable difference between the two traditions: with a very few exceptions, the fabliau's sharply alternating and adversarial dialogue (full of character colour, and also of performance potential) is essentially absent from Gautier's *Miracles*, where the emphasis is naturally far more on the longer and monologue format of prayer, lamentation, or exhortation, providing a dramatic or reflective moment of stasis.[12]

However, when we look at the construction and contents of Gautier's miracle tales themselves, we can recognize a number of features that they do share — and share directly — with our comic fabliaux. Essentially, the two genres (I would prefer 'twin genres') both illustrate many aspects of the art of the Old French *récit bref*:

[10] Cf. Adrian P. Tudor, *Tales of Vice and Virtue: The First Old French 'Vie des Pères'*, Faux Titre, 253 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), p. 18.

[11] Busby, *Codex and Context*, pp. 202–03.

[12] One notable exception is that discussed in the present volume by Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, I Mir 28, *Dou chevalier a cui la volenté fu contee por fait*.

- The tale as such is told neatly and skilfully, with great economy of line: for the most part the miracle narratives are between 100 and 350 lines in length, and as such are directly comparable to the fabliaux. Gautier will himself sometimes refer to his *brief myracle* (cf. v. 1 in I Mir 23: *D'un moigne en cui bouche on trouva cinc roses noveles*, itself just sixty-eight lines), or on the other hand prove the point in reverse by feeling obliged to justify the length of his moralizing *queue*.
- The introduction to each tale is reduced to its essentials: a precise sketch, setting the narrative context. In cinematic terms: a quick establishing shot, free of extraneous mise-en-scène details.
- The patterning of the discourse is often ironic, following a binary rhythm (typically, of lack and fulfilment), or a multiple episodic model (a good example of both in one tale is I Mir 38: *De l'orison Nostre Dame* — the narrative here split into two counterpointing halves, the first half consisting of a tripartite series of failed attempts on the part of the devil to ensnare a wealthy man).
- Following on from this last point: there is in both fabliau and Virgin miracle a constant dramatic confrontation: between winners and losers, or between plotters and victims. If we convert the chiasmic paradigm of order/disorder proposed by Busby (as an example of the distinction between the two genres) to a ludic one, the parallelism becomes that much clearer: the fabliau character who at first appears to gain will end up losing, while in the Virgin miracle the sinning loser will end by gaining salvation (and in both cases there will be a crucial dramatic intervention). There is an even closer ludic parallel — underscoring to what extent 'les deux extrêmes se touchent' — in that in the miracle it is the Virgin who may show all the triumphant wiles that in the fabliaux are the property of the cunning wife, while it is the devil who (like the duped husband, or the lascivious priest) is blithely confident of a victory that will slip from his fingers at the end. It is perhaps not without significance, in terms of the generic narrative scheme, that the tale placed by Gautier at the head of his miracles (I Mir 10, *Comment Theophilus vint a penitence*) is his redaction of the Theophilus legend (the classic case of the winner who loses and of the loser who wins).
- Mention of Virgin and devil together makes the point that, by trite definition, the miracle tales deal with the divinely miraculous and with the hellishly supernatural. So do the fabliaux — or rather they jokingly purport to do so. The actual presence of the devil in our comic tales is rare; far more commonly, a character's disaster or a macabre encounter with a corpse is

ascribed to the devil's work, but in fact the only agency at work is a purely (or impurely) human one (as we, the audience, through our laughter, can see only too well). The themes of miraculous resurrection and translation found in Gautier are instead consistently mocking ones in the fabliaux.[13] Fabliau machinations are more than once described, highly ironically, by the *conteur* as something marvellous or miraculous. 'Or escoutez une merveille!' announces the conteur Eustache d'Amiens at the beginning of his fabliau of the *Bouchier d'Abeville* (*NRCF*, III/18), which happens to chronicle the extraordinary cunning (and sexual stamina) of a thieving and lecherous butcher. Only the context (and comic irony) separates this invitation to Gautier's own 'Oiez un myracle mout grant' (I Mir 32: *De l'ymage Nostre Dame*).

- Anna Drzewicka has indeed noted how consistently the text of Gautier de Coinci's carefully composed *Miracles* is punctuated by a first person direct address to his 'audience' (in turn addressed in the second person).[14] It is as though our highly literate and literary author is giving himself a fictional persona: that of a common teller of tales, offering his wares to the public. Gautier the writer-religious is well aware of the circumstances of far more profane oral performance and reception — and his rhetorical formulae of address, notably echoing those abounding in the fabliaux, at least suggest that he knows 'how it is done' and is pretending to follow in the same path.
- The 'récit bref' cast-list is a true point of contact: we are surrounded by a formalized society, moving easily between the fabliau world and that of the miracle. Here is a throng of shared stereotypes: husbands and wives; clerics and students; priests and monks; priors and sacristans; young girls and adulterous women; merchant townsfolk, artisans, and peasants; *ribauds* and *jongleurs*. Quite apart from making such characters specific actors in his tales, Gautier is quite capable — like the *fableors* — of painting little background vignettes of social activity.[15] A good example of Gautier's ability to add this particular spice to his source material is found in the four linked miracles (II Mir 14–17), based on Herman de Laon's account of the Christchurch mission, relating the Laon monks' fund-raising journey to England. There

[13] Levy, *Comic Text*, ch. 4, 'The Devil to Pay', pp. 160–96.

[14] Drzewicka, 'Le livre ou la voix?', p. 261.

[15] Matthew Paris provides an excellent example, if one is necessary, of how we really are not dealing with an unworldly religious.

are some telling thumbnail sketches, drawn with great economy of line, of wool merchants, sailors, relic-dealers, stingy English burgesses, and a Christchurch matron washing the monks' muddy garments. (Gautier's subsequent Anglophobic diatribe, on the other hand, shows up the contrast between his morally indignant text and the comic *fabliau* mockery of the English in *Les deus Anglois et l'anel*, *NRCF*, VIII/90). There is only one figure practically absent from the fabliaux, but all too present in Gautier's miracle tales: that of the Jew — blind, heretical, criminal, murderous — who is at one and the same time marginalized and pushed centre stage, anti-Semitism and Mariolatry marching inexorably side by side.

It is, however, important to make one caveat, and note one particular feature concerning Gautier's deployment of his characters, which at first may seem to offer a further point of contact with the fabliaux, but which in fact adds a degree of distance between them. Ever since Erhard Lommatzsch published his *Gautier de Coincy als Satiriker* in 1913, scholars have commented on Gautier's vigorous, accusatory attacks in his miracles on the decadence and corruption of most of the representatives of society.[16] In this, of course, he joins the wave of later twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Estates satire, and the ranks of the likes of Etienne de Fougières, Helinand de Froidmont, Guiot de Provins, and the Renclus de Molliens. But only tangentially, in Gautier's sideswipes on peasants, women, and drunken priests, do we really approach the threshold of the recognizable world of the fabliaux.[17] I support Lauri Lindgren's rejection of Lommatzsch's belief that Gautier is actually alluding to specific fabliaux in this particular context.[18] However, it is perhaps worth noting, en passant, that Gautier's sundry attacks on human trickery and cunning enable him to display his acquaintanceship with the *Roman de Renart* (whose comic content is often only one step removed from that of the fabliaux). As for the fabliaux, in their mockery of their social puppets they have other fish to fry, which tend not to be 'political-satirical' in the medieval sense.[19]

[16] Erhard Lommatzsch, *Gautier de Coincy als Satiriker* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1913).

[17] For manuscripts containing both fabliaux and Miracles of the Virgin, see Busby, *Codex and Context*.

[18] Lauri Lindgren, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame de Soissons versifiés par Gautier de Coinci*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 129 (Helsingfors: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1963).

[19] Only in one or two fabliaux by the later thirteenth-century poet Rutebeuf (notably, his *Frere Denise, NRCF*, VI/56) do we find a politically cutting satirical edge, linking these comic tales more with the anti-fraternal polemics of Rutebeuf's commissioned 'University of Paris' poems than with the mainstream fabliau corpus.

This said, we can bring miracle and fabliau even closer together. Just as Gautier attacks unworthy courtly love lyrics (in the process revealing his clear knowledge of them and of the foolish *trouvères* whose *métier* he determines to redeem), so, in his celebrated Prologue to Book II, he rummages further in the minstrel's bag to attack those who, instead of telling saintly tales would rather deal in *lecheries*, preferring to *dire gabois et legeries* and *truffer truffes et faintes*. He follows this up in the opening of II Mir 29, *D'un clerc*, this time attacking not the *conteurs*, but those listeners who choose to hear *vaines paroles*, or *truffes*, or *bourdes*. This is a plain assault on low comic fabliaux (the terms are to all intents and purposes interchangeable) and is by no means unique to Gautier, since it fits into the more general contemporary and somewhat prudish condemnation of *vilainie de parole* by a number of romance authors (fearing the operation of a literary Gresham's law: bad tales driving out good, or rather the lewd driving out the courtly).

This very act of attacking presupposes — ontologically — some degree of knowledge and, further, some desire to transform such low literature into the stuff of piety. It is as though Gautier's *gageüre* is to all intents and purposes to follow his redemption of love poetry by using recognizable fabliau style and substance to retell what will turn out to be proper cautionary tales.[20] Deliberately embedded (vv. 570–642) in the long *queue* of *D'un clerc* itself, which Gautier has prefaced with his anti-fabliau outburst, is the comic-cautionary anecdote of the 'Prêtre pelé'. Traceable in its very basic form back to the fables of Phaedrus (and surviving in that genre right up to La Fontaine), this tale of an old man, or priest, caught between two mocking mistresses, who — pretending to groom him — proceed to pull every hair from his thinning head and beard, is found among the Latin exempla of Jacques de Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon. Moving us decidedly closer in form and spirit to the world of the comic tale, Gautier's vernacular version is told in seventy-two lines of the liveliest narrative and description, its very lexis time and again providing analogies with the fabliaux. Here is the doddering old *fol provoire*, so stupid that he takes not one mistress but two: one a young slip of a thing, the other a wrinkled old hag, Ermintrude.[21] By their cunning *guile*, they effectively 'suck the old man dry', leaving him *ventre plat et bourse flestre* — a highly

[20] The fabliau motif of the wager and the parallel rhetorical device of the *conteur* invite his audience to choose an outcome.

[21] The unflattering description of Old Ermintrude is a frankly comic one ('assez pus eut / en sen front fronces et fronceles / qu'en Ruëm rues ne ruelles', II Mir 29, vv. 592–94): these lines might have come from the fabliau of *La vieille Truande* (*NRCF*, IV/37), or of *Le Prestre qui ot Mere a Force* (*NRCF*, V/41).

sexualized double entendre found, needless to say, throughout the fabliaux. There but remains for them to shear him, like a mock Samson, leaving him obliged to wear a cap whenever he ventures out of doors, to face the jeering taunts of the local urchins.

To be sure, once the comic tale is told, Gautier invests it with a serious cautionary moral (where a fabliau would have tacked on a gleefully irreverent one), and having thus returned to his *coda*, continues with a Matheolus-like castigation of scheming womankind (Dalila inevitably featuring in the front line), which differs from a *fableor*'s only by its 'straight' context, where Mary is always at hand to point the true lesson of saintly behaviour. Yet the contextual ambiguity is evidenced in at least two manuscripts, where there is a completely transgeneric *subtitulus* introducing what might just as easily have been a fabliau of the Shaven Priest: *Dou prestre qui avoit deus fames*.

More than once, Gautier uses his *queue* in this way, to retell an anecdote full of strikingly comic potential, which he very neatly brings out to the full. As a counterpoint to his impeccably pious account of Saint Bon, Bishop of Clermont (I Mir 36, *De un evesque de Clermont*), he tells of a later, foolish bishop, who spends his pilgrimage carousing in a tavern (vv. 197–204), such that he is blind drunk when he enters the church and passes flat out instead of keeping vigil. Gautier acknowledges a Latin written source for this episode (the errant bishop finds himself miraculously transported back home to his bed), but has turned it into a little vernacular *récit* showing full command of comic narrative triggers.

On other occasions, it is the mise en scène of the main miracle tale itself that may contain many recognizable fabliau elements. While following the Latin source of his II Mir 26, *D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon dou feu*, into an ultimately harsh and cautionary crime story, Gautier offers us an ambiguous opening 150 lines that have all the potential of a blackly comic and erotic tale: a handsome young man reputed to be pleasuring wife and mother-in-law (cf. *Gombert et les deus Clers* (*NRCF*, IV/35), *Le Meunier et les deus Clers* (*NRCF*, VII/80)) and a wife in bed trying to awaken her husband, only to find he is a corpse (cf. *Le Sacristain* (*NRCF*, VII/74) and analogues on the theme of the Inconvenient Cadaver). There is some chiasmic irony here, since many fabliaux will start out with a parody of courtly or moral pieces before twisting them into bawdiness. Both *fableor* and Gautier are subverting their material, from opposite ends (and for opposite ends).

This example links well with my final point: sex and sexuality. Modern scholarship has not been slow to comment on the Old French saints' lives' obsession with matters of the flesh — an obsession shared with other 'contes pieux', and which

more than once is so graphic that it touches upon the pornographic.[22] Just because they are set in a moralizing context by Gautier, we cannot completely divorce these examples from those erotic, scatological, or obscene fabliaux which attract bawdy, dirty, or even stunned laughter. Here, as elsewhere in medieval studies, we are faced with the paradox of a polarity that both divides and unites (and that cannot even be neatly summed up as representing the 'gulf' between entertainment and instruction). In his miracles Gautier is intent on drawing a clear distinction between 'truth' and *fable* — but in order to insist on the former one must at least recognize the existence (and the power) of the latter. Gautier is the master of text and imagery, and for all his urging us to shun all ignoble *truffes* or *lecheries*, he will not hesitate (when he judges the moment right) to fight his battles with the fabliaux's own weapons. In his miracle *D'un clerc* (II Mir 29), he devotes an entire episode to a remarkable description of sexuality.[23] A young cleric (hitherto faithful to Our Lady) succumbs to carnal temptation and marries a beautiful young girl. On the wedding night he is full of desire and sexual arousal (described in detail over some twenty lines, vv. 382–400), but — torn between lust and the promptings of his conscience — he is rendered impotent, and so quits the marriage bed in a state of utter sexual frustration. Gautier's intention is, of course, to stress *contemptus mundi* and the need for all vain worldly love to give way to love of the Virgin. However, his very explicit scenario finds some striking fabliau parallels — in which frustrated sexual anticipation mingles with more successful performances, and provokes just as much laughter.[24]

It is perhaps in his tale of the miraculous healing of the maiden of Arras (II Mir 27, *D'une fame qui fu garie a Arras*) that Gautier makes his most daring sally into the world of sexuality. He is himself fully aware of the risks involved, since — before pursuing his account of the young maid who has sworn to remain chaste after a vision from the Virgin, but who is forced into marriage by her criminally abusive parents — he feels obliged formally to warn his audience (notably lines 112–20): 'I beg you to excuse me, but I must now describe things very frankly. It may be that some ears will be shocked by what I am about to tell you, but I have no other choice than to describe this scene just as it took place. Je vous remercie

[22] Cf. Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Busby, *Codex and Context*, and Tudor, *Tales of Vice and Virtue*.

[23] It is no coincidence that — as we have seen — this very tale is prefaced by one of Gautier's attacks on fabliau frivolity and obscenity.

[24] Here I am thinking of *Auberee* (*NRCF*, I/4), *L'Escuiriel* (*NRCF*, VI/58), *Le Sacristain III* (*NRCF*, VII/74), *Constant du Hamel* (*NRCF*, I/2), among others.

de votre comprehension.' Gautier knows that he is about to venture into *vilainie de parole*. And indeed, the episode he now describes is more explicit and shocking than any of the fabliaux's violently pornographic sex scenes. On the wedding night the bridegroom is more than evidently ready and willing to make love, but his erect member is unable to penetrate the tight vagina of his bride, who thus remains a maid for six months, despite all her husband's sexual exertions.

In his description of this scene, to be sure, Gautier does avoid the key taboo words so dear to the *fableors*. No *foutre*, of course — but all the other linguistic euphemisms to be found throughout the fabliaux are in place here, building up to a more and more sexually explicit semantic charge: *rendre chaud*, *ardre*, *fremir*, *tressaillir*, *goulouser*, *volenté faire*, *courre sus*, *faire son delit*, even *s'embatre dedenz*.[25]

Finally, 'por refroidir sa grant ardure' (v. 150), the husband rapes the hapless woman with his knife. At this moment we may indeed seem well removed from the frank pornotopia of the fabliaux, but this is really only a logical (if disgusting) extension of our comic texts' regular motif of sexual violence.[26] Gautier is in any case very well aware that his serious yet shocking miracle tale is sailing very close to the wind of profanity — it may be that this is why, in his homiletic *queue*, he later goes out of his way to express his displeasure at those who take his Virgin miracles to be *fables* or *faintes*. As he says, such people would be better off with a real fabliau story: 'Plus volentiers oent un conte / ou une trufe' (vv. 503–04).

To conclude, we return to our image of the fork in the road travelled, of the split in the common discourse that enables the *récit bref* to head either towards the serious or towards the comic. Gautier de Coinci's miracles are full of ambiguous episodes and characters (or who at least lend themselves to generic ambiguity): the drunken monk staggering across the cloister, and the illiterate priest who knows none of the prayers of Holy Office;[27] the tavern scenes, and the good-for-nothing dice players;[28] the soul whose possession is disputed between angels and devils;[29] the virile young stud rumoured to be pleasuring both wife and mother-in-law;[30] the awkward corpse, which has to be disposed of at all costs; the coarse

[25] Similarly, unable to speak of *con*, Gautier has recourse to *passage* or *porte de nature*.

[26] The example of *La Dame escoilliee* (*NRCF*, VIII/83) springs to mind.

[27] Cf. *Le Sacristain II* (*NRCF*, VII/74).

[28] Cf. *Estormi* (*NRCF*, I/1), *Saint Pierre et le Jongleur* (*NRCF*, I/3), *Le Prestre et les deus Ribaus* (*NRCF*, V/45), etc.

[29] Cf. *Le vilain qui conquist Paradis par Plait* (*NRCF*, V/39), etc.

[30] Cf. *Gombert*, *Le Meunier et les deus Clers*; see also above.

humiliation of characters who fall into the river, or into a latrine; the lecherous man caught in flagrante delicto and subsequently castrating himself.[31] All these examples, drawn from Gautier's two books of Virgin miracles, can be matched exactly by fabliau analogues.

In my introduction to this essay I cited Jacques Ribard's question: 'Et si les fabliaux n'étaient pas des contes à rire?' The world of the Old French fabliau may well be a world turned upside-down, but that of the shorter verse narrative to which it belongs is a parallel universe, a narrative double helix, binding together sacred and profane. Perhaps we should end with a rhetorical modification — which might indeed have been the ambivalent *titulus* of my paper: 'Et si les miracles de Gautier n'étaient pas des contes pieux?'[32]

[31] Cf. *Le Prestre crucefié* (*NRCF*, IV/27), *Le prestre taint* (*NRCF*, VII/81), *Connebert* (*NRCF*, VII/77), etc. The only difference here is a lexical one: for Gautier, *coper genstailles et membre* — for the fabliaux, *tranchier vit et coilles*.

[32] Other works consulted in preparing this study include François-Jérôme Beaussart, 'Sémiotique du corps dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 12 (1986), 43–47; Anne Berthelot, 'Anti-miracle et anti-fabliau: la subversion des genres', *Romania*, 106 (1985), 399–419; Brigitte Cazelles, *La Faiblesse chez Gautier de Coinci*, Stanford French and Italian Studies, 14 (Saratoga: Anma Libri, 1978); Shara Chennaf, 'La rubrique, une unité littéraire', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 76–85; Anna Drzewicka, 'La Fonction des emprunts à la poesie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 91 (1985), 33–51, 179–200; Tony Hunt, '"Monachus curialis": Gautier de Coinci and *courtoisie*', in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture: Selected Papers from the Tenth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society. Universität Tübingen 28 Juli–2 August 2001*, ed. by Christoph Huber and Henrike Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto, 2002), pp. 121–36.

Appendix I

Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame:* Manuscript List[1]

Kathryn A. Duys assisted by Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones

Gautier's Marian collection[2] survives as a whole or in part in 114 manuscripts, eighty-three of which are described by Ducrot-Granderye in her seminal study of the *MND* manuscripts (DG).[3] She divided the large corpus into three main branches: the manuscripts that preserve to a great extent Gautier's complete collection of eighty-nine poems; those that preserve large groups of poems from the collection; and finally, the manuscripts that contain just one or two of Gautier's poems excerpted within other collections. Following standard practice, DG assigned sigla that systematically indicate the branch of the tradition to which each manuscript belongs. Capital letters designate 'complete' manuscripts, lower-case letters represent the semi-complete manuscripts, and numbers indicate the excerpt manuscripts. The list of *MND* manuscripts provided below retains DG's sigla and groupings, updating locations and shelf-marks as necessary. The datings provided in the final list have also been revised to reflect the latest findings with the kind help of IRHT research staff and the painstaking assistance of Alison Stones.[4] In the 'complete' manuscripts, omissions of some texts, additions of others, substitutions of yet others, and variations in order are common. We have provided a very general indication of the contents for these manuscripts that summarizes DG's descriptions and briefly outlines contents that she did not note.[5]

One manuscript included in DG's study has been removed: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1099 (MS Add-1, also known as W_2). As Chailley noted, it does not contain a song by Gautier, but rather a motet from whose upper voice Gautier drew the melody and much text for his pious pastourelle, *Hui matin à l'ajornee* (II Ch 6).[6] Three other manuscripts — MSS 4, 5, and Add-24 — were completely destroyed at the end of World War II by Allied bombing that caused

a fire at the Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres. Most of another Chartres manuscript, Add-7, was also destroyed, including the section with two of Gautier's miracle stories. Rather than remove these four manuscripts from DG's list, however, we have opted to list them in brackets because her work allows the manuscripts to be used in analyses of the transmission of the *MND*. Nevertheless, all counts and references to extant *MND* manuscripts exclude the four Chartres codices.

One late thirteenth-century manuscript, the *Grand recueil de la Clayette*, was known to DG through a late manuscript copy produced in the eighteenth century (MS q), but the original was considered lost. Since the publication of her work, the *Grand recueil de la Clayette* was recovered and then acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Accordingly, we have added it to DG's list and have assigned it the siglum Add-y.

As DG's work was nearing publication, she became aware of several manuscripts that belonged to the third branch of the *MND* manuscript tradition. She assigned these manuscripts sigla with the prefix 'Add' and appended them to her final list (Add-2–8). However, she did not provide descriptions of them, nor did she incorporate them into her synoptic tables. Since DG's study appeared, many more *MND* Branch III manuscripts have been identified (Add-9–18).[7] We have added a further twenty-one from references in Brayer, Sonet, Sinclair, and other studies kindly drawn to our attention by Adelaide Bennett (Add-19–39).[8] In the notes, we have included brief descriptions of as many of the 'Add' manuscripts as possible, indicating which part or parts of the *MND* are found in them. Although the list provided here is comprehensive, it does not pretend to be definitive, for new manuscripts may continue to be identified — and, alas, some may be lost — as manuscript studies of the *MND* proceed.

The following three lists of *MND* manuscripts order them respectively by siglum, location, and date. Notes on individual manuscripts are included only in the first manuscript list, and all references to texts of the *MND* use the numbering system that Koenig developed in his standard edition of the *MND*.[9]

MND *Manuscripts Listed by Siglum*

A	Blois, BM, 34[10]
B	Brussels, BR, 10747[11]
C	London, BL, Harley 4401[12]
D	Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18[13]
E	Paris, BNF, fr. 817[14]
F	Paris, BNF, fr. 986[15]

G	Paris, BNF, fr. 1530[16]
H	Paris, BNF, fr. 1533[17]
I	Paris, BNF, fr. 1536[18]
K	Paris, BNF, fr. 1613[19]
L	Paris, BNF, fr. 22928[20]
M	Paris, BNF, fr. 2163[21]
N	Paris, BNF, fr. 25532[22]
O	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969[23]
R	St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9[24]
S	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (Soissons MS)[25]
T	Besançon, BM, 551[26]
a	Brussels, BR, 9229–30[27]
b	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475
c	Charleville, BM, 90
d	Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24 (olim Y. 389)[28]
e	Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816
f	Paris, B. Ars., 3527[29]
g	Paris, B. Ars., 5204[30]
h	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295
i	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276
k	Paris, BNF, fr. 423
l	Paris, BNF, fr. 818
m	Paris, BNF, fr. 1546
n	Paris, BNF, fr. 1807
o	Paris, BNF, fr. 2193[31]
p	Paris, BNF, fr. 19166[32]
q	Paris, BNF, fonds Moreau 1715–19[33]
r	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586
s	Tours, BM, 948
t	Paris, BNF, fr. 23111
v	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113[34]
x	Paris, BNF, fr. 15110
Add-y	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521 (*Grand recueil de la Clayette*)
1	Cambrai, MM, 87[35]
2	Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106[36]
3	Charleville, BM, 271
[4]	[Chartres, BM, 620][37]

[5]	[Chartres, BM, 1595]
6	Châteauroux, BM, 17
7	Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106[38]
8	Lille, BM, 130
9	Brussels, BR, IV.119 (Gilles li Muisis MS)[39]
10	London, BL, Add. 16636
10-bis	London, BL, Egerton 274
11	London, BL, Egerton 945[40]
12	Lyon, BM, 739 (olim 645)[41]
13	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828[42]
13-bis	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1
14	Paris, B. Ars., 570
15	Paris, B. Ars., 650
16	Paris, B. Ars., 3142[43]
17	Paris, B. Ars., 3516[44]
18	Paris, BNF, fr. 375[45]
19	Paris, BNF, fr. 837[46]
20	Paris, BNF, fr. 2162
21	Paris, BNF, fr. 2495
22	Paris, BNF, fr. 12467[47]
22-bis	Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (*Rosarius* MS)[48]
23	Paris, BNF, fr. 15212
24	Paris, BNF, fr. 17068[49]
25	Paris, BNF, fr. 19152
26	Paris, BNF, fr. 24300
27	Paris, BNF, fr. 24436[50]
28	Paris, BNF, fr. 24748[51]
28-bis	Paris, BNF, fr. 25462
29	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044
29-bis	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 11198 (fragment)
30	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 20001 (fragment)
30-bis	Paris, BNF, lat. 3556[52]
31	Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, 219[53]
32	Rennes, BM, 593[54]
33	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1959
34	Serrant, Chateau de Serrant, Chartier de Serrant (fragment)[55]
35	Troyes, BM, 1905[56]
Add-2	Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3[57]

Add-3 Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale, Z. 49 (fragment in binding)[58]
Add-4 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, I. 4. 20 3[59]
Add-5 Paris, B. Ars., 3641[60]
Add-6 Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212[61]
[Add-7] [Chartres, BM, 1027][62]
Add-8 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8[63]
Add-9 Evora, Biblioteca publica, CXXIV/2–9[64]
Add-10 Paris, B. Ars., 3123[65]
Add-11 Paris, BNF, fr. 13167[66]
Add-12 Paris, BNF, fr. 24432[67]
Add-13 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412[68]
Add-14 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510[69]
Add-15 Paris, BNF, lat. 17994[70]
Add-16 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, Item 23, fols 30–33 (fragment)[71]
Add-17 Rouen, BM, 533[72]
Add-18 Torino, Biblioteca nazionale, L. II. 19[73]
Add-19 Evreux, BM, lat. 117[74]
Add-20 Nancy, BM, 35 (245)[75]
Add-21 London, BL, Add. 16975[76]
Add-22 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 98[77]
Add-23 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729[78]
[Add-24] [Chartres, BM, 546][79]
Add-25 Den Haag, KB, 78 J 49[80]
Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192[81]
Add-27 Paris, B. Ars., 2115[82]
Add-28 Paris, BNF, fr. 1181[83]
Add-29 Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321[84]
Add-30 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75[85]
Add-31 London, BL, Cotton Appendix V[86]
Add-32 Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *096/R66 (I)[87]
Add-33 Tours, BM, 231[88]
Add-34 St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 37/626[89]
Add-35 Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 619[90]
Add-36 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261[91]
Add-37 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284[92]
Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84[93]
Add-39 Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4[94]

MND *Manuscripts Listed Alphabetically by Location*

Add-4	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, I. 4. 20 3
Add-6	Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212
Add-22	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 98
Add-36	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261
Add-37	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284
7	Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106
13	Bern, Burgerbibilothek, cod. 828
T	Besançon, BM, 551
A	Blois, BM, 34
Add-29	Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321
a	Brussels, BR, 9229–30
B	Brussels, BR, 10747
9	Brussels, BR, IV.119 (Gilles li Muisis MS)
1	Cambrai, MM, 87
Add-30	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75
2	Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106
b	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475
c	Charleville, BM, 90
3	Charleville, BM, 271
[Add-24]	[Chartres, BM, 546]
[4]	[Chartres, BM, 620]
[Add-7]	[Chartres, BM, 1027]
[5]	[Chartres, BM, 1595]
6	Châteauroux, BM, 17
d	Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24
Add-25	Den Haag, KB, 78 J 49
Add-8	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8
Add-9	Evora, Biblioteca publica, CXXIV/2–9
Add-19	Evreux, BM, lat. 117
v	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113
Add-3	Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale, Z. 49 (fragment in binding)
8	Lille, BM, 130
10	London, BL, Add. 16636
Add-21	London, BL, Add. 16975
Add-31	London, BL, Cotton Appendix V
10-bis	London, BL, Egerton 274

11	London, BL, Egerton 945
C	London, BL, Harley 4401
12	Lyon, BM, 739
Add-2	Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3
Add-32	Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *096/R66 (I)
Add-20	Nancy, BM, 35 (245)
e	Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816
Add-38	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84
Add-23	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729
13-bis	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1
14	Paris, B. Ars., 570
15	Paris, B. Ars., 650
Add-26	Paris, B. Ars., 1192
Add-27	Paris, B. Ars., 2115
Add-10	Paris, B. Ars., 3123
16	Paris, B. Ars., 3142
17	Paris, B. Ars., 3516
D	Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18
f	Paris, B. Ars., 3527
Add-5	Paris, B. Ars., 3641
g	Paris, B. Ars., 5204
18	Paris, BNF, fr. 375
k	Paris, BNF, fr. 423
E	Paris, BNF, fr. 817
l	Paris, BNF, fr. 818
19	Paris, BNF, fr. 837
F	Paris, BNF, fr. 986
Add-28	Paris, BNF, fr. 1181
G	Paris, BNF, fr. 1530
H	Paris, BNF, fr. 1533
I	Paris, BNF, fr. 1536
m	Paris, BNF, fr. 1546
K	Paris, BNF, fr. 1613
n	Paris, BNF, fr. 1807
20	Paris, BNF, fr. 2162
M	Paris, BNF, fr. 2163
o	Paris, BNF, fr. 2193
21	Paris, BNF, fr. 2495

22	Paris, BNF, fr. 12467
22-bis	Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (*Rosarius* MS)
Add-11	Paris, BNF, fr. 13167
x	Paris, BNF, fr. 15110
23	Paris, BNF, fr. 15212
24	Paris, BNF, fr. 17068
25	Paris, BNF, fr. 19152
p	Paris, BNF, fr. 19166
L	Paris, BNF, fr. 22928
t	Paris, BNF, fr. 23111
26	Paris, BNF, fr. 24300
Add-12	Paris, BNF, fr. 24432
27	Paris, BNF, fr. 24436
28	Paris, BNF, fr. 24748
28-bis	Paris, BNF, fr. 25462
N	Paris, BNF, fr. 25532
30-bis	Paris, BNF, lat. 3556
Add-15	Paris, BNF, lat. 17994
q	Paris, BNF, fonds Moreau 1715–19
i	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276
Add-13	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412
Add-14	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510
h	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295
29	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044
29-bis	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 11198 (fragment)
Add-y	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521 (*Grand recueil de La Clayette*)
30	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 20001 (fragment)
S	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (Soissons MS)
r	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586
Add-16	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, Item 23, fols 30–33 (fragment)
31	Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, 219
Add-35	Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 619
Add-39	Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4
32	Rennes, BM, 593
Add-17	Rouen, BM, 533
Add-34	St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 37/626

R	St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9
34	Serrant, Chateau de Serrant, Chartier de Serrant (fragment)
Add-18	Torino, Biblioteca nazionale, L. II. 19
Add-33	Tours, BM, 231
s	Tours, BM, 948
35	Troyes, BM, 1905
33	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1959
O	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969

MND *Manuscripts Listed by Date and by Siglum*

Dated and Datable Manuscripts (listed by date)

M	Paris, BNF, fr. 2163	dated 1266
17	Paris, B. Ars., 3516	datable to 1267–68
S	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (Soissons MS)	datable to 1328–34
9	Brussels, BR, IV.119 (Gilles li Muisis MS)	datable to 1351–52
E	Paris, BNF, fr. 817	dated 1465

Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts (listed by siglum)

A	Blois, BM, 34	
B	Brussels, BR, 10747	
C	London, BL, Harley 4401	
D	Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18	
F	Paris, BNF, fr. 986	
G	Paris, BNF, fr. 1530	
H	Paris, BNF, fr. 1533	
I	Paris, BNF, fr. 1536	
K	Paris, BNF, fr. 1613	
L	Paris, BNF, fr. 22928	
M	Paris, BNF, fr. 2163	dated 1266
N	Paris, BNF, fr. 25532	
R	St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9	*c.* 1260–70 (?)
T	Besançon, BM, 551	
c	Charleville, BM, 90	
f	Paris, B. Ars., 3527	

h	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295	
l	Paris, BNF, fr. 818	
m	Paris, BNF, fr. 1546	
n	Paris, BNF, fr. 1807	
o	Paris, BNF, fr. 2193	
p	Paris, BNF, fr. 19166	
r	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586	
t	Paris, BNF, fr. 23111	
v	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113	
x	Paris, BNF, fr. 15110	
Add-y	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521 (*Grand recueil de La Clayette*)	
1	Cambrai, MM, 87	
2	Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106	
[4]	[Chartres, BM, 620]	
7	Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106	
10-bis	London, BL, Egerton 274	
13-bis	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1	
14	Paris, B. Ars., 570	
16	Paris, B. Ars., 3142	
17	Paris, B. Ars., 3516	datable to 1267/68
18	Paris, BNF, fr. 375	
19	Paris, BNF, fr. 837	
20	Paris, BNF, fr. 2162	
21	Paris, BNF, fr. 2495	
22	Paris, BNF, fr. 12467	
25	Paris, BNF, fr. 19152	
26	Paris, BNF, fr. 24300	
28-bis	Paris, BNF, fr. 25462	
29-bis	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 11198 (fragment)	
30	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 20001 (fragment)	
34	Serrant, Chateau de Serrant, Chartier de Serrant (fragment)	
Add-3	Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale, Z. 49 (fragment in binding)	
Add-5	Paris, B. Ars., 3641	
Add-8	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8	
Add-14	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510	*c.* 1287 (?)
Add-15	Paris, BNF, lat. 17994	
Add-16	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, Item 23, fols 30–33 (fragment)	

Add-17	Rouen, BM, 533	
Add-18	Torino, Biblioteca nazionale, L. II. 19	
Add-21	London, BL, Add. 16975	before 1297
Add-22	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 98	before 1297
Add-23	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729	before 1297
Add-35	Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 619	

Early Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts

O	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969	
S	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (Soissons MS)	datable to 1328–34
a	Brussels, BR, 9229–30	
b	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475	
d	Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24	*c.* 1327(?)
g	Paris, B. Ars., 5204	*c.* 1328(?)
i	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276	
k	Paris, BNF, fr. 423	
s	Tours, BM, 948	
3	Charleville, BM, 271	
8	Lille, BM, 130	
9	Brussels, BR, IV.119 (Gilles li Muisis MS)	datable to 1351–52
11	London, BL, Egerton 945	
12	Lyon, BM, 739	
22-bis	Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (*Rosarius* MS)	
23	Paris, BNF, fr. 15212	
30-bis	Paris, BNF, lat. 3556	
31	Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, 219	
32	Rennes, BM, 593	*c.* 1304 (?)
35	Troyes, BM, 1905	
Add-4	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, I. 4. 20 3	
[Add-7]	[Chartres, BM, 1027]	
Add-9	Evora, Biblioteca publica, CXXIV/2–9	
Add-12	Paris, BNF, fr. 24432	
Add-13	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412	
Add-31	London, BL, Cotton Appendix V	
Add-32	Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *096/R66 (I)	
Add-34	St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 37/626	

Late Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts

27	Paris, BNF, fr. 24436	
28	Paris, BNF, fr. 24748	

Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts (including dated manuscripts)

E	Paris, BNF, fr. 817	dated 1465
e	Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816	
13	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828	
15	Paris, B. Ars., 650	
24	Paris, BNF, fr. 17068	
29	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044	
33	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1959	
Add-2	Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3	
Add-6	Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212	
Add-19	Evreux, BM, lat. 117	
Add-20	Nancy, BM, 35 (245)	
Add-25	Den Haag, KB, 78 J 49	
Add-26	Paris, B. Ars., 1192	
Add-27	Paris, B. Ars., 2115	
Add-28	Paris, BNF, fr. 1181	
Add-29	Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321	
Add-30	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75	
Add-36	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261	
Add-37	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284	
Add-38	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84	
Add-39	Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4	

Late Fifteenth- or Early Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts

Add-11	Paris, BNF, fr. 13167
[Add-24]	[Chartres, BM, 546]
Add-33	Tours, BM, 231

Manuscripts from Later Periods

6	Châteauroux, BM, 17 (Seventeenth-century copy of MS 25)
q	Paris, BNF, fonds Moreau 1715–1719 (Eighteenth-century copy of MS Add-y)
Add-10	Paris, B. Ars., 3123 (Eighteenth-century literary anthology that draws on numerous medieval manuscripts, including MSS N and 28-bis)
[5]	[Chartres, BM, 1595] (Nineteenth-century MS destroyed in WWII)
10	London, BL, Add. 16636 (Nineteenth-century copy of MS 9)

Notes

[1] We would like to acknowledge first and foremost the resources and researchers of the Institut de Recherche et de l'Histoire des Textes (IRHT) without whose help this work would not have been possible.

[2] The only other work that is securely attributed to Gautier de Coinci is a life of St Christine which survives in two manuscripts that also preserve his miracle collection, MSS E and 2, as well as four manuscript fragments now located in Budapest's national library, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. See Olivier Collet's edition: Gautier de Coinci, *La Vie de sainte Christine*, ed. by Olivier Collet, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1999), pp. vii–xvii.

[3] There are no early printed editions of the *MND*, unlike the *Vie des Pères* with which the *MND* was often combined (especially in the semi-complete manuscripts). The *MND* was first printed in 1857 by the Abbé Pocquet: Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. by Abbé Pocquet (1857; Geneva: Slatkine, 1972). This work, winsome as it is, cannot not be considered a scholarly edition. Pocquet omitted parts of the *MND* he found uninteresting, unnecessary, repetitive, or objectionable. He rearranged the collection, forgot some texts, and made hundreds of little errors (misreadings, misidentification of illuminations, erroneous commentary, etc.). However, his transcriptions of marginal notations are particularly valuable, but they must *always* be verified.

[4] See the article by Stones in this volume as well her appendices on illustrated *MND* manuscripts, stylistic attributions, and manuscripts containing Gautier's final prayers, II Prières 37–40.

[5] See Butterfield's Introduction to this volume. For a study of *mouvance* and textual design in the 'complete' *MND* manuscripts, see Kathryn A. Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1997) (currently being prepared for publication).

[6] Gautier de Coinci, *Les chansons à la Vierge: Edition musical critique avec introduction et commentaires*, ed. by Jacques Chailley, Publications de la Société française de Musicologie, 15 (Paris: Heugel, 1959), p. 54.

[7] Arthur Långfors, 'Notice sur deux manuscrits des miracles de Gautier de Coinci', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 31 (1930), 62–81; Långfors, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits de Bruxelles et un Livre d'heures d'Evora (Portugal)', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 52 (1951), 158–65;

Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols (Paris [Mâcon: Protat], 1934), indices; Paul Meyer, 'Le Salut Notre Dame: La lettre de Prêtre Jean (Fragment appartenant à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève)', *Romania*, 39 (1910), 268–76; Louis Mourin, 'Poésies religieuses inconnues dans des manuscrits de Bruxelles et un Livre d'heures d'Evora', *Scriptorium*, 3 (1949), 218–29; Mourin, 'Note complémentaire', *Scriptorium*, 5 (1951), 304–05; Saverio Panunzio, 'Testi inediti da un codice in antico francese della Nazionale di Torino', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi de Bari*, 12 (1967), 117–63.

[8] Jean Sonet, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français* (Geneva: Droz, 1956), nos 330, 309, 1100, 515; Edith Brayer, 'Livres d'heures contenant des textes en français', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, 12 (1964), 31–102; Keith Val Sinclair, *Prières en ancien français: Nouvelles références, renseignements complémentaires, indications bibliographiques, corrections et tables articles du Répertoire de Sonet* (Hamden: Archon, 1978), no. 330; Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages: A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide* (Westport: Greenwood, 1979; 1st supplement, 1982; 2nd supplement, 1988); Sinclair, *Prières en ancien français: additions et corrections aux articles 1–2374 du Répertoire de Sonet: supplement* (Townsville: Department of Modern Languages, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1987). See also the catalogue entries for Gautier de Coinci at the IRHT in Paris. Note, however, that Sonet, *Répertoire*, gives Paris, BNF, fr. 1639, fol. 84, corrected by Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, to Paris, BNF, fr. 1635, a thirteenth-century literary and devotional miscellany; but the text he identified is by Rutebeuf, not Gautier de Coinci. Similarly, Sinclair notes a prayer in a fifteenth-century book of hours, San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 1148, that contains a prayer with an incipit that matches Gautier's II Prière 38. However, the rest of the prayer is not Gautier's, so it should be considered a quotation of Gautier's incipit rather than a copy of his prayer. Another instance of an incipit which matches one of Gautier's is the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, 'A la loenge et a la gloire,' which quotes I Pr 1 but continues 'de la pourueance diuine dieu quy est sire et roy souuerain [...]', cited from London, BL, Royal 14. E. ii; see H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1893–1915), I, 922–23. Another copy is in a private collection; see H. P. Kraus, *Catalogue 172* (New York: Kraus, 1985), lot 7, a reference kindly drawn to our attention by François Avril.

[9] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70). Hereafter 'Koenig'. As Ardis Butterfield notes in her Introduction to this volume, none of the 'complete' manuscripts corresponds exactly to the list of contents in Koenig's standard edition of the *MND*. The notes that follow below briefly outline the contents of the 'complete' manuscripts and a number of the partial manuscripts, particularly those that are not in DG. For a fuller account of the contents of each manuscript, see Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song'. A complete database of Gautier manuscripts is in preparation; the present notes are provisional.

[10] MS A: Lacks the end of I Ch 3 and I Ch 4–9; ends with II Dout 34 (DG 54–56).

[11] MS B: Ends with II Dout 34 (DG 56–57).

[12] MS C: Has the same omissions and order as MS G and ends earlier in II Mir 29 (thus MS G cannot have been copied from MS C) (DG 67–68).

[13] MS D: Contains in vol I songs in French, Genealogy of the Virgin in French, I Prière 1 (beginning incomplete), noted songs in Latin and French, I Mir 10–43, I Ch 45–47, DG 88,

Nativity of the Virgin in French, Nativity of Christ in French, Assumption of the Virgin in French, Nativity of St John and the Acts of Christ, further songs, II Prière 1, II Ch 2, II Ch 4–6, II Mir 9, I Ch 3, I Ch 8, further songs, Miracles of Notre-Dame de Laon; vol. II: Miracles of Notre-Dame de Laon, II Sal 35, II Ch 36, Prologue to *Eructavit*, followed by other texts not by Gautier de Coinci (DG 41–46). For these texts, see Collet in this volume. For the illustrations, see Stones in this volume.

[14] MS E: Book I, lacks I Prière 2, I Ch 2–9, and I Mir 37–38; Book II, lacks II Ch 3–8, II Mir 20, II Epi 33; after II Ch 36 is a prayer 'Mere em plorant nous convient conforter [. . .]'; lacks II Prières 37–38 and II Prière 40; followed by Gautier's *Vie de sainte Christine*; for a new appraisal of this manuscript's origins, see Olivier Collet's edition of *La Vie de sainte Christine*. See also note 2 above and the articles by Collet and Stones in this volume.

[15] MS F: Lacks I Ch 45–47 and II Ch 2–8; ends with II Ch 36 (DG 61–62).

[16] MS G: Lacks I Ch 45–47, II Ch 7, II Ch 8, II Mir 27; ends incomplete in II Mir 29 (DG 66–67). Possibly the earliest extant *MND* manuscript; see the article by Stones in this volume where she argues that it may predate 1250.

[17] MS H: Begins with *Vie de Nostre Dame and Passion nostre Seigneur [. . .] les XV signes du définement du monde*. Lacks I Ch 6 and the beginning of I Ch 5 (which has been displaced); lacks I Ch 45–47, II Ch 7 and 8; ends with II Prière 40 (DG 57–59). For the additional texts, see Collet in this volume. For the illustration, see the article by Stones in this volume.

[18] MS I: Ends at II Ch 36, followed by Explicit and a paraphrase of *Eructavit* (DG 47–48).

[19] MS K: Lacks I Prière 1 and the songs of Book I; I Mir 11 follows I Mir 19; lacks I Mir 44–II Ch 8, ends at II Ch 10 (DG 59–61).

[20] MS L: Begins with *Généalogie de Nostre Dame*, *Nativité Nostre Dame*, *Nativite Jesus-Crist*, *La Çainne Nostre Seigneur*, *Regrès de la mere Jesus-Crist*. Some lacunae; ends with II Ch 36 (DG 63–66). Both DG and Koenig dated MS L to the early fourteenth century on paleographic grounds, since the scribal hand, gothic *textura*, is rather angular. With the kind help of Patricia Stirnemann of the BNF and the IRHT, Karen Duys has redated this manuscript to the late thirteenth-century. The miniatures are unmistakably late thirteenth-century in style as is the penflourishing. However, the text at the end of the manuscript, *L'epistre saint Jherome de la garde de virginité, laquele il envoia a Eustochium, a fille sainte Paule*, was copied in the early fourteenth century. The hand of this text is more angular than the hand of the *MND*, and it has a typically early fourteenth-century foliate bar border on its first folio (fol. 300^{r}). These borders contrast with the extenders that decorate the margins of selected folios in the *MND*. Finally, Stirnemann noted that the first scribal initial of the table of *L'epistre saint Jherome* is decorated with elaborate penflourishing that employs three dots, a revealing early fourteenth-century decorative motif. See the articles by Collet, Duys, Krause, and Stones in this volume.

[21] MS M: Contains I Prière 1, I Mir 10–44, II Prière 1, II Ch 2, *Puis que voi la fleur novele* (DG 92), *Por mon chief reconforter* (DG 93), II Mir 9, II Ch 10, II Mir 11–32, II Epi 33, II Dout 34, II Prière 34, II Sal 35, II Ch 36, *De incarnatione et nativitate domini*, inc. *Hui enfantez fu li filz Dieu* (DG 88), II Prières 37–38, followed by explicit and colophon giving the name of the scribe, Guillaume monk of Morigny (OSB, Diocese of Orléans) and the date of 1266 (DG 36–41). For the illustration, see the article by Stones in this volume.

[22] MS N: Lacks II Ch 5; some lacunae; ends with II Prière 39, followed by *Nativité Nostre Dame*, *Assumptions Nostre Dame*, *Nativité Jhesucrist*, Miracle of Christ's Baby Tooth (also found in MS R), *Eructavit* in French, and several other texts in French (DG 68–70). This manuscript was illuminated by the same artist as MS R, so the dating of R also relates to N. See the articles by Collet, Duys, and Stones in this volume.

[23] MS O: Lacks I Prière 1, I Ch 2–9, II Mir 31–33, II Epi 33; ends with II Prière 40, followed by *Mystère de la passion et de la résurrection* (DG 71).

[24] MS R: Begins with *Généalogie Nostre Dame*, *Nativité Nostre Dame*, *Nativité Jhesucrist*, *Assumption Nostre Dame*, *Nativité S Jehan Baptiste et li fait Jhesucris*; ends with II Ch 36, followed by the Miracle of Christ's Baby Tooth (also found in MS N), the *Regrès Nostre Dame*, *Regrès de la mere Jhesu Crist*, *Eructavit* in French, *Comment Jhesus Criz commanda la sainte Vierge mere en la garde saint Jehan evangelistre*; Prologue to *Vies des peres*; *li leguaz amoureux and Li premiers signes d'amors* (DG 72–74). The NLR at St Petersburg was formerly known as Public Library M. E. Saltykov-Schedrin or the State Public Library in Leningrad. The estimated date of this manuscript, *c.* 1260–70, is based on stylistic consideration of the illuminations. See Tamara Voronova and Andrei Sterligov, *Manuscrits enluminés occidentaux du VIIIe au XIVe siècle à la bibliothèque nationale de Russie de Saint Pétersbourg: France, Espagne, Angleterre, Alemagne, Italie, Pays-Bas* (Bournemouth: Parkstone; St Petersburg: Aurora, 1996), p. 67. Note that this dating is only given in the French edition of Voronova and Sterligov's book. See the articles by Collet, Duys, and Stones in this volume.

[25] MS S: Contains I Prières 1–2, I Ch 3–9, *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (DG 10), I Mir 10–43, II Dout 34, *Pour la pucele* (DG 47), II Ch 36, II Ch 2, I Mir 44, I Ch 45–47, II Prière 1, II Ch 3–10, II Mir 11–32, II Epi 33, II Prière 34, II Sal 35, II Prières 37–40 (DG 19–36). Christian de Mérindol has suggested a date of 1329 for this manuscript, and Gerhard Schmidt dates it *c.* 1330. See Mérindol's two articles, 'Le livre peint à la fin du moyen âge, support privilégié d'une politique dynastique, familiale ou personnelle: Les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (B.N., n. a. fr. 24541) et le *Livre d'heures de Pierre II de Bretagne* (B.N., lat. 1159)', in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XVe siècle: Actes du Colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992 organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy*, ed. by Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 499–514; and 'Portrait et généalogie: La genèse du portrait réaliste et individualisé', in *Population et démographie au Moyen Age*, ed. by Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: CTHS, 1995), pp. 219–48; and G. Schmidt, 'Zur Datierung der Chorfenster von Königsfelden', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 40 (1986), 161–71, repr. in *Malerei der Gotik: Fixpunkte und Ausblicke*, ed. by M. Roland, 2 vols, (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 2005), II, 189–98 (p. 194, fig. 195). See the articles by Black and Stones in this volume.

[26] MS T: Lacks a few miracles due to lacunae; substitutes *Vies des pères* for II Mir 19–27 and ends at II Dout 34 (DG 51–54). Jacques Dalarun estimates this manuscript to date from 1250–1300, *Le Moyen Age en lumière: Manuscrits enluminés des bibliothèques de France*, ed. by Jacques Dalarun (Paris: Fayard, 2002), passim. See the articles by Krause and Stones in this volume.

[27] MS a: This is the second half of a manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, and *Vie des Pères* that was divided in two; its first half is Brussels, BR, 9225. See Joseph van den Gheyn and others, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 12 vols (Brussels:

Lamertin, 1901–09), V, no. 3354. Related to MSS d and g. See the articles by Krause and Stones in this volume.

[28] MS d: This is thought to be the second half of a divided manuscript of which the first part, a *Vies des Pères*, is Paris, BNF, fr. 183. The two manuscripts have long been recognized as the work of the same illuminator, who also participated in MS a and its other half (Brussels, BR, 9225 and 9229–30); see Stones in this volume. Rouse and Rouse have identified this Den Haag manuscript and BNF fr. 183 with the payment by Charles IV to Thomas de Maubeuge on 30 April 1327 for a *Vies des saints* and *Miracles de la Vierge*. This identification assumes that the secundo folio and last folio incipits cited in the payment correspond instead to the last words on the first folio and on the penultimate folio; see Richard A. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500: Illuminati et uxorati*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols and Harvey Miller, 2000), I, 18, 189; II, 86, 183. Also related to MS g. See the article by Stones in this volume.

[29] MS f: Alison Stones notes that the work of the collaborators of this manuscript's artist falls between 1277 and 1297, and that this artist's career probably did not extend beyond those dates. See 'The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context', in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), I, 227–322 (pp. 243–50).

[30] MS g: Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, I, 196–98, tentatively suggest this is part of another two-volume set, the one sold on 18 January 1328 by Thomas de Mauberge to Mahaut d'Artois; but, as they acknowledge, there is no proof; the other volume has not survived. Related to MSS a and d. See the article by Stones in this volume.

[31] MS o: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[32] MS p: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[33] MSS q and Add-y: MS q is a late-eighteenth century copy of the thirteenth-century MS Add-y. See Paul Meyer, 'Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits français ayant appartenu au Marquis de la Clayette (Bibliothèque Nationale, Moreau 1715–1719)', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et d'autres bibliothèques*, vol. XXXIII.1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880), pp. 1–90.

[34] MS v: Listed by DG as Laurentienne 45 (Ashburnham 53), which is the manuscript's catalogue entry rather than its shelf mark.

[35] MS 1: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[36] MS 2: Also contains Gautier's *Vie de sainte Christine*. See also note 2 above.

[37] MS 4 and 5: Destroyed in WWII.

[38] MS 7: Formerly Cheltenham, Phillipps, 3643. See Pamela Gehrke, *Saints and Scribes: Medieval Hagiography in its Manuscript Context*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 126 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), especially pp. 86–123.

[39] MS 9: Formerly London, Ashburnham Place, Barrois 20. Sold to C. Fairfax Murray, later to C. W. Dyson Perrins, and in 1960 to the Bibliothèque royale.

[40] MS 11: DG dates this manuscript to the late fourteenth century, but most scholars date it earlier in the century. See Paul Meyer, 'Notice du MS Egerton 945 du Musée britannique', *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 7 (1881), 44–72; Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: Trustees of the British Museum,

1906–09), I, 255; Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organum recentioris et motetorum veustissimi stili I* (Halle, 1910/New York, 1964–78), p. 13; Higini Anglès, *El Codex musical de las Huelgas*, 3 vols (Barcelona: Institut déstudis catalans: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1977), I, 176; W. Rothwell, 'Liber divini amoris', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 9.3 (1964), 29–59; Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th–Early 14th c.*, RISM (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), pp. 498–501; Geneviève Hasenohr, 'Un Donat de dévotion en langue d'oc du XIIIe siècle: le *Liber divini amoris*', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 35 (*Église et culture en France méridionale XIIe–XIVe s.*) (2000), 219–43, colour pls II, III (fols 43, 288). Contains an Occitan version of II Prière 37 in a woman's voice on fol. 107^r^. See the article by Stones in this volume.

[41] MS 12: DG and Meyer both identify this manuscript incorrectly as Lyon, Collège 584. (P. Meyer, [review of Wendelin Foerster, 'Un testo dialettale italiano del secolo XIII', *Giornali di filologia romanza*, 4 (1889), 44], *Romania*, 9 (1880), 162.) This is an Italian manuscript, the only one thus far known to contain a *MND* text. Paul Meyer, 'De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie pendant le moyen âge', in A*tti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche (Roma 1–9 aprile 1903), IV, Atti della Sezopne III: Storia delle letterature* (Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1904), pp. 60–104, noting that the same scribe wrote Paris, BNF, fr. 12571 and 15106. Meyer is cited by Clovis Brunel in his review of *Jaufré,* ed. by Helmann Breuer (Göttingen: Niemeyer, 1925), *Romania*, 54 (1928), 529–33 (p. 531).

[42] MS 13: Formerly in the Steiger-May family collection in Bern, known as the Steiger-May *Vie des Pères*.

[43] MS 16: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[44] MS 17: Claudia Guggenbühl argues that this manuscript was produced at the monastery of Saint-Omer close to 1267. See her seminal codicological study, especially p. 9 for the dating of the manuscript. Claudia Guggenbühl, *Recherches sur la composition et la structure du ms. Arsenal 3516*, Romanica Helvetica, 118 (Tübingen: A. Franke, 1998), pp. 244–45. Contains II Mir 9 on fol. 130^v^, unillustrated. Related to MS Add-18.

[45] MS 18: This is a literary compilation, part of which — Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (fols 68^r^–119^v^) — contains the date of 1289 (ns) and names the scribe as Jean Madot, nephew of Adam de la Halle (Adam le Bossu d'Arras); but this date reflects the model it was copied from. A different scribe copied Gautier's Theophilus miracle (I Mir 10), on fols 310–14 in four columns. See Terry Nixon, 'Catalogue of Manuscripts', in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Busby and others, II, 64–67.

[46] MS 19: Contains II Prière 38 on fol. 174, II Prière 37 on fol. 191^v^, and II Prière 40 on fol. 222^v^. See the article by Stones in this volume.

[47] MS 22: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[48] MS 22-bis: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[49] MS 24: Contains II Prière 37 on fol. 198^r^, the end of the manuscript (not on fol. 98 as DG indicates).

[50] MS 27: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[51] MS 28: See the article by Stones in this volume.

[52] MS 30-bis: Contains II Prière 37 on fol. 116^r^ (not fol. 113 as noted in DG).

[53] MS 31: Listed by DG as Pavia, Bibliothèque universitaire, CXXX. E. 5.

[54] MS 32: The Brunetto Latini section of this miscellany, fols 170r–284r, and the *Livre de Job*, fols 289v–299r, were written by Robin Boutemont in 1304. *Catalogue général*, XXIV (1894), sub numero (where the scribe's name is wrongly spelled Boutremont and the 1304 date is given in old style as 1303); Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, I, 185, 372 n. 88; II, 128, App. 7F, 7G; see Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, *L'image du monde: un trésor de la bibliothèque de Rennes* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), p. 113, for the suggestion that this copy may have belonged to Clémence de Hongrie because it includes on fols 41v–43r the rare *Almanach aux juifs* of which her inventory lists a copy. The Gautier de Coinci section is on fols 93v–103v. See Stones's essay in this volume.

[55] MS 34: See Charles Samaran, 'Fragments des manuscrits français et latins', *Romania*, 51 (1925), 173–83; and his *Archives de La Trémoïlle: Chartriers de Thouars et Serrant, Papiers Duchatel* (Paris: Champion, 1928). The *MND* fragment may correspond to the item listed as Archives Nationales, I AP II *762, but Samaran's shelf marks may not be in use at the Château de Serrant where these documents are now housed.

[56] MS 35: Contains II Prière 37 on fol. 195v preceded by a foliate initial.

[57] MS Add-2: Fifteenth-century parchment manuscript (262 x 184 mm), 160 folios, no illuminations, decorated with ornamented red and blue initials. Contains II Prière 40 on fol. 154r.

[58] MS Add-3: Late thirteenth-century parchment fragment in the binding of an incunabulum. Shelf-mark is that of the incunabulum. The fragment contains I Mir 11, vv. 73–114 and 193–32 and part of a tale from the *Vie des Pères.*

[59] MS Add-4: Formerly Maihingen, Bibl. Öttingen-Wallerstein, I 4. fol. 3. Late fourteenth-century parchment manuscript (304 x 210 mm), 120 folios, incomplete at the beginning. Five miniatures (two removed). This is a manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. Appended to the end of the *Rose*, closing the manuscript, is II Pr Sal 35, vv. 5–64 (?) and II Sal 35, vv. 1–247 on fols 119v–120v. There is space for a historiated initial at the head of Gautier's piece and for two decorated initials, but they were never executed.

[60] MS Add-5: Thirteenth-century parchment manuscript (200 x 140 mm), 169 folios; unilluminated. Contains tales from the *Vie des Pères*, some miracles of the Virgin that are not Gautier's, and fourteen verses of the epilogue of I Mir 22 on fol. 169r.

[61] MS Add-6: Fifteenth-century parchment manuscript (255 x 180 mm), 88 folios. Comes from the Monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel; contains Latin and French texts regarding the monastery's foundation, St Michael's miracles, his *vita*, indulgences, an account of a miraculous healing, and prayers. Ends with a collection of prayers to Christ and the Virgin, beginning with Gautier's II Prière 40 on fol. 86r.

[62] MS Add-7: Late fourteenth-century (not later than 1389) parchment manuscript (260 x 210 mm), originally 214 folios. This manuscript was badly damaged in a fire during WWII; only ten folios survive. The lost folios included II Mir 25 and I Mir 14. The manuscript originally contained the Latin collection of miracles of Notre-Dame de Chartres complemented by two Chartres miracles from the *MND* (not found in the Latin collection).

[63] MS Add-8: Thirteenth-century parchment manuscript (265 x 170 mm), 120 folios. Contains Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with marginal and interlineal glossing. II Prière 37 is copied in the lower margins of fols 81v–87r.

[64] MS Add-9: Fourteenth-century parchment manuscript (180 x 140 mm), 154 folios, unfoliated, with miniatures, decorated letters, marginal garlands. French book of hours with Old French and Latin prayers on the last thirty-two folios of the manuscript; fourteen Old French prayers take up twenty-five folios. (Gautier's II Prière 40 is the fifth); and Latin prayers take up the final seven folios.

[65] MS Add-10: Eighteenth-century paper manuscript (290 x 220 mm), 726 pages with engraved frontispiece depicting a hooded painter (monk?) with an oval canvas, a palette, and six paint brushes. An owl is perched above the painter; beyond the canvas a young man works a forge. Medieval literary miscellany that draws on numerous manuscripts. It contains a *MND* miracle story and two related texts from *MND* manuscripts: I Mir 41 (copied from MS 28-bis), the miracle story of Christ's Baby Tooth (found only in MSS N and R), and *La Court de paradis* (unique to MS N).

[66] MS Add-11: Fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Parisian book of hours, parchment (175 x 120 mm), 144 folios with two poorly executed miniatures. Contains II Prière 40 on fol. 59^{v}.

[67] MS Add-12: Fourteenth-century manuscript (215 x 310 mm), 443 folios, incomplete at the end; illuminations never executed. Literary miscellany, including poems by Marie de France and Rutebeuf among others. Contains I Mir 21 on fol. 312^{v} (fol. 315^{v} in the medieval foliation).

[68] MS Add-13: Fourteenth-century parchment book of hours from Tournai for Franciscan use, belonged to the Pignon family (200 x 140 mm), 365 folios; contains a few historiated initials, many foliate initials, penflourished initials in gold, blue, and red. Contains II Prière 37 on fol. 8^{v}.

[69] MS Add-14: Unillustrated parchment manuscript (192 x 130 mm), 124 folios. Second part of a two-volume devotional miscellany whose first part is Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4509 (Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, II, nos 3061–6500 (Paris: Leroux, 1900), sub numero). Contains II Prière 40 on fol. 77^{v}. BNF n. a. fr. 4509 contains the only surviving copy of the 1287 revision of the *Credo* composed by Jean, sire de Joinville (1225–1317), of which the first redaction was written, in the entourage of Louis IX, in the Holy Land *c.* 1250–51. See Sire de Joinville, *Credo*, Mélanges publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles français (Paris: Artaud de Montor, 1837; repr. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1870) (line facsimile); Lionel J. Friedman, *Text and Iconography for Joinville's Credo*, Medieval Academy of America Publications, 68 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1958). The second volume, BNF n. a. fr. 4510, is a miscellany of devotional texts, including II Prière 40 on fol. 77^{v}. The scribe and illuminator are the same in both volumes. A date *c.* 1287 is likely (see Stones in this volume).

[70] MS Add-15: Late thirteenth-century Breviary of Saint-Corneille de Compiègne; parchment manuscript (168 x 120 mm), 538 folios, incomplete at the beginning with several damaged leaves. Twenty-nine miniatures and historiated initials. Contains II Prière 40 (fol. 535^{v}), II Prière 37 (fol. 536^{r}), which continues without a break into II Prière 39 (fol. 537^{v}, line 9). II Prière 37 is introduced with the image of a kneeling monk praising the Virgin.

[71] MS Add-16: Late thirteenth-century fragment, two bi-folios (192 x 138 mm) containing an abbreviated version of II Sal 35 (58 of 157 quatrains). Also contains *La lettre de Prêtre Jean.*

[72] MS Add-17: Thirteenth-century parchment manuscript (220 x 150 mm), 126 folios, unilluminated. Latin manuscript containing religious texts and an *ars epistolandi.* Contains II Ch 2, strophe 4 (on fol. 114^{v}) quoted in a model letter within the *ars epistolandi.* The same letter quotes the song by Gace Brulé (R. 1429) whose melody Gautier used for his II Ch 2.

[73] MS Add-18: Thirteenth (or early fourteenth-century) octavo manuscript, 21 folios, incomplete at the end. No illuminations. This manuscript was probably copied from MS 17, and therefore probably postdates 1268. Heavily damaged in a fire in 1904. Contains the first 201 verses of I Mir 20 on fols 19r–21r. See Guggenbühl, *Recherches*, pp. 244–45.

[74] MS Add-19: Diurnal from the Abbey of Lyre (OSB, Dioc. Evreux) that dates from the fifteenth century and contains II Prière 37 on fols 291–92. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*, no. 330; see also Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires*, indices.

[75] MS Add-20: Book of hours with a calendar of Toul from the fifteenth century; contains II Prière 37 on fols 183–90 and II Prière 40 on fols 160r–162r. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*, no. 330.

[76] MS Add-21: Psalter of Lyre Abbey (OSB, Dioc. Evreux) that dates from before 1297. Contains II Prière 37 on fols 233v–235r and II Prière 38 on fol. 235r Noted by Sinclair, *Prière: Nouvelles*, no. 330.

[77] MS Add-22: Book of hours of uncertain use, incomplete, from Champagne, dates from before 1297. Contains II Prière 37 on fol. 102r and II Prière 38 on fol. 88r. See Lilian M. C. Randall and Judith Oliver, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 119–23, no. 49. This manuscript was kindly drawn to our attention by Adelaide Bennett.

[78] MS Add-23: Psalter-Hours of Comtesse (proper name) de la Table and Yolande de Soissons, from Amiens, dates from before 1297. Contains II Prière 37 on fols 220r–222r. See Alison Stones, 'The Full-Page Miniatures of the Psalter-Hours New York, Morgan Library, M 729: Programme and Patron', in *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, ed. by F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 281–307. This manuscript was kindly drawn to our attention by Adelaide Bennett. Noted by Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 330.

[79] MS Add-24: Destroyed in WWII; fifteenth-century book of hours, 215 x 167, 129 folios, thirteen miniatures, including portraits of owners with their patron saints: St Anthony for the husband and St Fiacre for the wife. Contained II Prière 40 on fol. 124v. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*, no. 515.

[80] MS Add-25: Book of hours from the fifteenth century, contains II Prière 40 on fol. 328v. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*.

[81] MS Add-26: Book of hours from the fifteenth century, contains II Prière 40 on fols 189r–190v. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*.

[82] MS Add-27: Paper miscellany of tracts in French prose and verse from the fifteenth century, owned by Claude Le Leu in Paris; signature of Justin Fournier (see Appendix VI). Contains II Prière 40 on fols 66r–67r. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*.

[83] MS Add-28: Paper miscellany of behaviour manuals and devotional texts from the fifteenth century, contains II Prière 40 on fol. 109r–v. The name Lolade appears among pentrials on fol. 1r. Noted by Sonet, *Répertoire*.

[84] MS Add-29: Book of hours of Jacqueline de Bavière from the fifteenth century, contains II Prière 40 on fol. 92r. Noted in Brayer, 'Livres d'heures', no. 43, and Sinclair, *Prieres: Nouvelles*, no. 515. See also Edith Brayer, 'Catalogue des textes liturgiques et des petits genres religieux', in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ed. by Hans Robert Jauss, vol. VI, *La*

Littérature didactique, allégorique, satirique, part 2, *Partie documentaire* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1970), pp. 19–53, no. 664 (II Prière 37 in Cambrai, MM 87).

[85] MS Add-30: Fifteenth-century book of hours, use of Rouen. Contains II Prière 40 on fols 125r–126v. Noted in Sinclair, *Prieres: Nouvelles*, no. 515.

[86] MS Add-31: Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, dates from the fourteenth century. Contains II Prière 40 on fol. 188r. Noted in Sinclair, *Prieres: Nouvelles*, no. 515.

[87] MS Add-32: Fourteenth-century book of hours; contain II Prière 40 on fol. 9r-v. Noted in Sinclair, *Prieres: Nouvelles*, no. 515.

[88] MS Add-33: Early sixteenth-century miscellany of devotional texts compiled by Nicolas Rolet (named on fols 19v and 20r, and named Colinet Rolet on fol. 182v where he is shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child). Contains II Prière 40 on fols 207r–208r. Noted in Sinclair, *Prieres: Nouvelles*, no. 515.

[89] MS Add-34: Fragment of I Mir 42 in a variant version, edited by Michael Murjanoff, 'Fragment d'une nouvelle version du Miracle de la vierge "Le Sacristain noyé"', *Romania*, 86 (1965), 254–60. Murjanoff dates the fragment to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and identified the dialect as having 'une teinte picarde'; he cites Gautier de Coinci's I Mir 42 as 'un miracle analogue'. We thank Olivier Collet for drawing this fragment to our attention and Christine Ruby for supplying the reference.

[90] MS Add-35: Miscellany including Gossuin de Metz, *Image du monde*; Ellebaud, *Anti-claudien*; and devotional texts, from the thirteenth century. II Prière 37, inc. *Gemme*, is on fols 137v–138r, noted by Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 330, but the manuscript is cited as fifteenth-century, whereas the illustration to *Gemme* is clearly of the thirteenth century. The contents of the manuscript are briefly outlined in the review by Arthur Langfors in *Romania*, 54 (1928), 567, of the note on the manuscript by Gerhard Moldenhauer, 'Nachweis älterer französischen Handschriften in portugiesischen Bibliotheken, II, Oporto', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 151 (1927), 69–76 (pp. 73–75). We thank Marie-Laure Savoye for these references and for printouts from the IRHTs microfilm.

[91] MS Add-36: Book of hours, use of Paris, from the first quarter of the fifteenth century. II Prière 40 is on fols 108v–109r. Noted by Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515; see also Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, I, 273–76, Cat. no. 97.

[92] MS Add-37: Book of hours, use of Coutances, *c.* 1420 with illustrations added *c.* 1440. II Prière 40 is on fols 131r–132v. Noted by Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515; see also Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, II*, I, 294–300.

[93] MS Add-38: Book of hours, Calendar and Hours of the Virgin of the use of Rennes, Office of the Dead of uncertain use, from the fifteenth century. II Prière 40 is on fols 112v–113r. Noted as use of Dol by Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515. We thank Roger Wieck for checking the liturgical use and decoration.

[94] MS Add-39: Book of hours of Paris use, late fifteenth century, on paper. II Prière 40 is on pages 489–92 (fols 245r–246v). Noted by Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515; further information kindly supplied by William Monroe.

Appendix II

Manuscripts that Preserve the Songs of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Listed by Date and Siglum)[1]

Kathryn A. Duys

This list includes manuscripts that preserve the songs of Gautier de Coinci as attributed to the poet in the standard literary edition of the *MND* by Frédéric Koenig. It does not include *MND* manuscripts with songs that are not Gautier's.[2] Symbols used: ♪ = musical notation present; [♪] = staves or space for staves present, but no notation; no music = no staves or notation, only lyrics.

Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts

A	Blois, BM, 34	no music
B	Brussels, BR, 10747	♪
C	London, BL, Harley 4401	♪
D	Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18	♪
F	Paris, BNF, fr. 986	♪
G	Paris, BNF, fr. 1530	♪
H	Paris, BNF, fr. 1533	[♪]
I	Paris, BNF, fr. 1536	♪
L	Paris, BNF, fr. 22928	♪
M	Paris, BNF, fr. 2163	♪
N	Paris, BNF, fr. 25532	♪
R	St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9	♪
h	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295	[♪]
o	Paris, BNF, fr. 2193	[♪][3]

v	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113	no music
Add-17	Rouen, BM, 533	no music

Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts

O	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969	[♪]
S	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (Soissons MS)	♪
T	Besançon, BM, 551	[♪]
f	Paris, B. Ars., 3527	[♪]
s	Tours, BM, 948	no music
10-bis	London, BL, Egerton 274	♪[4]

Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts

E	Paris, BNF, fr. 817	no music
e	Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816	no music

Notes

[1] See also the articles by Billiet, Chamiyé Couderc, and Duys in this volume.

[2] Thus, for example, the list does not include MS K (Paris, BNF, fr. 1613), which Chailley mistakenly listed as having a song by Gautier. In his work, Chailley counts the 'reverdi' at the end of the *Chasteé as nonains* as a song; however it is never set to music in any of the manuscripts, it is not in Gautier's voice, it does not correspond to the patterns of lyric song established in the collection, and it does not follow the codicological patterns of any of Gautier's other songs. Furthermore, even were one to count it as a Gautier lyric, MS K would still not qualify as having *MND* songs, as it only contains the prologue to the *Chastee* and then breaks off — thus even this quasi-reverdi is not present in this manuscript.

[3] MS o was prepared for musical notation, but authentic notation was never entered. Instead, false musical notation, meaningless dabs that do not correspond to syllables, are distributed along two-line staves. These staves were entered only between the lines of text, so typically there are no staves above the first line of text nor below the bottom line of text on any given folio.

[4] Palimpsest. This manuscript also contains an important corpus of pieces by Philip the Chancellor.

Appendix III

Illustrated *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Manuscripts Listed by Sigla

Alison Stones

The numbers of illustrations given are those in the *MND* sections of the manuscripts unless otherwise indicated.[1] For references, see Appendices I and IV.

B	Brussels, BR, 10747, fols 1r–211v 64 ills.
D	Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 5 ills.[2]
F	Paris, BNF, fr. 986 1 ill.
G	Paris, BNF, fr. 1530 1 ill.
H	Paris, BNF, fr. 1533 71 ills.
I	Paris, BNF, fr. 1536, fols 1r–24r 16 ills. cut out
K	Paris, BNF, fr. 1613 8 ills.
L	Paris, BNF, fr. 22928 67 ills.[3]
M	Paris, BNF, fr. 2163 2 ills.
N	Paris, BNF, fr. 25532 58 ills.
R	St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9 77 ills.[4]
S	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 79 ills.[5]
T	Besançon, BM, 551 186 ills.[6]
a	Brussels, BR, 9229–30, fols 1r–52r 123 ills.[7]
d	Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24, fols 1r–52r 36 ills.[8]
f	Paris, B. Ars., 3527, fols 100r–154r 14 ills.[9]
g	Paris, B. Ars., 5204, fols 33r–77r, 145r–152r 33 ills.[10]
h	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295, fols 104v–167r 1 ill.[11]
l	Paris, BNF, fr. 818, fols 1r, 121r–155r 14 ills.[12]
o	Paris, BNF, fr. 2193, fols 1r, 12r–148r 1 ill.[13]
p	Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, fols 117bisr–186r 27 ills.[14]

Add-y	Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521, fols 404r–419r 1 ill.[15]
1	Cambrai, MM, 87, fols 207r–217r 2 ills.[16]
9	Brussels, BR, IV.119 (Gilles li Muisis MS), fols 18v–19v 1 ill.[17]
16	Paris, B. Ars., 3142, fol. 300r 1 ill.[18]
22	Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, fol. 78r 1 ill.[19]
32	Rennes, BM, 593, fols 93r–103v 3 ills.[20]
Add-4	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, I. 4. 20 3, fols 119v–120v 1 space[21]
Add-12	Paris, BNF, fr. 24432, fol. 313v 1 space[22]
Add-15	Paris, BNF, lat. 17994, fol. 536r 1 ill.[23]
Add-35	Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 619, fol. 137v 1 ill.[24]

Notes

[1] This list draws upon DG, on the list by Kathryn Duys in Appendix I, and on unpublished work by Kathy Krause. For further discussion, see Appendix IV and the essays by Black, Duys, Krause, and Stones in this volume.

[2] This count includes the full-page Genealogy of the Virgin miniature and the portrait of the Old Testament Prophet on fols 6v and 7. See the essay by Collet in this volume.

[3] This count includes the full-page Genealogy of the Virgin miniature. See the essay by Collet in this volume.

[4] This count includes six illustrations at the beginning for the Genealogy of the Virgin, the Nativity of the Virgin and of Christ, the Death of the Virgin, and the Life of St John the Baptist, and four at the end for the *Regrets Nostre Dame*. For these texts, see the essay by Collet in this volume.

[5] This count includes the prefatory full-page miniature of the Throne of Solomon and Crucifixion (fol. Av), two author portraits (fols 2r, 4r), and nine royal portraits (fols 232v, 234r, 235v, 237r, 238v, 241r, 242r, 242v, 243v). See Black in this volume and Anna Russakoff, 'Imaging the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006).

[6] Illustrations to Book II were planned but never executed; this count is for Book I.

[7] See Appendix I, note 27.

[8] Contains *MND* Book I only.

[9] The *MND* component is selected miracles, into which the *Renclus de Molliens* is interpolated on fols 117v–136r. There are two additional miniatures for the *Vie de Nostre Dame* (fols 2r, 4r).

[10] Selected *MND* miracles followed by the *Vies des pères*, with more *MND* miracles intercalated. This count excludes the miniature added in the sixteenth or seventeenth century on fol. 61v, on the verso of the replacement miniature on fol. 61r. It is tempting to assume that Jehan Fremin, who borrowed the book from the chapter of Saint-Quentin for two days in September 1506, was the one who cut out and repainted the miniature.

[11] The *MND* component is selected miracles and chansons from Book I, beginning the I Prière 1, A, Gautier kneeling before the Virgin and Child (fols 104^{v}–167^{r} *recte*, not 104^{r}–166^{r} as DG); space for notation has been left blank.

[12] Selected miracles from Book I (DG, p. 92) are interspersed with other Marian texts and followed by prose *Vies des Pères*.

[13] One illustration to II Sal 35.

[14] The *MND* component is selected miracles. Lacuna of one leaf between fols 154^{r} and 155^{r}; this count of illustrations includes the initials cut out on fols 157^{r} and 161^{r}.

[15] One illustration in the *MND* section, on fol. 404^{r}, I Mir 11, Archbishop of Toledo: Black monk kneeling before life-size Virgin and blessing Child.

[16] Small historiated initials accompany II Prière 37, some of them heraldic.

[17] One illustration to II Prière 37.

[18] One illustration to II Prière 37.

[19] One illustration to II Prière 37.

[20] Five *MND* miracles, I Mir 27 (ending incomplete), I Mir 38, I Mir 39, I Mir 10, I Mir 15, are on fols 93^{v}–103^{v}; single-column miniatures illustrate I Mir 27 (fol. 93^{v}), I Mir 10 (fol. 96^{v}), and I Mir 15 (fol. 103^{v}). The *MND* are preceded by *Le mariage Nostre-Dame saint Marie*, *Le Trespassement*, and *La Complainte* all of which also open with a single-column miniature (fols 86^{r}, 90^{r}, 92^{r}).

[21] *Olim* Maihingen, Bibl. Öttingen-Wallerstein I 4, fol. 3. *Roman de la Rose*, with *MND* Pr Sal 35 and II Sal 35 at the end.

[22] Literary miscellany, including *MND* I Mir 21 on fol. 313^{v}. Spaces passim indicate that illustrations were planned.

[23] Breviary of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne. II Prières 40, 37, and 39 are among the additions (fols 535^{v} and 536^{r}), Prière 37 accompanied by a cleric in black kneeling before the Virgin and Child.

[24] One illustration to II Prière 37.

Appendix IV

Illustrated *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Manuscripts Listed by Stylistic Attribution and Attributable Manuscripts Whose *MND* Selection is Unillustrated[1]

Alison Stones

Province of Reims

Soissons, Laon, or Noyon[2]
c. 1250–60 ?
G Paris, BNF, fr. 1530 *MND* 1 ill. second quarter 13c. ?[3]
F Paris, BNF, fr. 986 *MND* 1 ill. *c.* 1260 ?[4]
N Paris, BNF, fr. 25532 *MND* 58 ills. *c.* 1260–70[5]
R St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9 *MND* 77 ills. *c.* 1260–70 ?[6]
c. 1270–80 ?
L Paris, BNF, fr. 22928 *MND* 67 ills. *c.* 1300[7]
A Blois, BM, 34 *MND*[8]
29-bis Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 11198, parts of I Mir 23 and I Mir 24 on fols 14r–15r (fragment)
14th c. and later
O Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969 *MND* 14th c.[9]
Add-10 Paris, B. Ars., 3123 *MND* 18th c.[10]

Soissons, Reims, Compiègne, or Metz ? before 1297
Add-15 Paris, BNF, lat. 17994, fols 535v–536v 1 ill.[11]

Soissons, Reims, or Metz ? 13th c.
Add-35 Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 619, fols 137v–138r 1 ill.[12]

Soissons, Reims, or Cambrai ? before 1297
1 Cambrai, MM, 87, fols 207r–217r 2 ills.[13]

Soissons or Cambrai ? *c.* 1250–60 ?
K Paris, BNF, fr. 1613 *MND* 8 ills.[14]

Reims, before 1297
Add-22 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 98, fol. 102r 1 ill.[15]

Arras, *c.* 1280–1300
I Paris, BNF, fr. 1536, fols 1r–24r *MND* 16 ills. cut out[16]
18 Paris, BNF, fr. 375, fol. 310r[17]

Amiens, before 1297
Add-23 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729, fol. 220r[18]

Thérouanne/Saint-Omer, *c.* 1268–90
17 Paris, B. Ars., 3516, fol. 130v 1268[19]
Add-18 Torino, Biblioteca nazionale, L. II. 19[20]
h Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295, fols 104r–166r 1 ill.[21]
28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, fols 55v–60r[22]

Thérouanne/Saint-Omer or Arras ? *c.* 1270–80 ?
D Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 *MND* 5 ills.[23]

Thérouanne/Saint-Omer, Tournai, or Gent, *c.* 1275–1300
2 Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106, fols 150r–151r[24]

Tournai, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries
9 Brussels, BR, IV.119, fol. 18v 1 ill. *c.* 1350[25]
10 London, BL, Add. 16636 (19th c. copy of BR IV.119)
Add-13 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412, fols 163v–165v 15th c.[26]
Add-29 Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321, fol. 92r–v 15th c.[27]

Tournai or Cambrai ? *c.* 1275–90
10-bis London, BL, Egerton 274, fol. 98r after 1274 ?[28]
f Paris, B. Ars., 3527, fols 100r–154r 14 ills.[29]

Province of Sens

Morigny, OSB, near Etampes (Dioc. Orléans)
M Paris, BNF, fr. 2163 2 ills. 1266[30]

Paris, *c.* 1250 ?

7 Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106, fols 92^{v}–101^{r}[31]

Paris ? *c.* 1260–80 ?

B Brussels, BR, 10747 *MND*[32]

Hospitaller Master, *c.* 1280

H Paris, BNF, fr. 1533 *MND* 71 ills.[33]
p Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, fols 117bis^{r}–186^{r} 27 ills.[34]
19 Paris, BNF, fr. 837, fols 174^{r}, 191^{v}, 222^{v}[35]

Méliacin Master, *c.* 1280–90[36]

o Paris, BNF, fr. 2193, fols 1^{r}, 12^{r}–148^{r} 1 ill.[37]

Assistants to Master Honoré, *c.* 1285–95

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, fol. 300^{r} 1 ill.[38]
22 Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, fol. 78^{r} 1 ill.[39]

Written by Nicolas servus amoris, unillustrated, *c.* 1300

r Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586, fols 1^{r}–60^{r}, 78^{r}–83^{r}[40]

Paris ? Fourteenth Century

22-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (*Rosarius* MS), fol. 23^{r}[41]

Maubeuge Master, *c.* 1300–40

g Paris, B. Ars., 5204, fols 33^{r}–74^{v}, 145^{r}–152^{r} 33 ills.[42]
m Paris, BNF, fr. 1546, fols 170^{r}–208^{v}[43]
32 Rennes, BM, 593, fols 93^{r}–103^{v} 3 ills.[44]

Sub-Fauvel Master, *c.* 1320–40

a Brussels, BR, 9229–30, fols 1^{r}–52^{r} 123 ills.[45]
d Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24 (olim Y. 389), fols 1^{r}–52^{r} 36 ills.[46]

Entourage of Jean Pucelle, *c.* 1329

S Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 79 ills.[47]

Paris, Second Quarter Fourteenth Century

Add-4 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, I. 4. 20 3, fols 119^{v}–120^{v} 1 space[48]

Paris, Mid-Fourteenth Century

Add-12 Paris, BNF, fr. 24432, fol. 313^{v} 1 space[49]
28 Paris, BNF, fr. 24748, fols 229^{v}–231^{r}[50]

Paris, Early Fifteenth Century
27 Paris, BNF, fr. 24436, fol. 157r[51]

Paris, Fifteenth Century
Add-36 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261, fols 108v–109r[52]
Add-39 Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4, pages 489–92[53]

Paris, Fifteenth or Early Sixteenth Century
Add-11 Paris, BNF, fr. 13167, fol. 59v[54]
Add-27 Paris, B. Ars., 2115, fols 66–67[55]

Central and Eastern France

Burgundy *c.* 1260–70 ?
l Paris, BNF, fr. 818, fols 1r, 121r–155r 14 ills.[56]
25 Paris, BNF, fr. 19152, fols 26r–34r[57]
6 Châteauroux, BM, 17, p. 100, copy of BNF fr. 19152, fols 26r–34r
Add-y Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521, fols 404r–419r 1 ill.[58]
q Paris, BNF, fonds Moreau 1715–19, cols 795–824 (18th c. copy of La Clayette MS)

Burgundy or Metz ? *c.* 1287
Add-14 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510, fol. 77v[59]

Dijon, Fifteenth Century
29 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044, fols 126v–129r[60]

Metz, Mid-Fourteenth Century
14 Paris, B. Ars., 570, fol. 178r[61]

Lorraine, Fifteenth Century
c Charleville, BM, 90, fols 30r–86r[62]
Add-20 Nancy, BM, 35 (245), fols 183r–190r[63]

Franche Comté: Vesoul or Besançon ? before 1297 ?
35 Troyes, BM, 1905, fol. 195v[64]

East, 1465
E Paris, BNF, fr. 817 *MND*[65]

Centre: Nevers, Fifteenth Century
i Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276, fols 1r–78r[66]

Central or Eastern France, *c.* 1300

t Paris, BNF, fr. 23111, fols 64v–70r, 256r–310r[67]
n Paris, BNF, fr. 1807, fols 51r–99v[68]
s Tours, BM, 948[69]

South?

T Besançon, BM, 551 *MND* 186 ills. *c.* 1260–70 ?[70]
13-bis Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1, fols 43v–51r *c.* 1300[71]
x Paris, BNF, fr. 15110, fols 55r–142v *c.* 1300[72]

Italy

12 Lyon, BM, 739 (olim 645), fol. 14r late 13th c.[73]

South-West

Périgueux

11 London, BL, Egerton 945, fols 107r–108v *c.* 1320[74]

Brittany?

Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, fols 112v–113r[75]
15 Paris, B. Ars., 650, fol. 166r 15th c.[76]
24 Paris, BNF, fr. 17068, fol. 198r 15th c.[77]
Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192, fols 189r–190v 15th c.[78]

Normandy

Add-37 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284, fols 131r–132v[79]
Add-17 Rouen, BM, 533, fol. 114v 13th c.[80]
Add-21 London, BL, Add. 16975, fols 233v–235r before 1297[81]
Add-19 Evreux, BM, lat. 117, fols 291r–292v 15th c.[82]
Add-6 Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212, fol. 86r 15th c.[83]
Add-30 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75, fols 125r–126v 15th c.[84]

Uncertain Provenance

c. 1260–80?

30 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 20001, fol. 3r (fragment)[85]
30-bis Paris, BNF, lat. 3556, fol. 116r[86]
20 Paris, BNF, fr. 2162, fols 77v, 103r[87]
26 Paris, BNF, fr. 24300, fols 83r–112r[88]
Add-5 Paris, B. Ars., 3641, fol. 169r[89]
v Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113, fols 143v–146r[90]

Late-Thirteenth Century

31 Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, 219, fols 64r–65v[91]
[4] [Chartres, BM, 620, fol. 120][92]
b Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475, fols 179r–220r[93]
Add-16 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, Item 23, fols 30r–33r (fragment)[94]

Fourteenth Century

b Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475, fols 101r–127r[95]
k Paris, BNF, fr. 423, fols 109r–144r[96]
3 Charleville, BM, 271, binding fragment[97]
8 Lille, BM, 130, fols 109r–129r[98]
21 Paris, BNF, fr. 2495, fol. 65v[99]
23 Paris, BNF, fr. 15212, fols 132r, 142r[100]
Add-8 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8[101]
Add-31 London, BL, Cotton Appendix V, fol. 188r[102]
Add-32 Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *096/R66 (I), fol. 9r–v[103]

Fifteenth Century

Add-34 St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 37/626[104]
Add-9 Evora, Biblioteca publica, CXXIV/2–9[105]
e Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816, pp. 285–372[106]
13 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828 (olim Steiger-Mai)[107]
33 Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1959, fols 158r–159r[108]
Add-2 Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3, fol. 154r[109]
[Add-24] [Chartres, BM, 546, fol. 124v][110]
Add-25 Den Haag, KB, 78 J 49, fol. 328v[111]
Add-28 Paris, BNF, fr. 1181, fol. 109r–v[112]

Sixteenth Century

Add-33 Tours, BM, 231, fols 207r–208r early 16th c.[113]

Omitted (see Appendix I)

* = no microfilm at IRHT

[5]	*[Chartres, BM, 1595] 19th c.[114]
34	*Serrant, Chateau de Serrant, Chartier de Serrant (fragment)
Add-3	*Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale, Z. 49 (binding fragment)
[Add-7]	*[Chartres, BM, 1027][115]

Notes

[1] This list is provisional in that not all the unillustrated *MND* manuscripts could be attributed, either for lack of information or for the absence of obvious parallels for their decoration or script. And not every manuscript could be reproduced. I hope the list will set the stage for a more comprehensive publication on the reception of Gautier de Coinci which will include a full and detailed catalogue of every manuscript. The information presented here is deliberately summary and selective.

[2] See the essay by Stones in this volume.

[3] DG compares it with her MS C, London, BL Harley 4401, where the omissions and order are the same, except that miracle 78 (II Mir 29) in Harley ends incomplete a page before the end of the same miracle in G, in which it is the last item, leaving a column and a half blank. In G, on fol. 1r, in an A initial, Gautier as cleric is shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child enthroned, in a style characteristic of the second quarter of the thirteenth century (see Notes); MS C is unillustrated. For a detailed description of MS C, see H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883–1915), II, 717–27. Ward (717) dates C 'about the middle of the XIIIth cent'. MS C is written btl, unlike G, which is atl, and presumably earlier.

[4] Fol. 1r, A initial, Crowned Virgin holding Child, enthroned, facing text opening, rubbed and stylistically indeterminate, mid-thirteenth century? Not noticed by Russakoff. The manuscript is written in the Soissons dialect according to Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols, Faux Titre, 221–22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), I, 580. Affiliated with *MND* MS L according to DG, p. 130.

[5] This count includes illustrations cut out on fols 62r, 156v, 159v. Virgin statues were cut out on fols 56v, 166r, 194v, and an attempted cut left marks on fol. 93v. A note on the flysheet says the book was given by the monks of Saint-Médard, Soissons, to Notre-Dame, Paris: no. M 20; on fol. 1r is the number ND 195. Copied in part by Étienne Barbazan (1694–1770), Paris, B. Ars., 3519.

[6] Comte A. de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 2 vols (Paris: Société française pour la reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, 1936), I, 37–38, no. 38. Described and fully reproduced in Inna P. Mokretsova and Vera L. Romanova, *Les manuscrits enluminiés français du XIIIe siècle dans les collections sovietiques, 1270–1300* (Moskow: Isskustvo, 1984), pp. 102–47, Cat. no. VIII, text in Russian with resumé in French. See also Voronova and Sterligov, *Manuscrits enluminés occidentaux*, p. 67. In the French edition (only), a date of *c.* 1260 is suggested.

[7] Full-page Genealogy miniature (fol. A^{v}) and four illustrations to the Genealogy and Passion (fols 1^{r}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 24^{r}); one miniature for the *Assomption* by Hernaus (fol. 282^{r}), and two for Jerome (fols 300^{r}, 301^{r}). Attributed to 'Marne ouest' by Anthonij Dees, *Atlas des formes linguistiques des textes littéraires de l'ancien français* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), p. 526. Affiliated with *MND* MS F according to DG, p. 130.

[8] Contains *MND* complete, opening with a foliate initial and border (fol. 1^{r}); the other miracles open with elegant penflourished initials in red and blue with party bars. The page layout in two columns of thirty-two lines is spaced for beautiful legible script with few abbreviations and with rows of dots at the ends of lines, forming a straight line in col. 2, a layout similar to that of the three major Soissons-Laon manuscripts, suggesting that this too may be from the same place. On fol. 93^{r} is a marginal drawing of the Virgin and Child in leadpoint, with the Virgin handing out an object as though to a second figure who is not depicted. Reproductions of this and of fols 1^{r} and 184^{r} are on Enluminures, <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr>.

[9] Written in the dialect of Soissons according to Busby, *Codex and Context*, p. 580. Copied in an elegant media script with few abbreviations, btl. A second, less elegant hand, takes over at fol. 92^{v} around line 13. Space left blank for notation. Coloured capitals on eight lines, without flourishing, for the openings of miracles.

[10] As noted in Appendix I, this is an eighteenth-century miscellany of medieval literary texts copied from several sources: I Mir 41, copied from MS 28-bis, and non-*MND* texts, the Miracle of Christ's Baby Tooth, found only in MSS N and R, and *La Court de Paradis*, found only in MS N.

[11] Breviary of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne (OSB, Dioc. Soissons), containing twenty-nine miniatures (with cusped frames, for the Labours of the Months in the partially preserved Calendar) and historiated initials which anticipate (before 1297, as St Louis is an addition) the styles of the Breviary of Renaud de Bar, Bishop of Metz (1303–16), particularly the Verdun, BM, 107 part. Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, III, 352–55, no. 639. II Prières 40, 37, and 39 are among the (not much later) additions (fols 535^{v} and 536^{r}), II Prière 37 accompanied by a cleric in black kneeling before the Virgin and Child in the D initial.

[12] Miscellany including prayers, see Appendix I. II Prière 37 opens with a G initial in a cusped frame containing the Virgin (holding a bird?) and Child.

[13] The calendar is of Paris use, before 1297 as St Louis is an addition on 25 August, but the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead are of Reims (Leroquais, *Carnets* (unpublished: Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 3162), nos 67 and 108 respectively). A second artist did the All Saints frontispiece; and another frontispiece, by a third artist, is composed of miniatures cut from another context (see below). Other manuscripts by the primary artist are Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig IX.3 (with the same second artist), book of hours (Hours of the Virgin a variant of Amiens use; calendar includes Francis 4.x, Peter Martyr 29.iii, Dominic 5.viii, Louis absent 25.viii; Eleuthère 20.ii, Amant et Vas 6.ii, Bertin 5.ix, Remi et Piat 1.x, Ameit 19.x, and Eloi 1.xii point to the dioceses of Tournai, Thérouanne, and Arras); Chantilly, Musée Condé, 62(1423), book of hours, use of Saint-Omer with variants, after 1297; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud lat. 84, Psalter with calendar of Brussels (?), before 1297; Kraków, Czartoriski Lib., 3204 Partial Cistercian Missal (datable between 1295 and 1302); and several literary manuscripts: Brussels, BR, 9433–34, *Laurin*; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2609, Bernard de Chartres, *La vraie medecine d'amours*; and Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'amours*; Vienna, Österreichische

Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2621, Literary miscellany of Treatises on Love (with another artist); Paris, BNF, lat. 10286, Chess Treatise, with the same second artist as Cambrai 87 and a frontispiece by a third hand. The artist of Cambrai 87's frontispiece can also be identified in a large number of liturgical, devotional, and literary manuscripts datable between 1286 and 1297 and locatable in Cambrai, Saint-Omer, or Thérouanne, which I treat in detail elsewhere; a hitherto unknown psalter-hours with full-page Life of Christ miniatures which I attribute to the Cambrai 87 painter has just come to light at *Les Enluminures* <http://www.lesenluminures.com> (April 2006). I thank Sandra Hindman for drawing it to my attention and Ariane Bergeron-Foote for making it available to me.

Two prayers, *Marie mere de concorde* (II Prière 38) and the Prayer of Theophilus (II Prière 37), are the sole Gautier de Coinci component in Cambrai 87, but they contain a remarkable amount of illustration pertaining to the patrons, in the form of female and male figures and heraldic shields in lesser initials. On fol. 207^{r}: M, 5-line initial: Coronation of the Virgin — Virgin Mary nimbed, veiled, crowned, with joined hands raised towards Christ cross-nimbed, crowned, with book in His left hand and His right hand raised, blessing her, both seated on bench above clouds. Margin, bottom: female devotional figure, wearing headdress, kneeling with joined hands raised, and glancing towards the Virgin and Christ, on tip of the initial diagonal descender. Fol. 207^{v} at *Pucele sainte nete pure* [...] 2-line initial: heraldic shield, quarterly, 1 and 4) *gules three pals vair, on a chief or a lion issuant sable*, 2 and 3) *sable a lion rampant argent, crowned or*. Fol. 208^{r} at *Ains que mors dame me consiue* [...] 2-line initial, the same heraldic shield. Fol. 209^{r} at *Mere al grant roi qui tout embrache* [...] 2-line initial, the same heraldic shield. Fol. 209^{r} at *Dame par qui fu rauoies Theophilus li desuoies* [...] 2-line, bust of bearded man, within interlaced lozenges. On fol. 210^{r}, Prayer of Theophilus: *Gemme resplendissans* [...] (II Prière 37) 4-line initial, Virgin Mary nimbed, veiled, crowned, at portal of church in city. Margin, left, female devotional figure, wearing headdress, kneeling with joined hands in prayer, below the initial. On fol. 210^{v} at *Tant a este ma uie desine* [...] 2-line initial, bust of woman, within interlaced lozenges with foliage. Fol. 211 at *Enemis en ses buies ma tenu* [...] 2-line initial, the same heraldic shield as on fol. 207^{v}. Fol. 212^{v} at *Fontaine de pite* [...] 2-line initial, the same heraldic shield as on fol. 207^{v}. Fol. 213^{r}, bottom margin, Hybrid female wearing headdress, with joined hands, as terminal of independent horizontal foliate bar. Fol. 215^{r} at *Rose* [...] 2-line initial, the same heraldic shield as on fol. 207^{v}. Fol. 216^{r} at *Dame par toi somes fors de la subiection* [...] 2-line initial, bust of bearded man, within interlaced lozenges with foliage. These descriptions were kindly provided by Adelaide Bennett. The arms *gules three pals vair on a chief or a lion issuant sable* are those of Gauthier de Châtillon d'Autresche, as Jean Porcher recognized (see *Manuscrits à peintures* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955), p. 37, no. 62), and not Gui de Châtillon, Comte de Saint-Pol, to whom it is often attributed. The arms of Gautier de Châtillon d'Autresche's wife are unfortunately unknown. She is likely to have been an issue of a cadet branch of the Dukes of Brabant, but is untraced to date (see Appendix of Owners under Gautier de Châtillon). See François Avril, 'Manuscrits', in *L'art au temps des rois maudits, Philippe le Bel et ses fils*, ed. by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and François Avril (Paris: Musées nationaux, 1998), no. 210; Adelaide Bennett, 'A Woman's Power of Prayer versus the Devil in a Book of Hours ca. 1300', in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 89–108; Bennett, 'Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion', in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. by C. Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 54–78 (pp. 68–70); Bennett, 'Devotional Literacy of a Noblewoman in a Book of Hours of ca. 1300 in

Cambrai', in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Text and Images*, Proceedings of the International Congress held in Brussels 5–9 November 2002, ed. by Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 149–57. For the frontispieces, see Harvey Stahl, 'Les frontispices enluminés d'un livre d'heures à Cambrai', in *1300 . . . l'art au temps de Philippe le Bel*, Actes du colloque international, Galeries nationale du Grand Palais, 24 et 25 juin 1998, ed. by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and François Avril (Paris: Ecole du Louvre 2001), pp. 89–101. It should be noted (*pace* Stahl) that the All Saints frontispiece is mounted on modern parchment and that the four additional small miniatures are cut-outs also glued to modern parchment. Whereas the All Saints miniature's artist can be found again among the collaborators of the Cambrai 87 main illustrator and is likely to have been part of the manuscript from the beginning, the four Infancy miniatures have no parallel and are unlikely to have had anything to do with Cambrai 87 before its nineteenth-century rebinding.

[14] Historiated initials with step motifs on the bars, and foliate initials, poorly preserved, some repainting. Written btl. Pentrials, a date of 1465, and a motto, 'Ce faictes vous', repeated, on fol. 183^{v} may provide clues as to later ownership.

[15] Book of hours of uncertain use, incomplete, Champagne, before 1297. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 119–23, no. 49. The *MND* selections are II Prière 38 (fol. 88^{r}) and II Prière 37 (fol. 102^{r}).

[16] Written btl, in 'Picardie' according to DG, p. 127. The *MND* ends with II Sal 35. Historiated initials cut out except at the opening of the *Eructavit* (fols 248^{v}–256^{r}): L, *Le iour du noel* [. . .] King David harping (fol. 248^{v}). The traces of borders that remain are particularly close to those in the Chrétien de Troyes and *Judas Machabé* manuscript Princeton, University Library, Garrett 125, but figure style is more developed, falling between Garrett 125 and the second hand in the *Guiron le Courtois*, Paris, BNF, fr. 350. See Stones, 'Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts', pp. 251–53, figs 65–72, 97. A further selection of related Arras manuscripts is reproduced and discussed in *Le Roman de la Manekine (Paris, BNF fr. 1588)*, ed. and trans. by Barbara Sargent-Baur, with contributions by Alison Stones and Roger Middleton (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 1–39 and figs 33–72. Anna Russakoff ('Imaging the Miraculous', p. 64) has drawn attention to the *Vies des Pères*, Paris, BNF, fr. 12471, where two illustrations show subjects similar in content to two of Gautier's Miracles, I Mir 12, the Jew of Bourges putting a child in an oven (fol. 158^{r}) and I Mir 20, the Pregnant Abbess (fol. 214^{r}). BNF fr. 12471 is another Arras manuscript, *c.* 1300, so perhaps these pictures are reflections of a lost Arras *MND* manuscript by the same artist. But images in other miracle collections also depict miracles similar to those of Gautier, such as Paris, BNF, lat. 17491, most likely from Jumièges (Pregnant Abbess, fol. 42^{r}), mentioned in Stones in this volume; and Paris, BNF, lat. 12593, probably Parisian, where Ildefonsus receives an alb from the Virgin (fol. 119^{r}), as in *MND* I Mir 11 — and as in BNF lat. 17491, fol. 3^{r}. These are both part of Latin collections of Miracles of the Virgin. The relationship between the illustrations of *MND* and other illustrated miracle collections remains to be fully explored.

[17] Literary miscellany including I Mir 10 (Theophilus), penflourished initial. See Stones, 'Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts', pp. 254–55, figs 86, 88.

[18] The only *MND* component is II Prière 37, opening without a rubric on fol. 220^{r} with a two-line foliate initial and border supporting a bird. The presence of the prayer has gone unnoticed in the literature and was kindly drawn to my attention by Adelaide Bennett. The

manuscript is a very fully illustrated psalter-hours of Amiens use begun for Comtesse (proper name) de la Table and completed for her step-daughter Yolande de Soissons, as argued by Stones, 'Full-Page Miniatures'

[19] This important literary and devotional miscellany has received monographic study by Guggenbühl, *Recherches*. A calender of Saint-Omer use and Easter Tables starting in 1268 open the volume. The *MND* component consists of I Mir 22, *De l'abbesse*, opening with a penflourished initial; many of the other texts are illustrated.

[20] Guggenbühl (*Recherches*, pp. 244–45) suggests this is a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century copy of Paris, B. Ars., 3516.

[21] According to DG (pp. 133, 139), MS h is a partial copy of MS M. The other textual components in this literary miscellany, opening with the *Chronique de l'anonyme de Béthune*, were illustrated by two artists: this miniature is by the lesser painter. Thérouanne, *c.* 1280–1300? See Alison Stones, 'Seeing the Walls of Troy', in *Manuscripts in Transition*, ed. by Dekeyzer and Van den Stock, pp. 161–78, fig. 1b; and Stones, 'Las ilustraciones del *Pseudo-Turpín* de Johannes y la *Chronique de l'anonyme de Béthune*', in *El Pseudo-Turpín: Lazo entre el Culto Jacobeo y el Culto de Carlomagno*, Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos, ed. by K. Herbers (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), pp. 317–30, figs.

[22] The *MND* component is I Mir 41. The manuscript is a beautifully written compendium of moralizing and devotional texts which include *Miserere* and *Carite* by the Renclus de Mollien, the *Joies* and *Regrets* of the Virgin, *Ordene de chevalerie en vers*, Caton, *Enseignements de saint Louis* for his son and daughter, and, in a later section, la *Comtesse de Ponthieu* and *Ordene de chevalerie en prose*. Each text opens with a large penflourished initial typical of late thirteenth-century work in Saint-Omer, similar to those in *MND* MS 17, B. Ars. 3516 (though the I initial for I Mir 41 is not particularly impressive). A range of dates for this kind of penflourishing is between about 1260, in the Richard de Saint-Laurent manuscript, Saint-Omer, BM, 174, made for Robert de Béthune, Abbot of Clairmarais (1257–66), and 1295, when the epic compilation, Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 192 was written. Ownership of *MND* MS 28-bis by laymen and -women from the thirteenth or fourteenth to sixteenth centuries is attested by numerous signatures noted in the *Catalogue général* (see Appendix VI).

[23] 'Picardie' according to DG, p. 127. Full-page diagram of the Genealogy of the Virgin and four single-column miniatures in MS 3517: fol. 6^{v}, Old Testament prophet holding scroll, facing Genealogy page (fol. 7); I Mir 11, Theophilus (fol. 15); II Pr: Gautier as hooded monk in black habit, seated writing (fol. 140 bis); II Mir 9, Empeeriz de Rome: King and Queen embracing (fol. 148, not mentioned in the *Catalogue général*, nor in DG, p. 41).

[24] This is a miscellany of hagiographical material, owned by Saint-Rémi, Reims (note on fol. 25^{r}). A Crucifixion miniature of the fifteenth century has been added on fol. 1^{r}. The Gautier de Coinci component, dated by Collet to the last quarter of the thirteenth century (*La Vie de sainte Cristine*, ed. by Collet, p. x) is the *Vie de sainte Christine* (fols 66^{r}–126^{r}) and a fragment of *MND* I Mir 20, *Abbesse délivrée* (fols 150^{r}–151). Carpentras 106 is one of two surviving manuscripts to transmit the *Vie de sainte Christine*; the other is *MND* MS E, Paris, BNF, fr. 817, see note 65 below; four fragments are also preserved in the Széchény Library, Budapest; and Claude Fauchet makes reference to the *Vie de sainte Christine* in a now lost copy. Editions: *Gautier de Coincy's Christinenleben: Nach den beiden Handschriften zu Carpentras und Paris, zum ersten Male*, ed. by A. C. Ott (Erlangen: Junge, 1922) and Gautier de Coinci, *La Vie de sainte Cristine*, ed. by Collet.

For the Budapest fragments, see ibid., p. xv, n. 16. For the Fauchet copy, see ibid, p. xvi, citing J. G. Espiner-Scott, *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie françoise: Rymes et Romans* (Paris: Droz, 1938), Livre 1er, 128. Other components of Carpentras 106 are later, and illustrated: on fol. 2r is a historiated initial E depicting two pilgrims kneeling at a church, and a cusped border with an archer watching a man catch a rabbit by the tail, for the opening of the *Vie de saint Patrick* (images on line at <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr>). Although badly rubbed it may be attributed to the second artist in the *Lancelot-Grail* romance Manchester, The John Rylands University Library, French 1/Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 215, who also illustrated works for the abbey of St Peter Blandin, Gent (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 5–6; London, BL, Add. 29253), while his collaborators can be traced in Saint-Omer, BM, 270, a prayerbook of Tournai use given by Gilbert de Sainte-Aldegonde to the Chartreuse of Longuenesse (near Saint-Omer) in 1323. See Alison Stones, 'Another Short Note on Rylands French 1', in *Romanesque and Gothic, Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. by Neil Stratford (Bury St Edmunds: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), pp. 185–92.

[25] This is a miscellany of the poems and other works of Gilles li Muisis, Abbot of Saint-Martin, OSB, Tournai (in office 1330–53), ending with an account of his blindness, for which he underwent a successful cataract operation in 1348. A depiction of the operation is found in the Annales of Gilles li Muisis, Brussels, BR, 13076–77 (4984) on fol. 50v. MS IV.119 contains twenty-four illustrations. On fol. 18v *Vne orison deuote a le uirgene Marie de lonc temps faite* shows a cleric kneeling before the Virgin and Child who holds a bird, for II Prière 37. See *Poesies de Gilles li Muisis [. . .] d'apres le manuscrit de Lord Ashburnham*, ed. by le Baron J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 2 vols (Leuven: Lefever, 1882), pp. 68–70; Sir George Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), pp. 105–07, no. 36, pl. XLII; Sotheby's 29.xi.1960, lot 112, acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1960; *Quinze années d'acquisitions* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale, 1969), pp. 38–41, no. 29. The illustrations in BR IV.119, part of BR 13076–77, and in the *Tres tractatus* of Gilles li Muisis, Courtrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Fonds Goethals-Vercruysse 135, have been attributed to Pierart dou Thielt, who wrote, illuminated, and bound the *Queste del saint Graal*, Paris, B. Ars., 5218, in 1351. See Albert D'Haenens, 'Pierart dou Thielt, enlumineur des oeuvres de Gilles Li Muisis: Notes sur son activité à Tournai vers 1350', *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), 88–93. Several other manuscripts have been attributed to Pierart by François Avril; see *Fastes du Gothique, le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1981), p. 348, nos 248, 249, 250, and Alison Stones, 'The Artistic Context of *le Roman de Fauvel* and Note on *Fauvain'*, in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. by Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 529–67, nn. 109–14.

[26] An early fifteenth-century book of hours, prayers, and devotional texts in Latin with extensive rubrics and directives in French, written by several hands, with numerous blank but ruled leaves (365 folios, 200 x 138). The Prayer of Theophilus, II Prière 37, is on fols 163v–165v, opening with a two-line foliate initial. The Calendar of Tournai has Labours of the Months. Other illustrations are a column of seven Old Testament prophets (fol. 24); Hours of the Sacrament: D, Last Supper (fol. 60r); at *Ie te prie douche benoite virge marie* [. . .] D (*sic*), man (?) in bed, reaching out arms to Virgin and Child (fol. 155r); Response from the Hours of the Dead: *Libera me domine de viis inferni* [. . .] L, God reaching from the sky to take by the hand a naked figure in flames (fol. 276v); *Vie de saint ieorge*, in French: *De saint ieorge et prei cheualier* [. . .] D, St George as knight, surcoat *argent* [white] *a cross gules* spearing a dragon before a kneeling knight (*surcoat azure three escutcheons argent* [white]) (fol. 310r); Suffrage to St Robert: *Exultet omni turba*

fidelium [. . .] E, standing abbot-saint in black holding crozier and book (fol. 362r). On fols 363r–365r notes on the births of children of the Pignon family between 1560 and 1578.

[27] Hours and Missal of Jacqueline de Bavière, noted by Brayer, 'Livres d'heures': II Prière 40.

[28] This manuscript contains *trouvère* Chansonnier F and polyphonic music mainly known by the siglum LoB (Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, ed. by Luther Dittmer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1910/1964), I, i, pp. 249–63, ii, p. 606, and Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, pp. 496–98). The most recent study, kindly drawn to my attention by Helen Deeming, is Pamela Kay Whitcomb, 'The Manuscript London, BL, Egerton 274: A Study of its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory in Thirteenth-Century France' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2000). Abstract on <http://wwwlib.umi.com/cr/utexas/fullcit?p9983370?. On the basis of an initial on fol. 27v showing an ape riding a horse with housing *gules a lion rampant argent* [white], Whitcomb (p. 192) identifies the patron as a member of the Torote or Thourotte family, among whom were the prominent members of the clergy, Robert de Thourotte, Bishop of Langres (1232) then Liège (d. 1247) and Robert, Bishop of Laon (1285–97); as patron for the Chansonnier she proposes Jean de Torote, holder of Chair of Flanders at Faculty of Theology of University of Paris *c.* 1263–76 (citing M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne 1250–1259* (Paris: Picard, 1972). But there are other contenders for these arms, such as Olivier de Clisson (d. 1299), seigneur de Clisson, de Pontchâteau et d'Héric (see *L'Armorial le Breton*, ed. by E. de Boos and others (Paris: Centre historique des Archives nationales; Groupe Malakoff; Somogy éditions d'art, 2004), no. 703); Le seigneur d'Antoing (Armand de Behault, 'La noblesse hennuyère au Tournoi de Compiègne de 1238', *Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons*, 22 (1890), 61–114, nos 138, 157); and in Paul Adam-Even, 'Rôle d'armes de l'ost de Flandre (juin 1297)', *Archives héraldiques suisses*, 73 (1959), 2–7, no. 176, Le sire de Torote is given: *de gueules au lion d'or* (not *argent*).

Furthermore, the context of the heraldry used in conjunction with an ape must surely hint at an element of satire if not of overt mockery, however, suggesting perhaps a patron in the entourage of one of these clerical or noble figures rather than representing a clue as to the patron himself; see Horst W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1952). The dates of some of the songs in this compilation may approximate termini post quem for the production of the manuscript, showing that Robert, Bishop of Laon, would be the more likely if one of these bishops were indeed alluded to in the heraldry. The most specific date is 1274, proposed by Aubry for the composition of *Venditores labiorum fleant advocati* (fol. 56v), which he thought referenced the decree of the Council of Lyon and the royal decree of 1274 concerning legal fees (Pierre Aubry, *Cent motets du XIIIe siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. iv. 6 de Bamberg*, 3 vols (Paris: Rouart, Lerolle, 1908), III, 110); but Everist thinks the reference is too general to be an indication of date and puts the manuscript earlier than 1274 (Mark Everist, *French 13th century Polyphone in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79–94v)* (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1998), p. 20). Whitcomb links the illustrations with the Marquette Bible, Brussels, BR II 2523 and dates it earlier than the Cambrai Epistle and Gospel books of 1266, to which group I attributed it, M. A. Stones, 'Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century', in *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. by Harald Scholler (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), pp. 100–12 (p. 107, n. 24).

The *MND* component is I Ch 4, beginning incomplete on fol. 98v (and copied incomplete). It is part of Fascicle IV (fols 98r–118v), a compendium of *trouvère* poems, with notation, in

French, of which the first strophes have been largely erased in the fifteenth century, except for the opening penflourished capital, and texts of Latin responsories added over the erasures. Stylistically the manuscript is part of the very large group of books illustrated by several artists for the Bishops of Cambrai and others in their entourage and in Tournai and Saint-Omer. The range of dated books in the group is between 1266, when Johannes Phylomena wrote the Epistle and Gospel Books, Cambrai, MM, 189–90, and 1285, when the *Roman de Judas Machabé*, Paris, BNF, fr. 15104, was composed for Guillaume de Termonde, son of Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders; BNF fr. 15104, the only surviving copy, can be attributed to an artist known as the Bute Master; and in 1285 Master Henri illustrated a Lives of Saints in French, Paris, BNF, fr. 412. The Johannes Phylomena books were first brought to prominence by Ellen J. Beer, 'Das Scriptorium des Johannes Philomena und seine Illuminatoren', *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), 24–38. For the Bute Master, who collaborated in the Pontifical of Cambrai with the Phylomena Master, see Alison Stones, 'Stylistic Associations, Evolution and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career', *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 23 (1995), 11–29; and for Master Henri, see Stones, *Le livre d'images de Madame Marie (Paris, BNF n.a.fr. 16251)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Cerf, 1998).

[29] Attributed for the *Roman du comte de Poitiers* component to Pas-de-Calais sud-est, by Dees, *Atlas des formes*, p. 522. Illustrations by the Bute Master's Assistant (Cambrai or Tournai, *c.* 1285–97). This assistant also participated in the illustration of Mons, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 331/206, Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval*, preceded by *Elucidation* and *Bliocadran* and followed by the First and Second Continuations and the Continuation of Manessier; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 296, *Guillaume d'Orange* cycle; and Paris, BNF, fr. 786, *Roman d'Alexandre* and Crusade Cycle, preceded by a calendar of Tournai use. See Stones, 'Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts', pp. 244–50, figs 40, 42–47; and Stones, 'Stylistic Associations'. The *MND* component is selected miracles.

[30] This manuscript is closest to Gautier's original according to DG, p. 139. Full-page miniatures of the Virgin and Child and Christ in Majesty with a small praying cleric below Christ's footstool. Written, as the colophon says, in 1266 by Guillaume, monk of Morigny: 'Expicit liber domine Galteri prioris de Vi scriptus per manus Guillelmi monachi mauriginacensis Anno domini M cc. lx sexto' (fol. 226^{v}). Vi is of course Vic-sur-Aisne, the priory where Gautier de Coinci was prior.

[31] The *MND* Prologue and Miracle of Theophilus (I Mir 10) occupy fols 92vb–101ra. Bound in two volumes, this manuscript (*olim* Phillipps 3643, Sotheby's 28.xi.67, lot 92) contains twenty-six historiated initials and one miniature (fol. 145^{v}) in vol. I for the *Estoire del saint Graal* (fols 92^{v}–191^{r}) and a miniature on fol. 191^{v} for the opening of *Merlin*, whose text begins on fol. 1^{r} of vol. II with a historiated initial. There are no illustrations for the other components of the volume. See Gehrke, *Saints and Scribes*, especially pp. 86–123. The illustrations are tabulated on pp. 111–12. Attributed to Paris by Alison Stones, '"Mise en page" in the French *Lancelot-Grail*: The First Hundred and Fifty Years of the Illustrative Tradition', in *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. by Carol R. Dover (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), pp. 125–44, Appendix.

[32] Camille Gaspar and Frédéric Lyna, *Les principaux manuscripts à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 2 vols (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1937; repr. 1983), I, 137–40, no. 53, pl. XXIXc. Written in two columns, thirty-nine lines. Many initials are in two registers. Affiliated with *MND* MS H according to DG, p. 130. Gaspar and

Lyna attributed MS B 'perhaps to the Principality of Liège', on the basis of the prominence given in the illustrations to the miracle of the shrine of Notre-Dame de Loon coming to Arras, which has no fewer than six historiated initials, as they assumed Loon meant Looz. This emphasis however might equally suggest an Arras provenance for the manuscript, and Loon is Laon not Looz. The style is unfortunately indeterminate but the initial reproduced on pl. XXIXc shows a splendid array of white flowers on branches emerging from the head of the 'simple monk', illustrating I Mir 23 (fol. 55); and Kathryn Duys in this volume draws attention to the portrait of Gautier as musician on fol. 3^{r}. Other illustrations include the patron (?) before the Virgin and Child (fol. 1), Gautier as musician (fol. 3^{r}), Gautier offering his book to the Virgin and Child (fol. 7^{r}), the Annunication (fol. 210^{v}), and the Nativity (fol. 211^{v}). Anne van Buren kindly checked that it is written btl.

[33] Hospitaller Master: historiated initials passim. Jews wear the 'rouelle' badge. Six additional historiated initials for the *Vie Nostre Dame et la Passion Nostre Seigneur* and *Les XVI signes du définement du monde*. See Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1290* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 120 and n. 21; pp. 121, 122, 123, 151, 153, 197, Cat. no. 14, attributed to Paris, early 1280s. Affiliated with *MND* MS B according to DG, p. 130. Owned by Agnes de Bourgogne (d. 1476).

[34] Selected miracles from Book I (DG, p. 92) are interspersed with other Marian texts and followed by prose *Vies des pères*. The illustrations are poorly preserved but attributable to the Hospitaller Master; see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 120, 121, 123, 151, 196–97, Cat. no. 13 (Paris, early 1280s).

[35] This notable literary miscellany includes *MND* II Prières 37 (fol. 191^{v}), 38 (*recte*, fol. 174^{r}), and 40 (fol. 222^{v}) (but not II Prière 39, *pace* DG). Dees has attributed several of the accompanying literary texts to Eure (*Les trois aveugles de Compiègne* and *Les dits de Hue Archevesque*), Yonne (Raoul de Houdenc, *Le songe d'enfer* and *Chastelain de Vergi*), Aisne (Sainte Marie l'égiptienne), and, finally, Seine-et-Marne (*Le miracle de Théophile* and Rutebeuf). See Dees, *Atlas des formes*, pp. 520, 524, 527, 528. The *Dit du barisel* opens the manuscript with a badly rubbed historiated initial which could be by the Hospitaller Master but is extremely indistinct, and the *Chatelaine de Vergi* (fol. 6^{r}) and *D'Estormi* (fol. 11^{r}) have foliate initials of a type generally current in Paris in the period *c.* 1270–90. More determinant are the large, eight-line champie initials which accompany all the other very numerous texts including three of the *MND* prayers. These are closely similar to those in the manuscripts illustrated by the Hospitaller Master so it is more than likely that this is in fact a manuscript produced in his entourage.

[36] Named for his part in Paris, BNF, fr. 1633, *Roman de Méliacin* by Adenet le Roi.

[37] II Sal 35, *De par le mere dieu* [. . .] D, Annunciation to the Virgin, poorly preserved but attributable to the Méliacin Master, followed by songs which are not by Gautier (according to DG, p. 94, *pace* the *Catalogue général*), then by Book II miracles in an idiosyncratic order, opening with party penflourished initials in turquoise and red.

[38] Literary miscellany. The *MND* component is II Prière 37. Attributable to an assistant to Maître Honoré, to whom the frontispiece in the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (Paris, BNF, lat. 1023) is traditionally attributed. For previous literature, see Avril, *Rois maudits*, p. 269, no. 176; Wagih Azzam and Olivier Collet, 'Le manuscrit 3142 de la Bibliothèque de l'Asenal: Mise en recueil et conscience littéraire au XIIIe siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^{e}–XIIe siècles*, 44 (2001), 207–45; Busby, *Codex and Context*, pp. 212, 214–15, 404, 474–76 (figs V, 19–20), 525–27, 640.

[39] This manuscript is a literary miscellany closely related to Paris, B. Ars., 3142 (*MND* MS 16), opening with *Ogier le Danois* and ending with *Berthe aux grands pieds*. It has been identified as the copy owned by Mahaut comtesse d'Artois (see Appendix VI). The Prayer of Theophilus, II Prière 37, is on fol. 78^{r}, preceded by a single-column miniature depicting Theophilus as a cleric in grey kneeling before the Virgin (crowned) and Child (blessing the cleric, holding a book). Paris, by the same artist as the *MND* miniature in Paris, B. Ars., 3142 (see previous note). Written in two columns (fols 1^{r}–47^{v}, 75^{r}–98^{v}) and three columns (fols 49^{r}–74^{v}), champie intials throughout, no penflourishing. Historiated initials and single-column miniatures.

[40] On fol. 203^{r}, *Hunc librum scripsit Nicolaus servus amoris / Non queat ille more sed semper viva honori*. Unillustrated. The *MND* section begins the volume and consists of selections and abridgements from Book I (a complete list is in DG, p. 80). The rest of the volume is a *Vies des pères*. Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, 6 vols, Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia, 2–7 (Fribourg: Presses universitaires, 1965–82), IV, no. 13984. Ascribed to Paris *c.* 1300 by Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, II, 98.

[41] This modest and poorly preserved manuscript was owned by the Dominican nunnery of Poissy, founded by Philippe le Bel in 1297, following the canonization of Louis IX in that year. The *MND* component is an extract of II Dout 34, *Doutance de la mort.* The manuscript has penflourished initials.

[42] The *MND* component is Book I, preceded by the *Enfances Nostre Seigneur* and followed by the *Vies des pères* (fols 75^{r}–216^{v}), with ten *MND* miracles interspersed with *Vies des pères* (fols 145^{r}–152^{r}). Illustrations by the Maubeuge Master apart from the added miniature (16th c. ?) on fol. 61^{v}. For the Maubeuge Master, see Stones, 'Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts', pp. 260–61; Stones, 'Artistic Context', pp. 558–59; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, II, 176–79, App. 7F; Cassagnes-Brouquet, *L'image du monde*, pp. 118, 124; her list of Maubeuge Master manuscripts on pp. 123–24 repeats that of Rouse and Rouse. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 121, *Queste del saint Graal,* should be removed from both lists as it is by an Avignon artist and not by the Maubeuge Master.

[43] Two miniatures accompany the openings of other texts: fol. 1^{r} *Vie des peres* (very badly rubbed, style indeterminate); fol. 212^{r} *Vie de saint Julien* (by the Maubeuge Master). The *MND* selections (I Pr, I Mir 10, 13–17, 19, 21–22, 24–37) open with a foliate initial and border with greyhounds chasing hare and thereafter are marked by large penflourished initials with party bars in red and blue. Attributed to the Maubeuge Master, Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, II, 128, Appendix 7F.

[44] See note 20 to Appendix III.

[45] See Stones, 'Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts', p. 262; Stones, 'Artistic Context', pp. 557–58, and, for an expanded list including the manuscripts I ascribe to the Fauvel Master's lesser associate, dubbed the Sub-Fauvel Master, see Rouse and Rouse, *Manucripts and their Makers*, II, 195–200, App. 8D.

[46] For references, see previous note.

[47] For references and discussion, see Black in this volume.

[48] This is a *Roman de la Rose* with part of *MND* II Pr Sal 35 and II Sal 35, vv. 1–247 on fols 119^{v}–120^{v}. The illustrations to the *Roman de la Rose* are Parisian, attributable to the second

quarter or mid-fourteenth century, and are closely related iconographically to Lyon, BM, PA 24. I thank Meradith T. McMunn for this comparison.

[49] Literary miscellany, including *MND* I Mir 21 on fol. 313^{v}. The script and penflourishing is comparable to Parisian work in the second quarter to mid-fourteenth century. Spaces were left for illustrations throughout.

[50] The *MND* component, II Prière 37, *Gemme resplendissant*, is on fols 229^{v}–231^{r} (*recte*, not 229^{r} as DG). This is a priest's prayer manual in Latin and French with capitals in red, occasionally (fol. 76^{r}) with flourishing in the ink of the text. From the Abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris.

[51] A miscellany on paper including *le Voyage de Jean Mandeville* (fol. 2^{r}), *Roman de Fauvel* (fol. 130^{v}), antifeminist texts in Latin and French, and devotions to the Virgin. Written in part (fol. 62^{r}) in Liège by Ogier de Caumont who completed his work on 30 July 1396. In 1424 the book was given to Saint-Victor by its prior Johannes Lamasse. The Almarius and computus sections (fols 83^{r}–95^{r}) and many others including *Fauvel* have ink-drawn initials containing figures. II Prière 40 is in a section of prayers at the end with no decoration.

[52] Book of hours, use of Paris, see Appendix I. The *MND* component is II Prière 40.

[53] Book of hours, use of Paris, see Appendix I. The *MND* component is II Prière 40.

[54] Book of hours: Calendar, Litany, Hours of the Virgin, and Office of the Dead of Paris use; see Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2 vols (Paris: Protat, 1927); *Supplément (Acquisitions récentes et donation Smith-Lesouëf)* (Mâcon: Protat, 1943), II, 294–97, no. 306. II Prière 40 is on fol. 59^{v} and opens with a champie initial. The manuscript contains illustrations for each of the Hours of the Virgin (except for Prime which is missing), and one each for the Hours of the Cross and Holy Ghost, the Office of the Dead, the Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and the suffrages to saints John the Evangelist, Andrew, and Eufemia. Shields *azure six besants or 3, 2, 1, between two bends sinister gules on a chief or* are in the bottom borders on most illustrated pages (with or without the *bends gules*). The illustrations might best be described as 'rustic' while the cursive script is quite elegant, using cadels on top lines.

[55] Miscellany of tracts in French prose and verse, on paper, including II Prière 40.

[56] This is a collection of Marian miracles in verse and prose of which selections from *MND* Book I is one component, intercollated with *Vies des pères* miracles and acccompanied by Wace, *La Conception*, Herman, *L'Assomption*, and other selections, most notably a set of Lives of Lyon saints in prose (Irénée, Juste, Concorce, Euchère, and Mamert of Langres). The manuscript is regarded as an important witness to the language of the region of Lyon in the thirteenth century — a mixture of northern French and Occitan. See Paul Meyer, 'Notice sur le recueil de Miracles de la Vierge, renfermé dans le ms. Bibl. Nat. Fr. 818', *Notices et extraits*, 34.2 (1895), 57–88. Although Meyer noted the participation of several scribes, his assessment that the decoration is the same throughout is accurate. See also Hilding Kjellman, ed., *La Deuxième Collection anglo-normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin, avec les miracles correspondants des mss. fr. 375 et 818 de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris: Champion, 1922); H. Andersson, *Étude linguistique sur une version de la légende de Théophile conservée dans les manuscrits fr. 818 et 423 de la Bibliothêque nationale* (Uppsala: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1889); Adolfo Mussafia and Theodore Gartner, *Altfranzösische Prosalegenden aus der Hs. der Pariser Nat. Bibl. fr. 818, I, Text* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1895).

[57] Literary miscellany including *MND* I Mir 11 (with six additional lines at the beginning). Dees attributes the *Roman des ailes* of Raoul de Houdenc to Aube (*Atlas des formes*, p. 528) and *Fabliaux* 2 and 4 to the region of Langres (p. 529). Several textual components including I Mir 11 open with a foliate and dragon initial; other texts have penflourished initials only. Signature of Philippe Alamande, Dame de Chassenaige on fols 8^{v} and 127^{v}; see Appendix VI.

[58] La Clayette manuscript. The *MND* component is incomplete at the end of this famous literary compilation, consisting of I Mir 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31 (ending incomplete on fol. 414^{v}). The *Liber sancti Iacobi* by Pierre de Beauvais is attributed to the Aube by Dees (*Atlas des formes*, p. 528); but the *Vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie* to the Oise (p. 527). See Meyer, 'Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits français'; Suzanne Solente, 'Le grand recueil La Clayette à la Bibliothèque nationale', *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), 226–34; Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, 'Un bibliophile bourguignon au début du XVe siècle, Louis de Chantemerle, Seigneur de La Clayette et ses manuscrits', *Journal des Savants* (2005), 317–97 (377–79). See also Philibert de Chantemerle in Appendix VI. This later ownership may hint as to where the manuscript was made (La Clayette is in Saône-et-Loire), but the style is for the present very difficult to match. A possible cognate is the second hand in the book of hours and Wace's *Vie de sainte Marguerite*, Troyes, BM, 1905, *MND* MS 35; see Franche Comté: Vesoul or Besançon ? below.

[59] II Prière 40 is on fol. 77^{v}, marked by a champie initial. The liturgical elements in the volume, the Hours of the Virgin (fols 15^{r}–17^{r}), short Franciscan litany (fols 30^{v}–31^{v}), and Office of the Dead (fols 32^{r}–41^{v}), did not enable Leroquais to arrive at a localization (Leroquais, *Livres d'heures, Supplément*, pp. 301–02, nos 311–12, and his unpublished *Carnets*). The artist reappears in Paris, BNF, fr. 24428, an *Image du monde* and Bestiary compilation in which the artist of Paris, BNF, fr. 1610, *Roman de Troie*, written in 1264, was also a participant. I propose a Burgundian provenance for the latter. The first volume, Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4509, includes the only surviving copy of the 1287 revision of the *Credo* composed by Jean, sire de Joinville (1225–1317), of which the first redaction was written, in the entourage of Louis IX, in the Holy Land *c.* 1250–51. A date *c.* 1287 is likely for this manuscript.

[60] This is a neatly written devotional book in French comprising the Psalter, Ten Commandments, Twelve Articles of Faith, Meaning of the Evangelist Symbols, *Vie de sainte Marguerite*, inc. *Apres la sainte passion*, followed by prayers in French, beginning with II Prière 37, *Dame resplandisant*, on fol. 126^{r}, marked by a three-line foliate initial and border. The script is in cursive and the decoration overall consists of foliate initials and borders for text openings (including fol. 126^{r}) and champie initials. At the end (fols 156^{r}–157^{r}) are prayers in Latin with indulgences, followed (fols 157^{r}–158^{r}) by a list in French of the indulgences offered at the Sainte-Chapelle of the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon, suggesting the place where the book was used.

[61] Book of hours, use of Metz. II Prière 37, Prayer of Theophilus, *Dame playcant royne glorioze* [. . .] is on fol. 178^{r}, opening with a foliate initial containing a dragon with long neck encircling (like a halo) a male (?) head in three-quarter profile with open mouth, facing the text, as though praying the words of the Prayer. This is one of a large group of illustrated books of hours and other texts produced in Metz in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. See *Écriture et enluminure en Lorraine au moyen âge* (Nancy: Société Thierry Alix, 1984), no. 82, and Claudia Marchitiello Mark, 'Manuscript Illumination in Metz in the Fourteenth Century: Books of Hours, Workshops, and Personal Devotion', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1991).

[62] Attributed to Lorraine by Paul Meyer, 'Trois nouveaux manuscrits des sermons français de Maurice de Sully', *Romania*, 28 (1899), 245–68 (p. 246), followed by Busby, *Codex and Context*, p. 746. Owned in the fifteenth century by the Cistercian Abbey of Signy near Charleville-Mézières (Dioc. Reims). Written btl in one column, twenty-five lines. Coloured capitals, no flourishing. A tract on the Ten Commandments, *Purgatoire de saint Patrice*, followed by selected *MND* miracles. Ends with I Mir 41, at the bottom of fol. 86 without an explicit; *Leuenement* follows without a break on fol. 86^{v}.

[63] Book of hours with Calendar of Toul, II Prière 37 on fol. 183^{r}, II Prière 40 on fol. 160^{r}.

[64] On fol. 195^{v} is II Prière 37, opening with a foliate initial. The manuscript is a book of hours of indeterminate Eastern French provenance; Ottosen (personal communication) ascribes the Office of the Dead to the use of Sion, and stylistic links also point to the Breviary of Sion (Sitten), Cathedral 41–42 (*Livres sédunois du moyen âge: enluminures et miniatures de la Bibliothèque du chapître de Sion*, ed. by Josef Leisibach, Sedunum Nostrum, 11 (Sion: Société pour la sauvegarde de la cité historique et artistique, 1985), pp. 61–65), to which may also be compared the Breviary of Bellevaux, Vesoul, BM, 22. An important component in the manuscript is Wace's *Vie de sainte Marguerite* which transmits the same version as B. Ars. 3516 (*MND* MS 17). See Wace, *La Vie de sainte Marguerite*, ed. with introd. and glossary by Hans-Erich Keller; commentary by Margaret Alison Stones (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990).

[65] A paper copy, with rubrics and marginal glosses in Latin (cf. MSS N and S), written in a neat cursive hand with decorative line-fillers, in 1465, by Marguerite de Chauvigny, OC (see Appendix VI). The opening initials are decorated with ink flourishing. It is one of two manuscripts to include the *Vie de sainte Christine*; see Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106, note 24 above.

[66] The *MND* selections, I Mir 23–32, 34–36, 38–41, 44–I Ch 45, II Prière 1, II Ch 2–6, and DG 46bis and 88, open with penflourished initials, as do the *O intemerata* (fol. 78^{r}) and *Vies des pères* which follow (fols 79^{r}–98^{v}). A Crucifixion miniature on fol. 99^{v} faces the opening of *L'arbre de vie*. Its style is indeterminate but fifteenth century; the ownership note referring to Nevers suggests the provenance.

[67] On fol. 1^{r} an A initial, *Aide diex rois iesucris* [...] opens the *Vie des peres*, showing a tonsured cleric kneeling before a hooded cleric (badly rubbed); on fol. 215^{r} a D initial contains a tonsured cleric in grey writing at a desk opens the *Renclus de Molliens* and gives a possible clue as to a provenance in the region of Metz: the initial has a curling foliage motif in the bar, similar though less developed than those in the Renaud de Bar books. The figure drawing is very fine. The other texts including the nine *MND* selections open with large fine penflourished initials with party bars in red and blue, and distinctive cross-hatched balls in red. A possible comparison is with Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1725, *Yvain* fol. 34^{v}, reproduced in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Busby and others, colour pl. IIf, attributed to the region of Nièvre, Allier by Dees, *Atlas des formes*, p. 532.

[68] The manuscript opens with the *Image du monde* by Gautier de Metz (composed in 1265), followed by the *MND* selections (with a *Vie des pères* miracle interpolated), then by various dits and hagiographical texts. The *MND* miracles each open minor initials in red and blue, with a minimum of vertical-line flourishing in the other colour (Italianate?), articulate the text. The *MND* component is selected miracles: I Pr I, I Mir 10, I Mir 13, I Mir 14, I Mir 15, I Mir 17,

II Mir 29, I Mir 36, preceded by Gautier de Metz, *Image du monde* and followed by fabliaux, contes, the *Vie des sainte Katherine*, the *Vie de sainte Juliane*, the *Trespassement Nostre Dame*, and *Lucidarius*. *Le Conte du barril* is attributed to the region of Nièvre, Allier, by Dees (*Atlas des formes*, p. 533).

[69] Written in one column, twenty-seven lines, written btl on fols 92^{r}, 106^{v}–107^{r} where the rulings are clear. Many pentrials on the last folio, fol. 31^{v}. *MND* miracles are followed by *Purgatoire de saint Patrice*, prayers, *Passion saynte Katherine*, satires, and other texts. *La passion saynt Katherine* is attributed to the Haute-Saône by Dees (*Atlas des formes*, p. 531).

[70] Assigned to the 'midi' ('a sans doute été écrit dans le sud de la France', DG, p. 127), followed by Busby, *Codex and Context*, pp. 223, 579. DG (p. 52) notes the scribal feature of accents on double 'r' which she considers a feature of southern France or even of Italy. Parallels have not been forthcoming and the manuscript is extremely difficult to place: the possible stylistic analogies offer conflicting options. For the use and placing of marginalia in Besançon 551, there are some similarities to the Missal of Montiéramey (OSB, Dioc. Troyes), Verdun, Séminaire; see *Trésors du millénaire, Dix siècles d'art et d'histoire autour de la Cathédrale de Verdun (1 juin au 30 septembre, 1990)*, ed. by Claire Ben Lakhdar-Kreuwen (Verdun: Association culturelle de la Cathédrale de Verdun, 1990), pp. 28–29. But other possible stylistic parallels point elsewhere, such as the quite similar figure style of the author portrait of Aesop in the *Fables*, preceded by Gautier de Metz, *Image du monde*, Paris, BNF, fr. 2173, ascribed to the Veneto; see François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset with Claudia Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne*, vol. II: *XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984), pp. 9–10, no. 9, pl. IV. On the other hand, elements of the decorative repertoire, notably the use of white beading and of white dots enclosed in beaded circles, are also found in the south French psalter of 1265 with full-page prefatory miniatures, Frankfurt, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Linel Collection, L.M.20, which I attribute to the region of Narbonne (Stones, *Illuminated Manuscripts Made in France: Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1340* (forthcoming)). See most recently *Die Stiftung der Gebrüder Linel in der Buchkunst- und Graphiksammlung des Museums für Kunsthandwerk*, ed. by S. Soltek and R. Neugebauer (Frankfurt am Main: Museum für Kunsthandwerk, 1991), pp. 34–35, no. 2. The script of MS T, particularly the first hand, also points to the South. But the full-page figures in Linel 20 are not particularly close to the figures of the historiated initials in Besançon 551, for which one of the artists in Princeton, University Library, Garrett 27, the Bible of Sweetheart Abbey (O. Cist.), Kirkudbrightshire, Scotland provide better parallels. It is likely the Sweetheart Bible was produced at Cîteaux as the other artist is close to the painter of the Dijon Bibles, Dijon, BM, 1 and 16–21 (especially 18). See Yolanta Zaluska and others, *Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), nos 206, 167 respectively. For aspects of the Marian iconography in MS T, see Anna Russakoff, 'The Role of the Image in an Illustrated Manuscript of *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame* by Gautier de Coinci: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 551', *Manuscripta*, 47–48 (2003–04), 135–44; and for many illustrations, see *Le Moyen Age en lumière: Manuscrits enluminés des bibliothèques de France*, ed. by Jacques Dalarun (Paris: Fayard, 2002), passim. Neither scholar has anything to say about the style. The history of the manuscript sheds further light on its likely southern provenance; see the essay by Stones in this volume, and for aspects of the iconography, see the essay by Krause in this volume.

[71] This is a devotional miscellany in which the *MND* component consists of II Prières 37 and 38. Elegant penflourishing in red and blue has some affinity with the work of the southern French

penflourisher P. de Bonier, who in 1297 signed his name in Paris, BNF, lat. 7622, Huguccio de Pisa, *Vocabularium*, on fol. 141r, 'P. de Bonier illuminavit istum librum magistro Arnaldo Martini'. BNF lat. 7622 has penflourished initials in red, blue, and purple, and paragraph marks in red and blue (Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965), p. 519; François Avril, 'Un enlumineur ornemaniste parisien de la première moitié du XIVe siècle: Jacobus Mathey (Jaquet Maci ?)', *Bulletin monumental*, 129 (1971), 249–64 (p. 257)).

[72] DG notes that some additions to the *MND* texts are the same as in MS M, Paris, BNF, fr. 2163. While the script looks northern, the penflourished initials in red and mauve, blue and red, perhaps suggest the South.

[73] II Prière 37 is on fol. 14r. I thank Pierre Guinard, Conservateur, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon, for kindly sending a jpg. Kathryn Duys drew my attention to the fact that the Prayer to the Holy Spirit, inc. *Santo spirito dolce glorioso* (fol. 17v) is in Italian, citing Wendelin Foerster in *Giornale di filologia romanza*, 4 vols (Rome: Loescher and Co., 1878–83), II, 45, no. 3; and Paul Meyer, 'Périodiques, II, *Giornale di filologia romanza*, 1, 3', *Romania*, 9 (1880), 159–63 (p. 162); the prayer is copied by the same scribe as II Prière 37. The rest of the volume comprises poems on the Passion in French, on the Body of Christ on the Cross in Latin, part of Wace, *La Conception*, *Les quinze signes de la fin du monde*, and a prayer to the Virgin in French, *Belle dame tres pie empereris*.

[74] The manuscript is a devotional miscellany in Latin, French, and Occitan, made for a Franciscan nun depicted on fols 43r, 214r, and 237v (colour plate of fol. 43r in Hasenohr, 'Un Donat de dévotion'). Hughes-Hughes attributed the manuscript to Périgueux on the basis of the prominence of St Front in the short Franciscan litany, where his invocation follows those of Peter and Paul; see Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music*, I, 255. Damaged heraldry suggests the nun for whom the book was made was a member of the Talleyrand-Périgord family, Counts of Périgord, three members of whom were abbesses of the Franciscan convent in Périgueux in the early fourteenth century (Alison Stones, *Illuminated Manuscripts Made in France: Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, forthcoming)). The mention of St Louis of Toulouse (canonized 1317) in the prayers following the litany, and the inclusion of the feast of Corpus Christi, adopted by the Franciscans in 1319, are dating termini. The *MND* component is II Prière 37 in Occitan, inc. *Domna resplandens reina gloriosa*, ed. by Peter Ricketts, 'A Woman's Poem: The *Priere de Theophile* in Occitan', in *L'Offrande du coeur: Medieval and Early Modern Studies in Honour of Glynnis Cropp* (Canterbury: Canterbury University Press in association with Massey University, 2004), pp. 87–95.

[75] Book of hours, use of Rennes. The *MND* component is II Prière 40. See Appendix I.

[76] A book of hours and calendar including St Yves in gold, with a *Vie de sainte Marguerite* in the *Apres la sainte passion* version. II Prière 40 is on fol. 166r, marked by a champie initial. The litany, according to the *Catalogue général*, is of Bourges.

[77] This is a miscellany of prayers on paper, written in cursive and decorated with plain red capitals. The *MND* text, II Prière 37, is the last item, on fol. 198r (*recte*, not 98 as DG). Among the many pentrials on fol. 200v is an ownership note, 'A Madame N de Bretaigne' suggesting ownership, and perhaps production, in Brittany. Subsequently the manuscript came to Saint-Germain-des-Prés; the *Catalogue général* gives it no. 1489; on fol. 1 is K (?) 2142, and, below, a signature mark.

[78] Book of hours, on fol. 183^{r} is a prayer to St Yves; one to Ste Avoye on fol. 200^{r}. Perhaps owned by the Cauchon-Maupas de Champagne family (see Appendix VI). The *MND* component is II Prière 40.

[79] Book of hours, use of Coutances. The *MND* component is II Prière 40. See Appendix I.

[80] A schoolbook including a writing manual citing *MND* II Ch 2, strophe 4 as an example. On fol. 114^{r}, *Onques ne soi amer a repentir [. . .] la grant pitie dont michi doit venir.* On fol. 114^{v} *Ave porte deu chiel puchele de haut pris [. . .] Ja niert de mort enimies ne soupiris.* I could not tell whether or not this is written atl or btl; other sections appear to be btl with early script (fols 116^{v}–117).

[81] Psalter of Lyre Abbey (OSB, Dioc. Evreux). II Prière 37 is on fol. 233^{v} and II Prière 38 on fol. 235^{r}.

[82] Diurnal of Lyre Abbey (OSB, Dioc. Evreux). II Prière 37 is on fol. 291^{r}.

[83] From Mont-Saint-Michel (OSB, Dioc. Avranches). II Prière 40 is on fol. 86^{r}, beginning a collection of prayers that follow texts relating to the abbey.

[84] Book of hours, use of Rouen. The *MND* component is II Prière 40.

[85] This is part of a bifolio, currently glued into a scrapbook so that the smaller fragment precedes the larger, but the textual contents show that the correct order is the opposite. The number 3 is on the larger leaf; item no. 4 in the scrapbook is unrelated (*pace* DG). The end of I Mir 11 is on verso of smaller fragment, part of rubric to I Mir 12 including the word 'geta', first verses of I Mir 12, according to DG. On the recto of the larger leaf of the fragment are (col. 1) I Prière 1 vv. 13–29 and (col. 2) I Prière 1 vv. 55–71, and on its verso (col. 1) I Prière 1 vv. 98–113 and (col. 2) I Prière 1 vv. 137–52. The fragment is certainly early, written with caps touched in red, and the script is somewhat comparable to that of MS M, BNF fr. 2163, of 1266. The fragment could date in the middle or third quarter of the thirteenth century. I thank Marie-Pierre Laffitte for looking at the fragment with me.

[86] This manuscript is an assembly of several sermon collections, at the end of which, in a badly damaged section, on fol. 116^{r} (*recte*, not 113 as DG) is II Prière 37, [D]*ame resplendissans roine glorieuse,* followed by *La grant bible Nostre Dame* and more fragments of sermons. The rulings are extremely hard to see, but on fol. 45 it is clear that the text is written btl.

[87] I Mir 19 and I Mir 22 respectively. Several scribes, no illustration. For description and analysis of the texts and reproduction of the scribal hands, see Gehrke, *Saints and Scribes*, pp. 12–53, figs 1–8. The mansucript is a literary miscellany beginning with *Li livres de la bible* by Herman; the *MND* miracles are followed by *De licorne et del serpent*, *De sainte Marguerite* in the *Apres la sainte passion* version, *Li Pater noster* by Selviestre, *De saint Alexit*, and *Li Viex de Couloigne.*

[88] II Mir 9 is interpolated into a *Vies des pères* manuscript. Introduced by a penflourished initial with party bar in turquoise blue and red.

[89] *Vies des pères*, other Marian miracles, and on fol. 169^{r} fourteen verses of the epilogue of *MND* I Mir 22. Coloured capitals.

[90] The manuscript has penflourished initials with party bars and no illustration; it is written btl, information kindly supplied by François Avril. II Prières 37, 38, 40, are on fols 143^{r}–146^{r}. See *I Codici Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. by C. Paoli, 2 vols, Indici e cataloghi, 8 (Rome: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. 1887), I.1, 79–80 and I.2, 81–83; *Mostra di codici romanzi delle biblioteche fiorentine (3–8 aprile 1956)* (Florence: Biblioteca Laurenziana, 1957), p. 59, no. L 66.

[91] II Prière 39 on fol. 64r, II Prière 38 on fol. 65r, II Prière 37 on fol. 65v. The manuscript is a literary miscellany; full description of contents in L. de Marchi and G. Bertolani, *Inventario dei manoscritti della R. Biblioteca universitaria di Pavia* (Milan: Heopli, 1894), I, 119–22.

[92] Literary miscellany containing part of II Prière 37 with two introductory couplets, ending incomplete, thirteenth century (DG, p. 108).

[93] Distinctive penflourished initials with two-tone bars and sexfoil flowers present in the first and last parts of the volume (fols 1–100v and from 179r to the end) may provide clues as to provenance. These are the thirteenth-century parts. The major *MND* component, selected miracles on 101r–127r, starts with a plain two-line coloured capital without flourishing, as do the following texts opening on fols 128r and 165r. The text is a miscellany of *Vies des pères* and literary texts.

[94] A variant, abridged, version of II Sal 33. Written btl in a distinctive hand with cursive elements, red capitals for the *Aves* and a vertical row of dots in red at the beginning and end of the first column and the end of the second. Several styles of capital A in red.

[95] See note 93. The major *MND* component is in the fourteenth-century part of the manuscript.

[96] A miscellany of saints' lives followed by selected *MND* miracles, twenty in all, then a sermon on penitence, *Vers sur la mort*, *Li x commandemans de la loi*, *Li Clostra de l'arme*, and *Instruction pour bien vivre*. The *MND* miracles open with plain red capitals like those in the rest of the manuscript. On the front flysheet is a motto written in large script: *Nissamoht veult* (inverted by Paulin Paris to read 'Thomassin'), followed by a shield *party per bend charged with a six-pointed star, a lion's head in sinister* and the motto LVEVLT.

[97] A *Legenda aurea*, early fourteenth century according to the *Catalogue général*, with II Prière 37 on the flysheet. Owned by Belval, Augustinian according to the ownership inscription (but see Dom L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols (Mâcon: Protat, 1939), under Belval-Bois-des-Dames and *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa qua series & historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum & abbatum Franciae vicinarumque ditionum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem positis opera et studio domni Dionysii Sammarthani [. . .] nec non monachorum ejusdem congregationis*, 16 vols (Paris: Didot, 1856–65), IX, 322).

[98] Biblical paraphrases and other texts, *MND* Pr and I Mir 10, introduced by a large penflourished initial A with party bar, reproduced on *Enluminures*, <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/>. Owned by the poet Anne de Graville (1490–1521).

[99] The manuscript is an early thirteenth-century book comprising the *Rommans Iehan de Lanson* by Bertolais de Laon followed by the *Chanson d'Aspremont* beginning and ending incomplete (a leaf has been cut out between fols 65v and 66r). *MND* II Prière 37 has been added in a later hand (early fourteenth century ?) in the space following the explicit to the *Iehan de Lanson* text on fol. 65v. The opening capital is a little larger than the other first letters of lines and there is no decoration. The original texts are articulated with coloured capitals.

[100] Although the two *MND* miracles, I Mir 19 (fol. 132r) and I Mir 17 (fol. 142r) open with plain red capitals, other sections in this devotional miscellany have distinctive penflourished initials with motifs of hybrids in reserve, for which parallels may eventually be found: on fol. 16r, for *Miserere*, M with affronted male hybrids, one bearded, one youthful; on fol. 75v for *Renclus de Molliens*, P, lion rampant with human face; on fol. 126v, for *O bele dame tres pieue empereis*, heads

of Virgin and Child above head of monk lying supine; for other miracles: fol. 181^{r} C, hybrid with male head and another head; fol. 198^{r} F, lion passant with human head.

[101] Contains Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with marginal and interlineal glossing. *MND* II Prière 37, *Dame resplendissant reine gloriose* is copied in the lower margins of fols 81^{v}–87^{r} in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century cursive hand.

[102] Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, including II Prière 40.

[103] Book of hours, including II Prière 40.

[104] Fragment of I Mir 42 in a variant version; see Appendix I.

[105] Book of hours, uncertain use. II Prière 40 is on fol. 40^{r}. *O intemerata* is in the feminine. Foliate initials.

[106] Selected *MND* miracles in a literary miscellany (G. A. Matile, 'Contes du XIIe siècle découpuverts à Neuchâtel', *Revue Suisse*, 2 (1839), 246–50). Coloured capitals. The manuscript is written in formata script up to p. 46 col. 1. From p. 46 col. 2 to the end the text is in cursive. A second cursive hand writes from p. 305 to the end, p. 372. A poem, phallic drawings, and pen trials on the flysheet. Ownership notes.

[107] Selected *MND* miracles in a *Vies des pères* manuscript. Written in cursive by several scribes, fifteenth century. Large coloured capitals.

[108] *Recte*, not 15^{r} as DG. Written in neat cursive, text openings have three-line coloured capitals. I Mir 29, inc. *Pour vng miracle [. . .] reator/ou minot se dormont delictez/Tous ceulx qui serment volen [. . .] Celui qui est voye et soentie En escript trouue qui fut jadis [. . .]*. The rest of the volume is a miscellany of saints' lives and theological treatises.

[109] *Somme le roi* and II Prière 40; see *Catalogue général des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Chartres (Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France t. 11)*, ed. by MM. Omont, Molinier, Couderc, and Coyecque (Paris: Plon, 1890); and *Catalogue general t. 53, Manuscrits des bibliothèques sinistrées de 1940 à 1944* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1962), pp. 2–5.

[110] Book of hours, II Prière 40 on fol. 124^{v}. Manuscript destroyed in WW II.

[111] Book of hours, II Prière 40.

[112] Miscellany of behaviour manuals and devotional texts, including II Prière 40.

[113] Miscellany of devotional texts compiled by Nicolas Rolet (named on fols 19^{v} and 20^{r}, and named Colinet Rolet on fol. 182^{v} where he is shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child), II Prière 40.

[114] According to DG, p. 108, and the *Catalogue général*, this contained a description of two *MND* manuscripts.

[115] Miracles of Notre-Dame de Chartres, including *MND* II Mir 25 and I Mir 14.

Appendix V

The Prayer of Theophilus, II Prière 37

Alison Stones

References: DG, no. 85; Sonet, *Répertoire*, nos 330, 653; Koenig, II Prière 37; Brayer, 'Livres d'heures' and 'Catalogues des textes liturgiques', no. 664; Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, no. 330, and *Supplément*, no. 330.

R = Rubric, T = Text. Other letters refer to the manuscript sigla used by DG and Koenig. For references to these manuscripts, see Appendices I and IV. I thank François Avril for checking MS v, Anne van Buren for MS 9, and Adelaide Bennett for MS l and for drawing to my attention MSS Add-21, Add-22, and Add-23, and Kathryn Duys for checking many points.

1. Incipit Gemme *(9 examples)*

a) In Complete MND Manuscripts (4 examples)

H Paris, BNF, fr. 1533, *c.* 1280, Paris (Hospitaller Master).
fol. 262^{v} R: *Cest la proiere theophilus.* T: *Genme* [*sic*] *resplendissant pucele glorieuse* . . . G, Theophile as tonsured cleric kneeling before statue of Virgin and Child on altar. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 262^{r}, II Prière 39 on fol. 262^{r}, and II Prière 40 on fol. 263^{r}.

M Paris, BNF, fr. 2163 (Morigny, OSB, Dioc. Orléans, 1266).
fol. 224^{v} T: *Gem(m)e* [*recte*, not *Gamme* as in the *Catalogue général* — it is certainly 'e' and 'mm', the first 'm' indicated by a common mark of abbreviation] *resplensissant roine glorieuse* . . . G, champie initial. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 222^{r}, II Prière 39 on fol. 226^{r}, II Prière 40 on fol. 226^{v}.

N Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, *c.* 1260 ? Soissons, Noyon, or Laon.
fol. 225^{v} T: *Ge(m)me replendissanz roine glorieuse* . . . G, penflourished initial. Also has II Prière 39 on fol. 226^{v}.

S Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, 'Soissons Manuscript', Paris, *c.* 1329, illustrations attributed to Jean Pucelle.

fol. 241^{r} T: *Gemme resplendissant royne glorieuse* . . . preceded by single-column miniature: Queen kneels before statue of Virgin and Child on altar, Child has arm round Virgin's neck, blesses queen who is crowned and wears a transparent veil over plaited and bunched hair, and a transparent wimple with low-cut pink dress and grey mantle lined with light grey-green. Most likely this is Marie de Luxembourg (d. 1324), wife in 1322 of Charles VI (r. 1322–28). Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 242^{r}, II Prière 39 on fol. 243^{r}, and II Prière 40 on fol. 143^{v}.

b) In Prayer Books (2 examples)

1 Cambrai, MM, 87, hours and prayers with a calendar of Paris use, and Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead of Reims. Made before 1297[1] for Gautier de Châtillon d'Autresche (avoué of Vic-sur-Aisne) and his (otherwise undocumented) wife.

fol. 210^{r} T: *Gemme resplendissans* . . . G, Virgin Mary nimbed, veiled, crowned, at portal of church in city. Margin, left, female devotional figure, wearing headdress, kneeling with joined hands in prayer, below the initial. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 207^{r}.

28 Paris, BNF, fr. 24748, priest's prayer manual in Latin and French, 14th c. owned by the Abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris.

fol. 229^{v} (*recte*, not 229) T: *Gemme resplendissante* . . . G, two-line red capital.

c) In Other Manuscripts (3 examples)

9 Brussels, BR, IV.119, Gilles li Muisis, *Opera*, *c.* 1351–52

fol. 18^{v} R: *Vne orison deuote a le uirgene Marie de lonc temps faite*; T: *Gemme resplendissans reinen (sic) glorieuse* . . . G, A cleric kneeling before the Virgin and Child who holds a bird.

10 London, BL, Add. 16636, 19th-c. copy of the Gilles li Muisis Brussels, BR IV.119.

Add-35 Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 619, Miscellany, thirteenth century.

fols 137^{v}–138^{r}, T: *Gemme resplendissans* . . . opening with a historiated initial of the Virgin and Child.

2. *Incipit* Demme *(sic) (1 example)*

v Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113 (53), 13th c.
fol. 143^{v}, R: *La chantepleure*. T: *De(m)me* [*sic*] *resplendissant/ Reine glorieuse* . . . D, penflourished initial. Also has II Prières 38 and 40 (fols 145^{r} and 146^{r}, the former introduced by the rubric, *Ci commence la priere Theophile*).

3. *Incipit* Dame *(26 examples)*

a) In Complete MND Manuscripts (1 example)

O Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969, 13th c.
fol. 218^{v} *Dame resplandissans roigne glorieuse* [*sic*] . . . D, coloured capital. Also has II Prière 40 on fol. 220^{r}.

b) In Partial *MND* Manuscripts (1 example)

t Paris, BNF, fr. 23111, compendium including *Vies des pères*, *MND Miracles*, and *Renclus de Molliens*, Metz ? *c*. 1300.
fol. 329^{v}R: *Des .v. ioies nostre dame* (*sic*). T: *Dame resplendissant royne glorieuse* . . . D, large penflourished initial. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 331^{r}, II Prière 39 on fol. 331^{v}, and II Prière 40 on fol. 332^{r}.

c) In Prayer Books (11 examples)

Add-21 London, BL, Add. 16975, psalter of Lyre Abbey (OSB, Dioc. Evreux), before 1297.
fols 233^{v}–235^{r} *Dame saint marie raine gloriose* . . . Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 235^{r}.

Add-19 Evreux, BM, lat. 117, fols 291–92^{v}, diurnal of Lyre Abbey (OSB, Dioc. Evreux), 15th c.
fol. 291^{r} *Dame seinte Marie, reine gloriose* . . .

11 London, BL, Egerton 945, devotional miscellany in Latin, French, and Occitan, for a Franciscan widow of Périgueux, *c*. 1320.
Prayer of Theophilus, in Occitan, for a woman (ed. by Ricketts, 'A Woman's Poem').
fol. 107^{r} *Domna resplandens reina gloriosa* . . . D, foliate initial.

14 Paris, B. Ars., 570, book of hours of Metz use and prayers, 14th c.
fol. 178r R: *Qei de li orixon theophilus . orixon.* T: *Dame playcant royne glorioze* . . . D, foliate initial enclosing dragon with human face.

29 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044, psalter in French and devotional miscellany, Dijon, 15th c.
fol. 126r T: *Dame resplandisant* . . . D, three-line foliate initial and border.

35 Troyes, BM, 1905, book of hours based on Lyon and Sion use, Wace, *Vie de sainte Marguerite*, and prayers, before 1297 ?
fol. 195v R: *Cest la proiere theophilius* [*sic*]: T: *Dame resplandissans roisne gloriousse* . . . D, foliate initial (by the inferior of the two artists).

Add-13 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412, book of hours of Tournai use, 14th c. Belonged in the 16th c. to the Pignon Family.
fol. 163v T: *Dame resplendisans roine glorieuse* . . . D, foliate initial.

Add-15 Paris, BNF, lat. 17994, breviary of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne, OSB (Dioc. Soissons), before 1297.
fol. 536r *Dame resplendisans roine glorieuse* . . . D, cleric in black kneeling before Virgin and Child. Virgin is crowned, Child turns towards Virgin, pays no attention to cleric. This is not a nineteenth-century addition as in Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*. Also contains II Prière 40 (fol. 535v) and II Prière 39, following without a break from II Prière 37 (fol. 537v, line 9).

Add-22 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 98, book of hours of uncertain use, incomplete, Champagne, before 1297 (Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, pp. 119–23, no. 49).
fol. 102r *Dame resplendisans roine glorieuse* . . . D, female devotional figure wearing wimpled veil, kneeling with joined hands raised. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 88r.

Add-23 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729, psalter-hours of Comtesse de la Table and Yolande de Soissons, Amiens, before 1297.
fols 220r–222r *Dame resplendisans roine glorieuse* . . . D, foliate initial and border supporting a bird.

Add-20 Nancy, BM, 35 (245), book of hours with Calendar of Toul, 15th c.
fols 183–90. Also has II Prière 40 on fols 160r–162r.

d) In Other Compendia (12 examples)

3 Charleville, BM, 271, *Legenda aurea*, beginning of prayer on flysheet, early 14th c.
T: *Dame resplandissans roine glorieuse* . . .

[4] [Chartres, BM, 620], fol. 120^{r}, preceded by two introductory couplets; manuscript destroyed in WWII.

fol. 120^{r}, *Dame sainte Marie reine glorieuse* (André Wilmart, 'Dame sainte Marie reine glorieuse . . .', *La Vie et les arts liturgiques*, 9 (1922–23), 433–45). Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 121^{r}.

12 Lyon, BM, 739 (olim 645), miscellany of devotional poetry in French and Italian, 13th c.

fol. 14^{r} *Dame resplandisant raine gloriouse* . . . D, penflourished initial.

13-bis Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1, devotional miscellany in French, 13th c.

fol. 43^{v} R: *La proire Theofilus*, T: *Dame resplandissant* . . . D, penflourished initial. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 49^{v}.

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, literary and devotional miscellany in French, Paris, *c.* 1285, possible royal ownership.

fol. 300^{r} T: *Dame resplendissans* . . . D, Theophilus as cleric kneels before the Virgin and Child.

19 Paris, BNF, fr. 837, literary miscellany, Paris, *c.* 1280 (Hospitaller Master).

fol. 191^{v} T: *Dame resplendissant roine glorieuse* . . . D, large champie initial; R: *La priere theofilus* added in a fifteenth-century cursive hand. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 174^{r} (*recte*, not 173 as in DG) and II Prière 40 on fol. 222^{v} (but not II Prière 39, *pace* DG).

21 Paris, BNF, fr. 2495, compendium of Epic Poetry, early 14th c.

fol. 65^{v} T: *Dame resplendissans* . . . D, plain ink capital, text added in fourteenth century on a blank half-leaf.

22 Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, literary and devotional miscellany, owned by Mahaut comtesse d'Artois (r. 1302–29) and most likely her father Robert II comte d'Artois (r. 1250–1302), *c.* 1285

fol. 78^{r} *Dame resplendissans royne glorieuse* . . . preceded by a single-column miniature depicting a cleric in grey (Gautier or Theophilus) kneeling before the Virgin (crowned) and Child (standing on the Virgin's lap, blessing the cleric, holding a book).

24 Paris, BNF, fr. 17068, devotional miscellany, 15th c. on paper

fol. 198^{r} (*recte*, not 98), *Dame tres resplendissant royne glorieuse* . . . D, large red capital.

30-bis Paris, BNF, lat. 3556, a priest's sermon book, 13th c.

fol. 116^{r} (*recte*, not 113) T: [D]*ame resplendissans roine glorieuse* . . . D initial never completed.

31 Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, 219, literary miscellany, fols 64–65^{v} MND fragments, 13th c.

fol. 65^{v} T: *Dame resplendissant roine glorieuse* . . . D, large two-tone penflourished initial in red and blue. Also has II Prière 38 on fol. 65^{r} and II Prière 39 on fol. 64^{r}.

Add-8 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* with marginal and interlinear glosses, 14th c.

fol. 81^{v}, bottom margin: T: *Dame resplendissant reine gloriose* . . . D, plain ink capital.

Rejected

Paris, BNF, fr. 1635, literary and devotional miscellany

(Sonet, *Répertoire*, gives Paris, BNF, fr. 1639, fol. 84, 13th c. corrected in Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, to BNF fr. 1635) written btl, very sketchy penflourished initials

fol. 84 R: *Cest la priere theophilus.* T: *Sainte marie bele /glorieuze pucele/Dame de grace plainne* . . . this is by Rutebeuf not Gautier de Coinci.

Manuscripts Containing Other Prayers Attributed to Gautier de Coinci

(See above for MSS also containing II Prière 37, and for San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 1148, see Appendix I, note 8.)

II Prière 39 *Dame de paradis, dame de tout le monde* (Sonet, *Répertoire*, no. 309, 'Les cinc joies de Nostre-Dame' par Gautier de Coinci)

E Paris, BNF, fr. 817, fol. 170^{r} (1465)

II Prière 40 *Douz Dieux qui es sanz fin et sans inicion* (Sonet, *Répertoire*, no. 515)

E Paris, BNF, fr. 817, fol. 170^{r} (1465)

15 Paris, B. Ars., 650, book of hours and calendar including St Yves in gold, fol. 166^{r}. 15th c.

27 Paris, BNF, fr. 24436, miscellany including *Voyage de Jean Mandeville* and *Fauvel*, written in part in 1396, given to Saint-Victor by its prior Johannes Lamasse in 1424. II Prière 40 is on fol. 157^{r}.

Add-2 Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3, *Somme le roi*, contains II Prière 40 on fol. 154^{r}. 14th c.

Add-6 Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212, miscellany of texts relating to Mont-Saint-Michel and prayers, fol. 86^{r}. 15th c.

Add-9 Evora, Biblioteca publica, CXXIV/2-9, book of hours, uncertain use, fol. 2^{r}. 15th c.
Add-11 Paris, BNF, fr. 13167, book of hours, use of Paris, fols 59^{v}–61^{v}. 15th or early 16th c.
Add-14 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510, miscellany including Joinville's *Credo*, fol. 77^{r}. *c.* 1285
[Add-24] [Chartres, BM, 546, fol. 124^{v}. 15th c.]
Add-25 Den Haag, KB, 78 J 49, book of hours, fol. 328^{v}, 15th c.
Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192, book of hours, fols 189^{r}–190^{v} inc. *Vrais Dieus qui...* 15th c.
Add-27 Paris, B. Ars., 2115, miscellany of tracts in French prose and verse, on paper, fols 66^{r}–67^{r}. 15th c.
Add-28 Paris, BNF, fr. 1181, miscellany of behaviour manuals and devotional texts, paper, fol. 109$^{r–v}$. 15th c.
Add-29 Bruges, Stadbibliotheek, 321, Hours of Jacqueline de Bavière, fol. 92$^{r–v}$. 15th c. (Brayer, *Livres d'heures*, no. 64)
Add-30 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75, book of hours, use of Rouen, fols 125^{r}–126^{v}. 15th c. (Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, no. 515)
Add-31 London, BL, Cotton Appendix V, fol. 188^{r}, Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, fol. 188^{r}. 14th c. (Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, no. 515)
Add-32 Melbourne, State Library, *096/R66 (I), book of hours, fol. 9$^{r–v}$, 14th c. (Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, no. 515)
Add-33 Tours, BM, 231, miscellany of devotional texts compiled by Nicolas Rolet (named on fols 19^{v} and 20^{r}, and named Colinet Rolet on fol. 182^{v} where he is shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child), fols 207^{r}–208^{r}. Early 16th c. (Sinclair, *Prières: Nouvelles*, no. 515)
Add-36 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 261, book of hours, use of Paris, fols 108^{v}–109^{r}, 15th c. (Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515)
Add-37 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 284, book of hours, use of Coutances, fols 131^{r}–132^{v}. 15th c. (Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515)
Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, book of hours, use of Rennes, fols 112^{v}–113^{r}, *c.* 1465, with variant, '*Deus deus qui es sans fin et sans inicium...*' (Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515)
Add-39 Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4, book of hours in Latin and French on paper, use of Paris, pages 489–92, 15th c., with variant, '*Doulx dieu doulx pere qui es sans fin et sans inicion...*' (Sinclair, *Supplément*, no. 515)

Rejected (Sonet, Répertoire*, no. 515)*

Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 215, book of hours, use of Rome, calendar with Tournai saints, fol. 77^{v} (wrong: this is the end of Matins of the Virgin; II Prière 40 is not in the manuscript). After 1450 because of the inclusion of St Bernardin of Siena in the calendar.[2]

Additions from Sonet, Répertoire

[Add-24] [Chartres, BM, 546, fol. 124^{v}. 15th c.]
Add-25 Den Haag, KB, 78 J 49, book of hours, fol. 328^{v}, 15th c.
Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192, book of hours, fols 189^{r}–190^{v} inc. *Vrais Dieus qui . . .,* 15th c.
Add-27 Paris, B. Ars., 2115, miscellany of tracts in French prose and verse. On paper. fols 66^{r}–67^{r}, 15th c.
Add-28 Paris, BNF, fr. 1181, miscellany of behaviour manuals and devotional texts, paper, fol. 109$^{r–v}$, 15th c.

Additions from Brayer ('Livres d'heures', no. 43)

Add-29 Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321, Hours of Jacqueline de Bavière, fol. 92$^{r–v}$, 15th c.

Additions from Sinclair, Prières: Nouvelles

Add-30 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75, book of hours, use of Rouen, fols 125^{r}–126^{v}, 15th c.
Add-31 London, BL, Cotton Appendix V, fol. 188^{r}, Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, fol. 188^{r}, 14th c.
Add-32 Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *096/R66 (I), fol. 9$^{r–v}$, book of hours, 14th c.
Add-33 Tours, BM, 231, miscellany of devotional texts compiled by Nicolas Rolet (named on fols 19^{v} and 20^{r}, and named Colinet Rolet on fol. 182^{v} where he is shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child), fols 207^{r}–208^{r}, early 16th c.

Rejected (Sonet, Répertoire*, no. 515)*

Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 215, book of hours, use of Rome, Calendar with Tournai saints, fol. 77^{v} (wrong: this is the end of Matins of the Virgin; II Prière 40 is not in the manuscript). After 1450 because of the inclusion of St Bernardin of Siena in the calendar. Full-page illustrations to the Hours of the Virgin, Office of the Dead, and Suffrages, attributed for the most part to Lieven van Lathem or an artist of his school in Antwerp *c.* 1470.[3]

Additions from Sinclair, Supplément*, no. 515*

Add-36 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261, book of hours, use of Paris, fols 108^{v}–109^{r}, 15th c.
Add-37 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284, book of hours, use of Coutances, fols 131^{r}–132^{v}, 15th c.
Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, book of hours, use of Rennes, fols 112^{v}–113^{r}, *c.* 1465, with variant, 'Deus deus qui es sans fin et sans inicium . . .'.
Add-39 Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4, book of hours in Latin and French on paper, use of Paris, pages 489–92, 15th c., with variant, 'Doulx dieu doulx pere qui es sans fin et sans inicion . . .'.

Notes

[1] The absence or presence of the feast of St Louis on 25 August (Louis IX, King of France, d. 1270, canonized in 1297) is often an important criterion in the dating of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century manuscripts, particularly in Paris, the north, and the north-east.

[2] Full-page illustrations to the Hours of the Virgin, Office of the Dead, and Suffrages, attributed for the most part to Lieven van Lathem or an artist of his school in Antwerp *c.* 1470. Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste, IV, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin (supplément); Nouvelles acquisitions latines; Petits fonds divers* (Paris: CNRS, 1981), p. 315, citing A. de Schryver in *Gent, Duizend jaar kunst en cultuur* (Gent, 1975), II, 368, no. 602. Shield of the unidentified original owner, *azur 3 stars or, a chief or charged with two boars-heads* (fol. 68^{r}). Owned by Claude-Charles-Roger de Bauffremont, Bishop of Troyes (1562–93), his embroidered silk binding, with shields, front: *vair (argent and gules)*, surmounted by a mitre and crozier; back: *quarterly 1) argent a cross moline sable charged with five besants argent bordered gules*; 2) *argent a chevron azur surmounted by a crosslet gules*; 3) *gules 3 chevrons argent*; 4) *party in dexter azur a wildman armed with a club and buckler argent, in sinister argent a lion gules, a bend argent overall the fourth quarter.*

These arms are accompanied by an *eagle or*, which were also added on fol. 92r, for Anne de Vienne de Listenois, mother of the bishop.

[3] Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste, IV, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin (supplément); Nouvelles acquisitions latines; Petits fonds divers* (Paris: CNRS, 1981), p. 315, citing A. de Schryver in *Gent, Duizend jaar kunst en cultuur* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju en Zoon, 1975), II, 368, no. 602. Shield of the unidentified original owner, *azur 3 stars or, a chief or charged with two boars-heads* (fol. 68r). Owned by Claude-Charles-Roger de Bauffremont, Bishop of Troyes (1562–93), his embroidered silk binding, with shields, front: *vair (argent and gules)*, surmounted by a mitre and crozier; back: *quarterly* 1) *argent a cross moline sable charged with five besants argent bordered gules*; 2) *argent a chevron azur surmounted by a crosslet gules*; 3) *gules 3 chevrons argent*; 4) *party in dexter azur a wildman armed with a club and buckler argent, in sinister argent a lion gules, a bend argent overall the fourth quarter*. These arms are accompanied by an *eagle or*, which were also added on fol. 92r, for Anne de Vienne de Listenois, mother of the Bishop.

Appendix VI

Owners of *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Manuscripts

Alison Stones

For references to the manuscripts, see Appendices I and IV. This is a summary concordance to DG, supplemented by the *Catalogues généraux*, by Roger Middleton's entries in *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), Appendix of Owners, and by some additional references.

Monastic, Including Later Ownership

Augustinian

Belval (Dioc. Reims)

3 Charleville, BM, 271, *Legenda aurea* with *MND* II Prière 37 on binding fragment; ownership note on the flyleaf says 'Canonicorum S. Augustini Bellaevallensium' (but see Appendix IV, note 96). Certainly not Beauvais (*pace* DG, p. 107), 13th c. ?

Benedictine

Jumièges, OSB (Dioc. Rouen)

Add-17 Rouen, BM, 533, a school miscellany incorporating *MND* II Ch 2, strophe 4 (on fol. 114^{v}) interpolated into a model letter, 13th c.

Lyre, OSB (Dioc. Evreux)

Add-21 London, BL, Add. 16975, psalter of Lyre, *MND* selections on fols 233^{v}–235^{r}, before 1297. Acquired by the British Museum in 1847.

Add-19 Evreux, BM, lat. 117, diurnal of Lyre, *MND* selections on fols 291^{r}–292^{v}, 15th c.

Marmoutiers, OSB (Dioc. Tours)

s Tours, BM, 948, *MND* selected miracles, 13th c. Purchased at the Lesdiguières (q.v.) sale in Toulouse, 1716.

Mont-Saint-Michel, OSB (Dioc. Avranches)

Add-6 Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212, miscellany of texts concerning Mont-Saint-Michel, *MND* II Prière 40 is on fol. 86^{r}, 15th c.

Morigny, OSB, near Etampes (Dioc. Orléans)

M Paris, BNF, fr. 2163, *MND*, written in 1266.

Saint-Corneille, OSB, Compiègne (Dioc. Soissons)

Add-15 Paris, BNF, lat. 17994, breviary of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne, *MND* II Prières 40, 37, 39, fols 535^{v}–536^{v}, before 1297.

Saint-Corneille, Compiège (rejected)

R St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, *MND*, 13th c. DG (p. 72) reports that MS R was in the possession of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne before its acquisition by Baron Crassier (q.v.) by 1733 when described by Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* (Paris: Briasson, 1739), p. 606. Kathryn Duys notes that this reference is based on a misreading of Arthur Långfors, 'Textes liturgiques', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 65 (1930), n. 2, where part of a manuscript held by Saint-Corneille, Compiègne is said to have been copied by Abbé Leboeuf (? Jean Lebeuf, 1697–1760), identified as a *Complainte,* probably one of the Leocadia pieces or a part of one, I Mir 44 or I Ch 45–47. No extant manuscript corresponds to this.

Saint-Germain-des-Prés, OSB, Paris (see also Madame N de Bretaigne below)

p Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, fols 117bis^{r}–186^{r}, selected *MND* Book I miracles in a *Vies des pères* manuscript, *c.* 1280. Bequeathed by Coislin (q.v.): ex-libris on fol. 1^{r}, 'Ex bibliotheca Mss. Coisliniana, olim Segueriana, quam illust. Henricus du Cambout, dux de Coislin, par Franciae, episcopus Metensis etc. monasterio S. Germani a Pratis legavit. An M.DCC.XXXII. Saint-Germain français no. 1672'. Came to the Bibliothèque du roi with the manuscripts of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1791. See also Louis XVI below.

24 Paris, BNF, fr. 17068, miscellany of prayers, *MND* II Prière 37, fol. 198^{r}, 15th c. Saint-Germain-des-Prés no. 1489; on fol. 1^{r} is K (?) 2142, and, below, a signature mark. See also Louis XVI below.

25 Paris, BNF, fr. 19152, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 11, fols 26^{r}–34^{r}, 13th c. Bequeathed by Coislin (q.v.) in 1732. Saint-Germain no. 1830 then 1239. See also Philippe Alamande, Unidentified Owner in Luc en Diois, Coislin, and Louis XVI.

Saint-Médard, OSB, Soissons (Dioc. Soissons)

N Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, *MND*, 13th c. Given by the monks of Saint-Médard, Soissons, to Notre-Dame, Paris.

Saint-Martin, OSB, Tournai (Dioc. Tournai), Gilles li Muisis, Abbot

9 Brussels, BR, IV.119, *Opera* of Gilles li Muisis, including *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 18^{v}, *c.* 1351–52.

Saint-Rémi, Reims, OSB (Dioc. Reims), ownership note on fol. 25^{r}

2 Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106, hagiographical miscellany including part of *MND* I Mir 20, fols 150^{r}–151^{r}, 14th c.

Carmelite: Discalced Carmelites of St-Paulin, Florence, 18th c.

v Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113, literary miscellany including *MND* II Prières 37, 38, 40, fols 143^{v}–146^{r}, 13th c.

Carthusian: Seelhem near Diest (Brabant)

a Brussels, BR, 9229–30, fols 1^{r}–52^{r}, *MND* selections and *Vies des pères*, *c.* 1320–40. Inscription on fol. 190^{r}, 'Dit Boik behoirt to den Chartrosen van Seelhem by Diest'. Acquired by the Dukes of Burgundy (q.v.).

Carthusian or Cistercian

See Marguerite de Chauvigny below.

Cistercian: Signy (Dioc. Reims) by the 15th c.

c Charleville, BM, 90, fols 30^{r}–86^{r}, *MND* selections among a devotional miscellany, 15th c. See Lay Owners under Simonet Marchant de Mouzon.

Dominican: Nuns of Poissy

22-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (*Rosarius* MS), fol. 23 is the *MND* component, an extract of II Dout 34, *Doutance de la mort*, 14th c.

Franciscans: Minorites of La Guiche (Dioc. Chartres)

Add-2 Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3, *Somme le roi* followed on fol. 154^{r} by *MND* II Prière 40, 15th c. On fol. 3^{r}, 'Ex bibliotheca Minimorum Guichiensium'. See also Jehan Baron and Chabannez.

Franciscan: Nuns of Périgueux

11 London, BL, Egerton 945, prayer book in Latin, French, and Occitan, *MND* II Prière 37 in Occitan is on fols 107r–108v, *c.* 1320. The identity of the family who donated or owned the book is suggested by the heraldry of the two jousting knights in the border of fol. 237v, now both unfortunately damaged; they may represent the arms of Hélie VII Comte de Talleyrand-Périgord (*gules three lions or*) and his wife Philippe de Lomagne (*argent a lion gules*). Hélie's widowed sister and his two daughters were all nuns and, in succession, abbesses of the convent. See also Egerton below.

Victorine: Paris, Saint-Victor

28 Paris, BNF, fr. 24748, priest's prayer manual, *MND* II Prière 37, *Gemme*, is on fols 229v–231r, 14th c. Saint-Victor no. 617.

27 Paris, BNF fr. 24436, miscellany on paper, including *le Voyage de Jean Mandeville* (fol. 2r), *Roman de Fauvel* (fol. 130v), antifeminist texts in Latin and French, and devotions to the Virgin. *MND* II Prière 40 is in a section of prayers at the end (fol. 157r) with no decoration. Written in part (fol. 62r) in Liège by Ogier de Caumont who completed his work on 30 July 1396. In 1424 the book was given to Saint-Victor by its prior Johannes Lamasse (Jehan La Massse). Saint-Victor no. 890.

Victorine: Paris, Sainte-Geneviève

r Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586, fols 1r–60r, 78r–83r, selections of *MND* Book I miracles in a *Vies des pères* manuscript, *c.* 1300.

Add-16 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, Item 23, fols 30r–33r. Fragment, a variant abridged version of *MND* II Sal 33, 13th c.

Secular

Notre-Dame, Paris

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55v–60r, 13th c. Given by Claude Joly (q.v.) with his library in 1680. See also Chrétienne de Selles, Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed).

N Paris, BNF, fr. 25532, *MND*, 13th c. Given in the eighteenth century by the monks of Saint-Médard, Soissons: note on fol. 1r 'Religieux de St-Medard de

Soissons a l'eglise de Paris', Notre-Dame no. M 20; on fol. 1r is the number ND 195.

Sorbonne

t Paris, BNF, fr. 23111, *Vies des pères* and other works, *MND* selected miracles and prayers, fols 64v–70r, 256r–310r, *c.* 1300, Sorbonne no. 309. See also Richelieu below.

Saint-Pierre, Lille, Collegiate Church

8 Lille, BM, 130, biblical paraphrases and other texts, *MND* I Pr 1 and I Mir 10, fols 109r–129r, 14th c. See also Anne de Graville and M. de Valory under Later Owners.

Saint-Quentin, Collegiate Church

g Paris, B. Ars., 5204, *MND* Book I Miracles, fols 33r–77r, 145r–152r in a manuscript of Marian texts, 14th c. 'Ce livre appartient a l'église collégiale de mon. S. Quentin de S. Quentin en Vermandois . . .' (fol. 216r). See also Jehan Fremin and Paulmy under Later Owners.

Unknown Clerical Patron

10-bis London, BL, Egerton 274, chansonnier with *MND* I Ch 4, fol. 98r, after 1274 ? See also Egerton under Later Owners.

Adam . . . episcopus, 14 . . .

A Blois, BM, 34, *MND*, 13th c. The *Catalogue général*, 391, gives the reading, *Anno Domini millesimo quadr . . . Adam, episcopus . . .* following the explicit on fol. 273v, but DG (p. 56, n. 1) was unable to confirm the reading, 'tout ceci est absolument illisible aujourd'hui'.

Lay Owners, Medieval (to 1500), listed by Christian Name

Agnes de Bourgogne (d. 1476)

H Paris, BNF, fr. 1533, *MND*, *c.* 1280.

'Ce livre du a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne' (fol. 265v). DG (p. 58) identifies Agnes as the

daughter of Jean sans Peur and Marguerite de Bavière; she married, in 1425, Charles (d. 1456) oldest son of Jean, Duc de Bourbon (d. 1434) and Marie de Berry (d. 1434), daughter of Jean de Berry (d. 1416). See also Louis XIV.

Chrétienne de Selles, Dame de Basingeham (now Bazinghen) ? 13th c.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55^{v}–60^{r}, 13th c.

Record of a debt owed by 'Madame de Basingeham' to the 'clerc de Seles' of 'x sous parisis', fol. 216^{v} (*Catalogue général*, reading 'Peles' not 'Seles'; the reading 'Seles' is proposed by K. Krause). The Catalogue dates the inscription to the 13–14th c., which makes Chrétienne de Selles a likely candidate for the 'Madame de Basingeham' referred to here. Chrétienne, widow of Baudouin d'Arras, knight, was married at an uncertain date to Huon de Créquy, seigneur de Raimboval, second son of Philippe sire de Créquy and Aelis de Picquigny. Huon died in 1296 and in the same year Chrétienne founded an obit at Saint-Pierre d'Aire for him and for their son Huon who predeceased his father. See Père Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France*, 3rd edn, 9 vols (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires associés, 1726–33; repr. Paris: Éditions du Palais Royal; New York, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), VI, 794A; and <http://membres.lycos.fr/histopale/bazinghen.htm> and <http://famillede crequy.crequy.com/sommaire.htm>. Bazinghen is near Boulogne-sur-Mer (Dioc. Thérouanne), but there are also connections with Cambrai as another member of the family, Enguerrand de Créquy, Bishop of Cambrai (1274–85), built a fortress at Cambrai called the Château de Selles. It is unclear from the sources what the relationship between Huon de Créquy and Enguerrand de Créquy, Bishop of Cambrai, was; another Enguerrand de Créquy was Bishop of Thérouanne from *c.* 1301 to 1330 and there is much confusion as to which of these bishops is which and what their respective dates of tenure were. Enguerrand, Bishop of Cambrai, was certainly dead by 28 March 1286 because he is mentioned as 'bone memorie' in a letter of Pope Honorius IV (1285–87); see M. Prou, *Les Registres d'Honorius IV* (Paris: Thorin, 1888), col. 253, letter no. 341, cited by Yvon Lapage, 'Un recueil français de la fin du XIIIe siècle (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 1553)', *Scriptorium*, 25 (1975), 23–46.

See also Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Queen Clémence de Hongrie (r. 1315, d. 1328)

32 Rennes, BM, 593, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 27 (ending incomplete), I Mir 38, I Mir 39, I Mir 10, I Mir 15 are on fols 93r–103v, 1303 (1304ns).

She is known to have owned the *Almanach aux juifs*, a rare text included in this manuscript.

Colars de Fontaine, 13th–14th c.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55v–60r, 13th c.

Named with others. If the name of Madame de Bazinghem (see Chrétienne de Selles, above) suggests ownership in Cambrai, it is worth noting that Nicolas de Fontaines was Bishop of Cambrai from 9 April 1249 to 1272 or 1273. Colars may be another member of the same family.

See also Chrétienne de Selles, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Comtesse de la Table, Dame de Coeuvres, second wife of Raoul de Soissons

Add-23 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729, psalter-hours, before 1297. *MND* II Prière 37.

Arms *or fretty gules semé of lions passant of the same* on her portrait and passim, also occur on her seal; the arms of Bernard de Moreuil, husband of her step-daughter, Yolande de Soissons, *azur semé of fleur de lis or a lion issant argent*, are also in the manuscript but not associated with the portrait or its facing page (for discussion, see Stones, 'Full-Page Miniatures').

Françoise d'Amboise (1427–85), foundress of the community of Nazareth

Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 84, II Prière 40 in a book of hours, use of Rennes, *c.* 1465.

Ownership note on second flyleaf (see <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org>). See also Bennett and Morgan under Later Owners below.

Gautier de Châtillon d'Autresche, avoué de Vic-sur-Aisne, and his (unidentified) wife

l Cambrai, MM, 87, book of hours and prayers, before 1297. *MND* II Prières 38, 37.

The arms *gules three pals vair on a chief or a lion issant sable* are those of Gauthier de Châtillon d'Autresche. His wife's arms *sable a lion argent* suggest that she was of the Gaesbeck family of Leuven, a cadet branch of the house of Brabant, but she is otherwise undocumented (see for instance, *L'Armorial Wijnberghen*, ed. by Paul Adam-Even and L. Jéquier, 'Un armorial français du XIIe siècle: L'armorial Wijnberghen', *Archives héraldiques suisses*, 65 (1951), 49–62, 101–08; 66 (1952), 28–36, 64–68, 103–11; 68 (1954), 55–80, no. 1190).

Harville Family, Marquis de Palaiseau

Add-36 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261, book of hours of Paris use, II Prière 40 on fols 108^{v}–109^{r}, 15th c. prayer on fol. 8^{r}, *Confitebor deo . . .* is in the feminine form.

Arms added early, fol. 134^{v}: *party gules a cross argent charged with five cockle-shells sable* (Harville) *impaling azur two barbels addorsed argent five squares voided, two in chief, three in dexter side* (unknown). See also Henry Walters below.

Henri

b Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475, literary miscellany and *Vies des pères*, with selected *MND* miracles on fols 101^{r}–127^{r}, 14th c.

The name 'Henri' is carved on one of the wooden boards of the cover; DG (p. 83) thinks he was a 'jongleur'. He may or may not have owned the book.

Hugo Guiot, 1376

i Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276, fols 1^{r}–78^{r}, selected *MND* miracles and songs, selections from the *Vies des pères*, and *L'arbre de vie*, 14th c.

On fol. 143^{v}, 'Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto. Hugo Guiot, Ce romant est a Hugues Guiot: qui l'amblera pendus sera au fourches de Nevers. H. Guiot'. On the flysheet, a fragment of an account, '. . . Primo pro expensis jumentorum que equittavit Hugo Potelli eundo et morando Dysesiam'. DG (p. 98) identifies Dysesia as Decise, arrondissement de Nevers, Nièvre. See also Deroin under Later Owners below.

Hugo Potelli, see Hugo Guiot above.

Jacqueline de Bavière (1401–36), Comtesse de Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland, Dame de Frise, Comtesse de Ponthieu

Add-29 Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321, hours and missal, *MND* II Prière 40 is on fol. 92$^{r–v}$, 15th c. See also Schietere below.

Only daughter of Guillaume Duc de Bavière, Comte palatin du Rhin, Comte de Hainaut, and Marguerite de Bourgogne, daughter of Phlippe le Hardi. Marriage 1, 1406, Jean de Touraine (d. 1417), son of Charles VI; marriage 2, 1418, Jean IV de Brabant (marriage ended in divorce); marriage 3, 1423, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, son of Henry IV (marriage declared invalid); dispossessed of all her lands except Holland by Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne.

Jadot Gillebert, 1485

h Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295, fols 104r–166r, selected *MND* miracles in a literary compendium, *c.* 1270–90

Given the book in 1485 by Sidrac de Lannoy (q.v.). Jadot wrote on the back flysheets a *Credo* in thirty-six lines, and an account of his youth:

> Ou nom du pere du filz et saint esperit,
> Jado Gilbert a volu retenir et mectre en escript
> La vie de sa jeunesse qui ou nom des trois
> Il a volu prandre et choisir
> L'art de la musique, pour son commencement premier
> Le second la venerie pour joye et melodie
> Et tierche praticque pour vivre et du monde savoir
> Qui ou nom des trois, puissent
> A la fin Jado conduire a la grant glore.

See also Crawford under Later Owners below.

Jean de Brabant, see Marie de Brabant below.

Jehan La Masse, see Victorine: Paris, Saint-Victor above.

Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (r. 1313, d. 1348)

S Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541, *MND*, *c.* 1329.

Her portrait concludes the series of royal portraits at the end of the volume.

Joni de/deusscuto (denllecuto ?), 15th c.

e Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816, literary miscellany with *MND* selected miracles, pp. 285r–372, 15th c.

On p. 373, 'Iste liber est de Joni de/deusscuto (denllecuto ?)' and a debt note. A poem, phallic drawings, and pen trials on the flysheet.

Justin Fournier, 15th c.

Add-27 Paris, B. Ars., 2115, miscellany of tracts in French prose and verse. On paper, 15th c. *MND* II Prière 40, fols 66r–67v, 15th c.

Named on fol. 2r above the signature of Claude Le Leu (q.v.).

Lolade, 15th c.

Add-28 Paris, BNF, fr. 1181, miscellany of behaviour manuals and devotional texts, 15th c. paper, *MND* II Prière 40, fol. 109r–v.

Named among pentrials on fol. 1r, 15th c.

Louis de Chantemerle, Seigneur de La Clayette (d. 1465)

Add-y Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521 (La Clayette), literary miscellany, *MND* selected miracles, 13th c.

See de Vaivre, 'Un bibliophile bourguignon', pp. 377–79. See also Philibert de Chantemerle below.

Mahaut, Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (r. 1302–25)

22 Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37, fol. 78r, *c.* 1285.

Patricia Stirnemann, 'Bibliothèques princières', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. I: *Les Bibliothèques médiévales, du VIe siècle à 1530*, ed. by André Vernet (Paris: Promodis, 1989), pp. 176–91 (p. 190 n. 67), citing the Burgundian inventories of 1467 and 1487: J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique* (Paris: Treuttel and Würtz, 1830) (hereafter Barrois), nos 1317 and 1869. See also Robert II, Comte d'Artois.

Marguerite de Chauvigny, 1465

E Paris, BNF, fr. 817, *MND*, written by Marguerite de Chauvigny OC, who completed her work on 19 December (fol. 190r).

She also names herself in red (without the letters OC) on fol. 170r. A second signature on fol. 190r is of 'P. Testut prestre', the latter not otherwise documented. DG identifies Marguerite de Chauvigny as the daughter of Guy de Chauvigny, baron de Châteauroux, vicomte de Brosse, and Antoinette de Cousant. On 14 July 1426, Marguerite married Béraud, dauphin d'Auvergne, comte de Clermont and Sancerre. Her second husband was Jean de Bretagne, comte de Pentevre and Périgord, vicomte de Limoges (d. 1454). Marguerite died in 1473 and was buried, as stipulated in her will of the same year, in the chapel of the Château de l'Aigle which she had built. See DG, p. 49 n. 3, citing Gapard

Thaumas de La Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry* (Bourges: Toubeau,1689), p. 528, and M. Grillon des Chapelles, *Esquisses biographiques du département de l'Indre*, 2nd edn (Paris: Duprat, 1864), p. 381. However, Ott noticed the letters OC following Marguerite de Chauvigny's name in the second signature and proposed she was a Cistercian nun (Andreas C. Ott, *Gautier de Coincy's Christinenleben, nach den beiden Handschriften zu Capentras und Paris zum ersten Male mit Einleitung, dem lateinischen Texte der Acta urbevetana* (Erlangen: Junge, 1922)). Furthermore, Olivier Collet has found parallels for the two watermarks in paper from Italy and Chambéry: for the grapes on fols 1r–117v, no. 13006 in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Geneva: Jullien; Paris: Picard, 1907), and in Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen: Frucht* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), fig. 244 sq.; for the second watermark (from fol. 122r), nos 1153, 1156, 1160, from Chambéry between 1455 and 1471. See Gautier de Coinci, *La Vie de sainte Cristine*, ed. by Collet, pp. xii–xiii. For him, the letters OC could refer to the Carthusian order. The language he finds without particular characteristics of Chambéry but most likely eastern (ibid., p. xiv). The scribe is not documented elsewhere: for reference to this signature, see Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons des manuscreits occidentaux*, IV, L–O, no. 13015. See also Orléans below.

Queen Marie de Brabant (r. 1274, d. 1321) or her nephew Jean de Brabant (r. 1294–1312) ?

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37, fol. 300r, *c.* 1285. Both are depicted in the frontispiece wearing heraldic robes. Marie is not shown as a widow (her husband Philippe III le Hardi died 5 October 1285); and the young Jean was most likely in Paris during the absence of his father, with Philippe III in the south of France, at the death of his mother on 13 July 1285. See also Gaignat, La Vallière, Paulmy, and Sardière below.

Madame N de Bretaigne, 15th c.

24 Paris, BNF, fr. 17068, miscellany of prayers, *MND* II Prière 37 is on fol. 198, ownership note on fol. 200v, 15th c.

P. Testut prestre, *c.* 1465

E Paris, BNF, fr. 817, *MND*, written by Marguerite de Chauvigny (q.v.) in 1465. His signature on fol. 190r. He is not otherwise documented. See also Orléans below.

Pernette, fille de Jean Neret Ponset, see Pierre de Vatravers below.

Philibert, Seigneur de Chantemerle et de La Clayette (d. 17 December 1419), concillor and chamberlain of Philippe Duc de Bourgogne

Add-y Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521 (La Clayette), literary miscellany, *MND* selected miracles, 13th c.

On fol. 247^{v} the signature 'Chantemelle' in a hand of the early fifteenth century. See Solente, 'Le Grand recueil La Clayette', p. 232, citing Paris, BNF, Pièces originale 671, doss. 15710, fol. 55^{v}). Philibert married *c.* 1356 Constance de la Tour (d. 1392), widow of Louis de Brosse, Seigneur de Boussac (d. at Poitiers, 1356). Their daughter Jeanne de l'Espinasse married 1365 Bertrand, Seigneur de Saint-Nectaire. Another daughter, Marguerite de l'Espinasse, whose mother was Guillemette des Vaux, was married to Jean de Châtillon, Seigneur de la Palace, widowed, and remarried to Jean de Mello, Seigneur de Saint-Parise (d. after 1400); Marguerite and Jean were plaintiffs in a lawsuit against Hugues and Philibert de Chantemerle on 24 March 1396 (see Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, IV, 528A, 888D, V, 571D, VI, 68C). Solente and the *Catalogue général* identify Philibert as the likely signatory in Add-y (see also Louis de Chantemerle above).

Philippe Alamande, Dame de Chassenaige (Sassenage, Isère, arr. Grenoble), 14th c.

25 Paris, BNF, fr. 19152, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 11, fols 26^{r}–34^{r}, 13th c.

Signature of on fols 8^{v} and 127^{v}, identified by DG (p. 117, n. 2). Philippe married Amédée seigneur de Chaste and wrote her will in 1333, DG citing (*recte*) Nicolas Chorier, *Histoire générale de Dauphiné*, 2 vols (Grenoble: Charvys, 1672), II, 29. See also Benedictine: Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Unidentified Owner in Luc en Diois, Coislin.

Philippe le Bon (1396–1467), Duc de Bourgogne

B Brussels, BR, 10747, *MND*, *c.* 1260–80 ?

Inventory of 1467: Barrois, no. 353, nos 809 and 304, no. 2150.

a Brussels, BR, 9229–30, fols 1^{r}–52^{r}, *MND* selections and *Vies des pères*, *c.* 1320–40

Inventories of 1467 and 1487: Barrois, nos 746 and 1745. See also Carthusian.

22 Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37, fol. 78r, *c.* 1285.

Inventories of 1467 and 1487: Barrois, nos 1317 and 1869; see also Mahaut, Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne, and Robert II, Comte d'Artois.

Philippe de Hochberg (1454–1503), Comte de Neuchâtel

T Besançon, BM, 551, *MND*, 13th c.

In the service of Charles le Téméraire in 1470, then of Louis XI, becoming maréchal de Bourgogne, gouverneur et Grand sénéchal de Provence in 1493, Lieutenant général du roi en Languedoc in 1503. Little of his career was spent in Neuchâtel, despite his inheriting the title of Comte de Neuchâtel in 1487. He died in Montpellier. *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, ed. by Victor Attinger and others (Neuchatel: Administration du Dictionnnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse, 1928).

Most likely owner of the arms on the fifteenth-century binding (DG, p. 51). See also Boisot and Sonnet under Later Owners below.

Pierre de Vatravers and Pernette en Savoy

e Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816, pp. 285–372, selected *MND* miracles in a literary miscellany, 15th c.

Note of the late fifteenth century: 'La veille de la san-Mychier, l'an myl quatre cents soixante cinq fust nez le fil de Pierre de Vatravers, qui'il out de Pernette en Savoy, fille de Jean Neret Ponset' (DG, p. 85). See also Jom de Denssento under Later Owners below.

Robert II, Comte d'Artois (r. 1250–1302) ?

22 Paris, BNF, fr. 12467, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37, fol. 78r, *c.* 1285.

The likely date of the manuscript suggests it was acquired by Robert d'Artois and inherited by his daughter Mahaut (see above).

Sidrac de Lannoy, 1485

h Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295, fols 104r–166r, selected *MND* miracles in a literary compendium, *c.* 1270–90.

Note on fol. 1r, 'Ce livre donna Sidrac de Lannoy a Jadot Gillebert en Jullet anno MCCCC.IIIIxx et cincq'. See also Jadot Gillebert.

Simonet Marchant de Mouzon, 15th c.

c Charleville, BM, 90, devotional miscellany, *MND* selected miracles, fols 30r–86r, 15th c.

Borrowed the book from Signy (O. Cist., see above), 15th c. On fol. 174r, 'Ce present livre appartien a l'abbaye de Signy, de l'ordre de Cisteaux en la conte de Chastel en Porcian, et l'a en garde de present Simonnet Marchant, de Mouson, qui le rendra ou fera rendre au plus tard quant de ce siecle l'appellera ou avra appelle Nostre Sire Jhesucrist.'

Thomas Salemos, 13th–14th c.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55v–60r, 13th c.

Named with others, see also Chrétienne de Selles, Colars de Fontaine (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Thomassin Family, Lyon, 15th c.

k Paris, BNF, fr. 423, hagiographical and devotional miscellany, *MND* selections fols 109r–144r, 14th c. See also Louis XIV and Mazarin below.

Motto written in large script: *Nissamoht veult* (read in reverse by Paulin Paris as 'Thomassin veult'), followed by a shield *party per bend charged with a six-pointed star, a lion's head in sinister*, identified by Max Prinet as the arms of the Thomassin family of Lyon (DG, p. 89). 15th c.

Yolande de Soissons, see Comtesse de la Table, Dame de Coeuvres.

Unidentified Motto: 'Ce faictes vous' and date of 1465, fol. 183v

K Paris, BNF, fr. 1613, *MND*, 13th c.

Unidentified Owner in Luc en Diois (Drôme, arr. Die)

25 Paris, BNF, fr. 19152, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 11, fols 26r–34r, 13th c.

On fol. 80v is a note about a deluge caused by a burst dam on 19 August 1443 in Luc en Diois (DG, p. 118). See also Benedictine: Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Philippe Alamande, Coislin.

Unidentified Lay Owners in Brittany, 15th c.

15 Paris, B. Ars., 650, book of hours and calendar including St Yves in gold, *MND* II Prière 40 is on fol. 166^{r}.

Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192, book of hours with prayers to St Yves and St Avoye, *MND* II Prière 40 is on fols 189^{r}–190^{v}. See also Cauchon-Maupas de Champagne below.

Unidentified Lay Owner in Dijon, 15th c.

29 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044, psalter in French and devotional miscellany including *MND* II Prière 37, fols 126^{v}–129^{r}.

Unidentified Lay Woman in Coutances, 15th c., third quarter

Add-37 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284, book of hours, use of Coutances, *c.* 1420 with illustrations added *c.* 1440. II Prière 40 is on fols 131^{r}–132^{v}.

Woman depicted kneeling before St John the Evangelist on fol. 139^{v}. Shields on fol. 139^{r}: *gules a saltire 4 martlets argent* and the same, quartered, on fol. 139^{v} (similar to the familes of Moy de la Croix of Beauvais and Bazan de Flamanville near Caen, see Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, II.1, 299).

Unidentified Lay Woman in Franche-Comté (Sion, Besançon, Tarantaise ?) before 1297 ?

35 Troyes, BM, 1905, book of hours of mixed use, *MND* II Prière 37 is on fol. 220^{r}. A woman with veiled head kneels before the Virgin and Child on fol. 176^{r}, at the opening of the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin.

Unidentified, perhaps in the entourage of Jean, sire de Joinville (1225–1317) ? Burgundy or Metz ? *c.* 1285

Add-14 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510, devotional miscellany including *MND* II Prière 40, and Joinville's *Credo*, *c.* 1285.

Unidentified Lay Owner in Metz, mid-fourteenth century

14 Paris, B. Ars., 570, book of hours, *MND* II Prière 37 is on fol. 178^{r}.

Unidentified Lay Owner in Paris, late 15th or early 16th c.

Add-11 Paris, BNF, fr. 13167, book of hours, use of Paris, *MND* II Prière 40 is on fol. 59^{v}. Shields *azure six besants or 3, 2, 1, between two bends sinister gules on*

a chief or are in the bottom borders on most illustrated pages (with or without the *bends gules*).

Unidentified Lay Owners in Reims, before 1297

Add-22 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 98, fol. 102r, book of hours, *MND* II Prière 38 is on fol. 88r, II Prière 37 is on fol. 102r.

Unidentified Lay Owner in the South, 13th c.

T Besançon, BM, 551, *MND*
Shields: fol. 5v top margin, *quarterly 1 and 4, or a castle gules* (? scraped off); *2 and 3 argent* [white]; fol. 10v borne twice by knight attacking shitting ram: *quarterly 1 and 4 or a castle gules ? 2 and 3 argent* (white).

Unidentified Lay Owner in Toul, 15th c.

Add-20 Nancy, BM, 35 (245), book of hours, *MND* II Prière 37 is on fol. 183r, II Prière 40 is on fol. 160r.

Unidentified Lay Owner in Tournai, 15th c.

Add-13 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412, book of hours, use of Tournai, *MND* II Prière 37, fols 163v–165v.

Unidentified Lay Owner, 15th c.

Add-9 Evora, Biblioteca publica, CXXIV/2–9, book of hours, uncertain use, *MND* II Prière 40.

Later Owners or Associates (after 1500), listed by Surname

Advocates
The Advocates' Library, founded 1680, donated to the National Library of Scotland at its foundation in 1925.

Add-8 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8, *MND* II Prière 37 copied in a 14–15th c. hand in the margins of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 13–14th c. National Library of Scotland, *Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971).

Arbaleste

p Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, fols 117bis^{r}–186^{r}, selected *MND* miracles with *Vies des pères*, 13th c.

Arms of Guy II Arbaleste, vicomte de Melun, with his motto, 'Ingenium superat vires', is glued to the inside of the front cover (DG, p. 96). A Guy, vicomte d'Arbaleste (d. 1646) is cited in Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, III, col. 583A. See also Benedictine: Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Coislin.

Ashburnham

Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878), and his son Bertram, 5th Earl of Ashburnham (1840–1913). Bertram 4th Earl acquired the Libri manuscripts in 1847, and the Barrois (q.v.) and Stowe collections in 1849, and had also inherited a library from his father. His books were sold by Bertram 5th Earl, the Libri collection (q.v.) acquired by the Italian government in 1884, and the Barrois manuscripts by the Bibliothèque nationale. See also Libri.

v Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113, literary miscellany with *MND* II Prières 37, 38, 40, on fols 143^{v}–146^{r}. 13th c.

Aumale

Henri d'Orléans (1822–97), Duc d'Aumale. Son of Louis-Philippe (1773–1850), King of France, and Marie-Amélie de Bourbon-Sicile (1782–1866). He inherited Chantilly and the Condé manuscripts in 1830 from his great-uncle Louis-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon-Condé, His collections were bequeathed to the Institut de France and became part of the Musée Condé.

b Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475, literary miscellany and *Vies des pères*, with selected *MND* miracles on fols 101^{r}–127^{r}, 14th c.

Acquired from Boone, London, September 1869, from the sale of the collection of Victor Luzarche, scholar and editor of Old French texts (Anatole Claudin, *Catalogue des livres rares et des manuscrits anciens composant la bibliothèque de M. Victor Luzarche (de Tours)* (Paris, 1869), II, 344, no. 6310); Gaston Paris thought it had not actually belonged to Luzarche, see *Romania*, 21 (1892), 461.

Barnwell

Charles Barnwell Esq. (d. 1750), Mileham, Norfolk.

13-bis Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1, devotional miscellany, *MND* II Prières 37 and 38 on fols 43^{v}–51^{r}, *c.* 1300

Armorial Bookplate. Catalogue of Edwin Parsons and Sons, Oct. 1896, no. 472 whence bought by the Bodleian Library; see Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. VI: *(Accessions, 1890–1915), nos. 31001–37299* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), no. 32220.

Baron
Jehan Baron

Add-2 Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3, *Somme le roi* and *MND* II Prière 40 on fol. 154^{r}, 15th c.

'A Jean Baron' written inside front cover. See also Chabannez and the Franciscan Minorites of La Guiche.

Barrois
Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois (1784–1855), politician and bibliophile. Député de Lille in 1824 to the fall of the Bourbons at the Revolution of 1830, whereupon he left Lille for Belgium then Paris. In 1830 he published his important *Bibliothèque protypographique*, containing inventories of the Kings of France and Dukes of Burgundy. He offered his manuscripts for sale in 1848, just after the discovery of the thefts by Libri; they were purchased by Lord Ashburnham (q.v.) in 1849, who maintained them as a separate collection.

9 Brussels, BR, IV.119, fol. 18^{v}, *MND* II Prière 37 among works of Gilles Li Muisis, *c*. 1350.

Barrois, no. 20. See also Perrins.

29 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044, devotional miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37 on fols 126^{v}–129^{r}, 15th c.

Barrois, no. 337.

Bennett
Richard Bennett (1844–1900), Lancashire manufacturer and bibliophile.

Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, II Prière 40 in a book of hours, use of Rennes, *c*. 1465.

Purchased at Sotheby's 12.xii.1893, no. 70 by Basil Montagu Pickering (1836–78), bookseller, for Richard Bennett. See *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and Other Sources*, no. 77. See also Françoise d'Amboise under Medieval Owners above and Morgan below.

Bigot

Jean Bigot, Sieur de Somménil et de Cleuville, Dean of the Cour des Aides de Normandie, or his son Jean, Sieur de Sommesnil, 17th c.

o Paris, BNF, fr. 2193, II Sal 35, songs not by Gautier, selected *MND* Book II miracles on fols 1r, 12r–148r, *c.* 1280–90.

Engraved heraldic bookplate pasted inside front cover, shield *argent a chevron gules three roses 2 and 1 of the same*, supported by greyhounds and surmounted by a helm with greyhound crest and foliage, the name Iohannes Bigot engraved below the shield. It was no. 324 in the Bigot library. See Henri Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1921), p. 69. See also Louis XIV.

Boisot

Jean-Baptiste Boisot (1638–94), scholar and bibliophile. A native of Besançon, he studied in Dole and Paris, frequenting the circle of Pélisson, Mlle de Scudéry, Spon, André. Travel took him to Spain and to Italy, where Christina of Sweden obtained ecclesiastical benefices for him. Through the intervention of Louis XIV, at the request of Pellisson, he was granted the abbey of Saint-Vincent de Besançon (DG, p. 51; *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. by M. Prévost and Roman d'Amat (Paris: Letouzy, 1954)).

T Besançon, BM, 551, *MND*, 13th c.

No. 48 in his collection. Bequeathed his books in 1694 to the abbey of Saint-Vincent de Besançon on condition that they would form a public collection (*Catalogue général*, XXXII, p. iii). Not mentioned by title in the inventories of Cardinal de Grancelle, from whom Boisot had acquired books in 1664 (see *Catalogue général*, XXXII, pp. iii, xi–xvi). See also Philippe de Hochberg above and Sonnet below.

Bouhier

Jean Bouhier (1673–1746), first Président of the Parlement de Bourgogne, 'le grand président', and bibliophile. His distinguished library passed to his nephew the Marquis de Bouhier then to the Comte d'Avraux who sold them in 1781 to Clairvaux (O. Cist.). At the Revolution, the Clairvaux manuscripts were divided among the libraries of Troyes, the École de médecine at Montpellier, and the Bibliothèque nationale (see Middleton, *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 100–02).

35 Troyes, BM, 1905, book of hours of mixed use, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 195v, before 1297 ?

Bouhier no. F. 30.

Cangé
Jean-Pierre-Gilbert Châtre (before 1700–46), Marquis de Cangé.

F Paris, BNF, fr. 986, *MND*, *c.* 1260 ?
Inventory of 1682, no. 7306[3]. Catalogue of 1733, Cangé no. 7. Ssee also Louis XIV.

Catherine II the Great, Empress of Russia (r. 1762–98)
Sophia Augusta Fredericka, daughter of Christian August, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, and Johanna Elisabeth of Holstein. Betrothed to Peter of Holstein-Gottrop, destined to succeed to the throne of Russsia, Sophia converted to Orthodoxy and changed her name to Yekaterina (Catherine). Shortly after succeeding to the throne in 1762, Peter was murdered. Catherine ruled until her death in 1798.

R St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, *MND*, *c.* 1260–70 ?
Housed with her library at The Hermitage, St Petersburg, whose number 47.5.3 is written on the ex-libris of the library, pasted inside the binding. See also Crassier and Dubrovsky below.

Cauchon-Maupas de Champagne family ? 15th c.

Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192, book of hours, Breton saints, 15th c. *MND* II Prière 40, fols 189^{r}–190^{v}.
Arms: on fol. 27^{v}, 1 and 4, *azure 5 septfoil stars or*, 2 and 3 *azure 3 fish argent fess-wise*; and *gules a griffon or winged argent* (attributed perhaps to the Cauchon-Maupas de Champagne family); on fols 1^{r}, 17^{v}, *azur a herse or attached to a letter Y and flanked by two stars of the same* (*Catalogue général*). See also Paulmy below.

Chabannez

Add-2 Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3, *Somme le roi* and *MND* II Prière 40 on fol. 154^{r}, 15th c.
The name Chabannez is written on the second end-paper. See also Jehan Baron and Franciscan Minorites of La Guiche.

Prévôt de Clermont, 1550

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55^{v}–60^{r}, 13th c.
The *Catalogue général* notes the presence on fol. 60^{v} of a draft of a 'mandement' of the Prévôt de Clermont, dated 1550. See also Chrétienne de Selle, Colars

de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris.

Coislin

Henri-Charles du Cambout (1664–1732), Duc de Coislin, Bishop of Metz (1697–1732). An important bibliophile, he inherited the library of chancellier Pierre Séguier (1588–1672). Bequeathed his collection to Saint-Germain-des-Prés (q.v.)

p Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, selected *MND* Book I miracles, fols 117bis^{r}–186^{r}, in a *Vies des pères* manuscript, *c*. 1280

No. 2356, assumed to be the Coislin-Séguier number (DG, p. 96). See also Arbaleste above.

25 Paris, BNF, fr. 19152, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 11, fols 26^{r}–34^{r}, 13th c.

Ex libris of Séguier-Coislin glued to inside of front cover and a fragment of the original binding with the arms of Séguier. See also Benedictine: Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Philippe Alamande, and Unidentified Owner in Luc en Diois,.

Colbert

Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83), statesman, 'le Grand Colbert'

I Paris, BNF, fr. 1536, *MND* and *Eructavit*, *c*. 1280–1300.

No. 1628 in Colbert's library. See also Louis XIV below.

m Paris, BNF, fr. 1546, selected *MND* Book I miracles, fols 170^{r}–208^{v}, with *Vies des pères* and *Vie de saint Julien*, 14th c.

No. 4119 in Colbert's library.

30-bis Paris, BNF, lat. 3556, an assemblage of sermons, *MND* I Pr 1 and I Mir 10 on fol. 116^{r}, 13th c.

No. 6069 in Colbert's library.

Cotton

Sir Robert Bruce, First Baronet Cotton (1571–1631), antiquary and politician.

Add-31 London, BL, Cotton Appendix V, Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, including *MND* II Prière 40 on fol. 188^{r}, 14th c.

Crassier

Guillaume Pascal (1662–1751), Baron de Crassier, antiquarian of Liège.

R St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, *MND*, 13th c.

His sale at Liège 1754, *Catalogue*, 418–49, no. 3526, 30 livres. Acquired by Piotr Dubrovsky (q.v.), his signature on fols 1^{v} and 285^{r}. See also Catherine the Great.

Crawford

William Horatio Crawford (1812–88), bibliophile and horticulturalist, of Lakelands near Cork.

h Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295, Selected *MND* miracles, fols 104^{r}–166^{r}, in a literary compendium, *c*. 1270–90.

Acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale at the Crawford sale in London in 1891, *Catalogue de la vente W.H. Crawford* (Londres, mars 1891), p. 62, no. 717.

Denssento

'Iste live est de Jom de Denssento', on last page of manuscript, 16th c. DG (p. 85, n. 2) identifies 'Denssentus' as Disentis (Grisons)

e Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816, pp. 285–372, selected *MND* miracles in a literary miscellany, 15th c.

See also Pierre de Vatravers above.

Deroin

Jules Deroin de Gien, 19th c.

i Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276, fols 1^{r}–78^{r}, selected *MND* miracles and songs, selections from the *Vies des pères*, and *L'arbre de vie*, 15th c.

Inside the front cover is written, 'Provenant de la Collection de feu Jules Deroin (de Gien)' in a nineteenth-century hand. See also Hugo Guiot above.

Dubrovsky

Piotr Dubrovsky (Dubrowski), attaché of the Russian Embassy in Paris 1780–96, acquired manuscripts from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1791.

R St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F. v. XIV 9, *MND*, 13th c.

See also Catherine the Great and Crassier above.

Egerton

The foundations of the library were laid by Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley (1540?-1617), Lord Chancellor.

10-bis London, BL, Egerton 274, chansonnier, part of *MND* I Ch 4 on fol. 98^{r}, 13th c.

Acquired by the British Museum in 1834; see Frederic Madden, *List of Additions Made to the Collections in the British Museum in the Year 1834* (London: British Museum, 1834), p. 9.

11 London, BL, Egerton 945, devotional miscellany in Latin, French, and Occitan, *MND* II Prière 37 on fols 107^{r}–108^{v}, *c.* 1320.

Acquired by the British Museum in 1842 from Payne and Foss, with funds from Sir Charles Long, Baron Farnborough (d. 1828), of Bromley Hill, Kent; on spine: Ex legato Caroli, Baronis Farnborough (Frederic Madden, *List of Additions made to the Collections in the British Museum in the Year 1841–1845* (London: British Museum, 1881), p. 106).

Fremin
Jehan Fremin, 1506

g Paris, B. Ars., 5204, Marian texts and *MND* Book I Miracles, fols 33^{r}–77^{r}, 145^{r}–152^{r}, 14th c.

Borrowed by Maître Jehan Fremin on 9 September 1506 and returned to the chapter of Saint-Quentin (q.v.), on 11 September 1506 (note on fol. 216^{r}). See also Paulmy below.

Gaignat
Louis-Jean Gaignat (1697–1768), receveur général des consignations des requêtes du Palais and bibliophile.

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 300^{r}, *c.* 1285

No. 1750 in François de Bure's Catalogue of his sale in 1769; purchased by Paulmy (q.v). See also Marie de Brabant, La Vallière, Paulmy, and Sardière.

Glatigny, see Moullard below.

Graville
Anne de Graville (1490–1521), poet and bibliophile, third daughter of Admiral Louis Malet de Graville. In 1506 she was abducted and secretly married to a cousin of her mother, Pierre de Balsac, for which her father disinherited her. She entered the service of Claude de France, daughter of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, future Queen of France as wife of François 1er.

8 Lille, BM, 130, biblical paraphrases and other texts, *MND* I Pr 1 and I Mir 10, fols 109r–129r, 14th c. Note on fol. 1v: 'A mademoiselle Anne de Graville, dame du Boys de Mallesherbes. VeXXI. Achetté à Rouen'. See also Saint-Pierre, Lille above and M. de Valory below.

Guyon, see Sardière below.

Harley

Robert Harley (1661–1724), 1st Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, politician; his son Edward Harley (1689–1741), 2nd Earl of Oxford. At Edward's death the manuscripts were retained by Lady Oxford until 1753 when they were sold to the nation and became one of the founding collections of the British Museum (Middleton, *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 134–35).

C London, BL, Harley 4401, *MND*, 13th c.

No source is given in Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1972).

Heidelberg

O Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat.1969, *MND*, 14th c.

Old numbers 151, 1940, C, 183, 1361. Karl Christ, *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Heidelberger Büchersammlungen und zur Kenntnis der älteren französischen Literaturi*, Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 46 (Leipzig: Harrasowitz, 1916).

Isenheim

Louis de Gand Vilain XIV de Mérode de Montmorency, prince d'Isenheim, maréchal de France (1678–1767)

D Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18, *MND*, 13th c.

His sale 1756. See also La Vallière and Paulmy.

Joly

Claude Joly (1607–1700), canon of Notre-Dame, Paris. Grandson of the famous jurist Antoine Loisel (q.v.), Joly studied law before becoming ordained. He gave his library to the chapter of Notre-Dame in 1680 on condition that it would be open to the public.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55^{v}–60^{r}, 13th c.

See also Chrétienne de Selles, Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); and (with no evidence) Antoine Loisel. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Koopman

Harry Lyman Koopman (1860–1937), poet and collector, librarian at Brown University from 1893 to 1930. His collection together with that of his former student Philip D. Sherman came to form the Koopman Collection at the John Hay Library, Brown University. See <http://www.brown.edu/Administration/News_Bureau/Databases/Encyclopedia/search.php?serial=K0140> and <http://dl.lib.brown.edu/collatoz/> under 'Koopman Collection'.

Add-39 Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4

Lang, see Phillipps below.

La Vallière

Louis-César de la Baume le Blanc (1708–80), Duc de la Vallière. Made Grand fauconnier de France in 1748 and director of Madame de Pompadour's private theatre at Versailles.

D Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18, *MND*, 13th c.

Nos 24–25 in the *Inventaire des manuscrits de M. le duc de La Vallière*, after 1760, by Barbazan, attributed to the 14th c. Sold at an uncertain date after 1767 and before the final sale of La Vallière in 1784 (*Catalogue général*; DG, p. 42, n. 2). See also Paulmy.

L Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, *MND*, 13th c.

Purchased in 1760 with the manuscripts of Guyon de Sardière (q.v.). In the La Vallière sale in 1783, Guillaume de Bure, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de la Vallière*, 1e partie, vol. II (Paris: De Bure, 1783), pp. 171–74, no. 2710, acquired by the Bibliothèque du roi.

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 300^{r}, *c.* 1285

While in the La Vallière collection it was studied by Barbazan. See also Marie de Brabant, Gaignat, Paulmy, and Sardière.

26 Paris, BNF, fr. 24300, *Vies des pères* with *MND* II Mir 9 on fols 83r–112r, 13th c.

No. 2715c in the La Vallière sale. See also Mons. de Montagu.

Le Leu
Claude Le Leu, fl. 1520

Add-27 Paris, B. Ars., 2115, miscellany of tracts in French prose and verse. On paper. *MND* II Prière 40, fols 66r–67v, 15th c.

On fol. 2v, *Cete present livre appartient Claude Le.* On fol. 2r, *Claude Le Leu, demeurant à Paris, rue aux Foyres, au propitaire des Ingnocens. Qui le trouvera, sy luy rende. Fait se lundi xvii jour de juing, mil. V XX/ Tesmoing mon seign manuel cy mis l'an, jour dessusdicts. (signed) C. Le Leu.* Above this is the name Justin Fournier.

Lesdiguières
Connétable Lesdiguières (d. 1626)

s Tours, BM, 948, selected *MND* miracles in a *Vie des pères* manuscript, 13th c.

No. 11 in the 1633 catalogue of the Lesdiguières collection. His sale at Toulouse, 1716, purchased by the Abbey of Marmoutiers (see Middleton, *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 143–44).

Libri
Count Guglielmo Bruto Icilio Timoleone Libri-Carrucci dalla Sommaia (1802–69), scientist, book collector, thief. A distinguished mathematician of a Florentine noble family, Libri taught at Pisa but following political entanglement in 1830 fled to France, becoming a French citizen. He was appointed to the Collège de France in 1832 and to the Académie des sciences in 1833. As inspecteur général des bibliothèques from 1833, Libri sequestered manuscripts from public collections, for which he was sentenced to imprisonment and fled to England in 1848. His collection was acquired by Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham (q.v.). He retired to Italy in 1861 and died there. The Libri manuscripts were acquired from Bertram, 5th Earl Ashburnham, by the Italian government in 1884 and came to the Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana in Florence. See P. R. Harris in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), XXXIII, 717–18.

v Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113, literary miscellany with *MND* II Prières 37, 38, 40, on fols 143v–146r, 13th c.

Loisel

Antoine Loisel, avocat au Parlement, 18th c., Paris (*Catalogue général*)

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55v–60r, 13th c.

DG (p. 120) says this was owned by Antoine Loisel but it is not among the Loisel manuscripts listed by Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1868), I, 431, nor does the *Catalogue général* mention Loisel. The book was certainly given to Notre-Dame, Paris, by Loisel's grandson, Claude Joly (q.v.). But Joly obtained books from many sources. See also Chrétienne de Selles, Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Claude Joly and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Louis XIII, King of France (r. 1610–43)

l Paris, BNF, fr. 818, Selected *MND* Book I miracles on fols 1r, 121r–155r, intercollated with *Vies des pères* and other texts, 13th c.

No. 901 in the 1622 inventory by Rigaud; no. 707 in the inventory of 1645; no. 7208 in Clément's inventory of 1682.

Louis XIV, King of France (r. 1643–1715)

F Paris, BNF, fr. 986, *MND*, 13th c.
Inventory of 1682, no. 7306. See also Cangé above.

G Paris, BNF, fr. 1530, *MND*, 13th c.
Inventory of 1645, no. 622; inventory of 1682, no. 7580.

H Paris, BNF, fr. 1533, *MND*, 13th c.
In the second 1645 inventory of the Bibliothèque du roi, no. 661, and no. 7583 in the inventory of 1682. See also Agnes de Bourgogne above.

I Paris, BNF, fr. 1536, *MND* and *Eructavit*, *c.* 1280–1300
Inventory of 1682, no. 7583. See also Colbert above.

K Paris, BNF, fr. 1613, *MND*, 13th c.
Inventory of 1682, no. 7625.

k Paris, BNF, fr. 423, hagiographical and devotional miscellany, *MND* selections fols 109r–144r, 14th c.

Inventory of 1682, no. 7306. See also Thomassin Family and Cangé above.

m Paris, BNF, fr. 1546, selected *MND* Book I miracles, fols 170r–208v, with *Vies des pères* and *Vie de saint Julien*, 14th c.

Inventory of 1682, no. 7588[3.3]. See also Colbert above.

n Paris, BNF, fr. 1807, literary miscellany, selected *MND* miracles, fols 51r–99v, c. 1300.

Inventory of 1682, no. 7852[3].

o Paris, BNF, fr. 2193, *MND* II Sal 35, songs not by Gautier, selected *MND* Book II miracles on fols 1r, 12r–148r, *c.* 1280–90.

Inventory of 1682, no. 7998[2]. See also Bigot above.

19 Paris, BNF, fr. 837, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prières 37, 38, 40 on fols 174r, 191v, 222v, *c.* 1280

Inventory of 1682, no. 7218.

20 Paris, BNF, fr. 2162, literary and devotional miscellany, *MND* I Mir 19 and I Mir 22 on fols 77v, 103r, mid-13th c. ?

Inventory of 1682, no. 7986.

21 Paris, BNF, fr. 2495, *MND* II Prière 37 between two literary texts on fol. 65v, 14th c.

Inventory of 1682, no. 8203.

30-bis Paris, BNF, lat. 3556, an assemblage of sermons, *MND* I Pr 1 and I Mir 10 on fol. 116r, 13th c.

Inventory of 1682, no. 4389[9].

Louis XVI, King of France (r. 1774–93)

L Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, *MND*, 13th c.

Acquired by the Bibliothèque du roi at the La Vallière (q.v.) sale in 1783; see de Bure, *Catalogue des livres*, pp. 171–74, no. 2710. See also Guyon de Sardière.

p Paris, BNF, fr. 19166, fols 117bisr–186r, selected *MND* Book I miracles in a *Vies des pères* manuscript. *c.* 1280

Came to the Bibliothèque du roi with the manuscripts of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (q.v. above) in 1791.

24 Paris, BNF, fr. 17068, miscellany of prayers, *MND* II Prière 37, fol. 198r, 15th c.

Came to the Bibliothèque du roi with the manuscripts of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (q.v. above) in 1791.

25 Paris, BNF, fr. 19152, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 11, fols 26r–34r, 13th c.

Came to the Bibliothèque du roi with the manuscripts of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (q.v. above) in 1791. See also Benedictine: Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Philippe Alamande, Unidentified Owner in Luc en Diois, and Coislin.

Mazarin

Jules Mazarin (1602–61), Cardinal and statesman. Born in Italy, Giulio Mazarini came to France as papal nuncio in 1634–36 and became a protégé of Cardinal Richelieu, succeeding him as Louis XIV's chief minister in 1642. He was succeeded by Colbert. He employed as his librarian Gabriel Naudé who travelled extensively to purchase books. At Mazarin's death his library passed to the Collège Mazarin, but the manuscripts were transferred to the Bibliothèque royale in 1668.

18 Paris, BNF, fr. 375, literary miscellany, fol. 310, *MND* I Mir 10, *c.* 1300

No. 35 in Mazarin's library (see Middleton, *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 153). No. 6987 in the 1682 catalogue of the Bibliothèque du roi (ibid., pp. 187–89). See also Peiresc below.

k Paris, BNF, fr. 423, hagiographical and devotional miscellany, *MND* selections fols 109r–144r, 14th c.

No. 116 in Mazarin's library. No. 7024 in the inventory of the Bibliothèque du roi of 1682. See also Thomassin Family and Louis XIV above.

Michel

Francisque Michel (1809–87), scholar and bibliophile.

Add-16 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, Item 23, fols 30r–33r (fragment), a variant abridged version of *MND* II Sal 33, 13th c.

Among the lot of charters and manuscript fragments deposited at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève by Michel around 1880 (*Catalogue général*).

Mons. de Montagu, identity uncertain.

26 Paris, BNF, fr. 24300, *Vies des pères* with *MND* II Mir 9 on fols 83r–112r, 13th c.

See also La Vallière.

Morgan

John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), financier, banker, and bibliophile.

Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, II Prière 40 in a book of hours, use of Rennes, *c.* 1465.

Purchased with the Bennett Collection (q.v. above) in 1902.

John Pierpont Morgan, Jr (1867–1943), financier, founder of the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1924.

Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, II Prière 40 in a book of hours, use of Rennes, *c.* 1465.

Donated to the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1924.

Mottley, see Phillipps below.

Moullard

Louis Moullard de Glatigny (18th c.)

14 Paris, B. Ars., 570, book of hours, use of Metz, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 178^{r}, 14th c.

A note on the flyleaf, 'Pour Louis Moullard de Glatigny' and price notes of 30 liv. and 36 liv. (18th century). See also Paulmy.

Moyencourt

Adrien de Moyencourt, 16th c.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55^{v}–60^{r}, 13th c.

Ownership note on fol. 119^{v} above that of Anne de Sempy, 'Se present liure apartient a adrien de moyencourt' in a 16th c. hand (*Catalogue général*). See also Chrétienne de Selle, Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Anne de Sempy, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Nassau

d Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24 (olim Y. 389), fols 1^{r}–52^{r}, *MND* Book I, *c.* 1320–40

Acquired by the Counts of Nassau Engelbert II (d. 1504) or Henri III (d. 1538); by inheritance to the Princes of Orange-Nassau, the later Stadtholders, at The Hague; sold in 1749. Acquired in 1809 as part of the collection of J. Visser of The Hague. <http://www.kb.nl/kb/manuscripts/search/index.html> via Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts

Orléans
Gaston, Duc d'Orléans (1608–60), youngest brother of Louis XIII.

E Paris, BNF, fr. 817, *MND*, 1465.
No. 25 in the list of his books by Nicolas Clément, Paris, BNF, lat. 17172, fol. 43r. His library of fifty-three items came to Louis XIV in 1667. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 265.
See also Marguerite de Chauvigny and P. Testut above.

Paulmy
Antoine-René de Voyer (1722–87), Marquis de Paulmy d'Argenson. Avocat du roi in 1742, Secrétaire d'État in 1751. He was granted a residence at the Arsenal in 1757, and held a number of ambassadorial posts. The manuscripts were acquired between 1767 and 1784. Paulmy sold his library in 1785 to the Comte d'Artois, the future King Charles X (r. 1824, abdicated 1830). The library remained at the Arsenal and was given to the Institut in 1796.

D Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18, *MND*, *c.* 1270–80.
Belles-Lettres no. 1721.

f Paris, B. Ars., 3527, fols 100r–154r, selected *MND* miracles in a literary compendium, *c.* 1275–90.
Belles-Lettres no. 1503.

g Paris, B. Ars., 5204, fols 33r–77r, 145r–152r, four *MND* miracles in a manuscript of Marian texts, *c.* 1320–40.
Belles-Lettres no. 1720. See also Saint-Quentin, Collegiate Church, and Jehan Fremin.

14 Paris, B. Ars., 570, book of hours, use of Metz, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 178r, 14th c.
Théologie no. 493A. See also Moullard and Picard.

15 Paris, B. Ars., 650, book of hours, Breton use ?, *MND* II Prière 40 on fol. 166r, 15th c.
Théologie 509 F. See also Picard.

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 300r, *c.* 1285.
Belles-Lettres 1662. See also Marie de Brabant, Gaignat, La Vallière, and Sardière.

17 Paris, B. Ars., 3516, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 22 on fol. 130^{v}. Written in part in 1268.
Belles-Lettres no. 283.

Add-5 Paris, B. Ars., 3641, *Vies des pères* and Marian miracles, with part of *MND* I Mir 11 on fol. 169^{r}, 13th c.
Belles-Lettres nos 1504 and 1722.

Add-10 Paris, B. Ars., 3123, copy made by Etienne Barbazan (1694–1770).
Belles-Lettres no. 1670.

Add-26 Paris, B. Ars., 1192, book of hours, *MND* II Prière 40 on fols 189^{r}–190^{v}, 15th c.
Paulmy no. 510 A.

Peiresc
Nicolas-Claude Fabri (1580–1637), Seigneur de Peiresc, Baron de Rias.

18 Paris, BNF, fr. 375, literary miscellany, fol. 310^{r}, *MND* I Mir 10, 13th c. (*c*. 1300).
Peiresc's library was purchased at Aix-en-Provence by Naudé for Mazarin (q.v.) in 1646. See Middleton, *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 159–60, 182–89.

Perrins
Charles William Dyson Perrins (1864–1958), book and porcelain collector and benefactor, mayor and high sheriff of Worcester. Between 1900 and 1920 he acquired the libraries of Lord Amherst, Bishop Gott, A. H. Huth, and Charles Fairfax Murray, and the woodblock collection of Richard Fisher (David Rogers in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIII, 801–02).

9 Brussels, BR, IV.119, Gilles li Muisis, *Opera*; *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 18^{v}, *c*. 1350.
Sotheby's 29.xi.1960, lot 112, acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1960. See Ashburnham and Barrois above.

Phillipps
Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), baronet and bibliophile. His library was dispersed in some twenty-two sales before the residue was acquired by Lionel and Philip Robinson in 1946. Following a number of further sales the remainder was acquired by H. P. Kraus in 1977. See Alan Bell in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIV, 91–94.

7 Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106, fols 92^{v}–101^{r}, *MND* I Pr 1 and I Mir 10 in a literary miscellany, 13th c.

Phillipps 3643, acquired from Lang (*A Catalogue of the valuable Library of the late Robert Lang, Wes. of Portland-Place, containing a most singular Collection of rare and curious Works in the French language, both printed and manuscript . . . which will be sold by Auction by Mr Evans, at his house, no. 93, Pall Hall . . .* 1823, no. 1962). Lang acquired it at the Motteley sale in Paris 1824. Binding signed Lefèvre. Sotheby's 28.xi.67, lot 92, acquired by Berkeley.

Picard

Charles-Adrien Picard, 1758

15 Paris, B. Ars., 650, book of hours, Breton use ?, *MND* II Prière 40 on fol. 166^{r}, 15th c.

Signature of Charles-Adrien Picard, 1758, on fol. 173^{v}. See also Paulmy.

Pignon

Add-13 Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412, book of hours, use of Tournai, *MND* II Prière 37 is on fols 163^{v}–165^{v}, 15th c.

On fols 363^{r}–365^{r} notes on the births of children of the Pignon family between 1560 and 1578.

Pickering, see Bennett above.

Richelieu

Armand-Jean du Plessis (1585–1653), Cardinal, Duc de Richelieu, and statesman.

t Paris, BNF, fr. 23111, *Vies des pères* and other texts, *MND* selected miracles and prayers, fols 64^{v}–70^{r}, 256^{r}–310^{r}, *c.* 1300.

Bound by Richelieu, binding stamped with his arms *gules 3 chevrons or* surmounted by a cardinal's hat with his motto, *His fvlta manebunt* beneath. Richelieu's manuscripts were bequeathed to the Sorbonne in his will dated 23 May 1642. Sorbonne no. 309.

Robien

Christophe-Paul de Robien (1698–1757), archaeologist and historian, Président à mortier du Parlement de Rennes.

32 Rennes, BM, 593, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 38, 39, 10, 15, on fols 93^{r}–103^{v}, written in 1304 (ns).

Rolet
Nicolas (Colinet) Rolet, early 16th c.

Add-33 Tours, BM, 231, miscellany of devotional texts compiled by Nicolas Rolet, *MND* II Prière 40 is on fol. 207^{r}. 16th c.

Sardière
Jean-Baptiste Guyon de Sardière (d. 1759), Captain in the King's regiment, Seigneur du Canal de Briare, and bibliophile.

L Paris, BNF, fr. 22928, *MND*, 13th c.
No. 85 in his collection. His sale, 1760; his manuscripts were all purchased by the Duc de la Vallière (q.v.).

16 Paris, B. Ars., 3142, literary miscellany, *MND* II Prière 37 on fol. 300^{r}, *c.* 1285
No. 527. See also Marie de Brabant, Gaignat, La Vallière, and Paulmy.

Schietere
Thomas-Louis de Schietere, Seigneur de Lophem (1769–1824). Bequeathed sixteen books of hours to the Bibliothèque de Bruges. See Abbé A. de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges* (Gembloux: Duculot; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1934), pp. 358–59.

Add-29 Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321, Hours of Jacqueline de Bavière, *MND* II Prière 40, fol. 92^{r-v}, 15th c.
Note on verso of front flysheet refers to de Schietere, 18–19th c.

Séguier
Antoine Seguier (1552–1624), magristrate and diplomat. See Coislin above.

Sempy
Anne de Sempy, 16th c.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fol. 55^{v}–60^{r}, 13th c.
Ownership note on fol. 119^{v} below that of Adrien de Moyencourt (q.v.): 'Se present liure apartient a Anne de Sempy' in a 16th c. hand. See also Chrétienne de Selles, Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Marguerite du Tertre (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

Sonnet

François-Charles Sonnet of Vesoul, 16th c. (DG, p. 51), jurist and man of letters. Born at Vesoul, studied at Dole and Paris, publishing works in Paris (*Primum concilium analyticum tres complectens Quaestiones*, Paris, 1576) and in Besançon (*Conseil les donations réciproques des pupilles et mineurs etc.* Besançon, 1602). His nephew Claude-François Sonnet, cleric and bibliophile, held a chair of theology at the chapter of Besançon and died there *c.* 1630.

T Besançon, BM, 551, *MND*, 13th c.

On fol. 1, 'A Moy François Charle Sonnet' and the motto 'Decipimur specie Recti'. See also Philippe de Hochberg and Boisot.

Steiger

Dr Med. Kurt von Steiger von Rodt, Bern

13 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828 (olim Steiger-Mai), selected *MND* miracles on fols 50r–55v, 86r, 140v, 142r, 167r–169v, 15th c.

Inherited from the Stein family via M. von Steiger-Mai of Seedorf. Came to the Burgerbibliothek, Bern.

Tertre

Marguerite du Tertre, 16th c.

28-bis Paris, BNF, fr. 25462, literary miscellany, *MND* I Mir 41, fols 55v–60r, 13th c.

Her signature, written in very large neat cursive, in the outer margin at right angles to the text, on fol. 145r, the opening folio of *Li regret nostre dame*, 16th c. (*Catalogue général*). See also Chrétienne de Selles, Colars de Fontaine, Thomas Salemos (13th–14th c.); Adrien de Moyencourt, Anne de Sempy (16th c.); Antoine Loisel (unnamed), Claude Joly, and Notre-Dame, Paris. See also Prévôt de Clermont.

University of California, Berkeley, see Phillipps.

Unknown, 18th c.

Add-38 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84, II Prière 40 in a book of hours, use of Rennes, *c.* 1465.

Bookplate on fourth flyleaf with motto 'Dieu écrit droit sur la ligne courbe'. See also Françoise d'Amboise under Medieval Owners above and Bennett and Morgan under Later Owners.

Valory

M. de Valory (18th c.), Canon and Provost of Saint-Pierre, Lille, donated sixty-seven manuscripts to the Chapter (*Catalogue général [. . .] Lille*, p. 4).

8 Lille, BM, 130, biblical paraphrases and other texts, *MND* I Pr 1 and I Mir 10, fols 109^{r}–129^{r}, 14th c.

Ex-libris inside front cover. See also Saint-Pierre, Lille, and Anne de Graville.

Walters

Henry Walters (1848–1931), rail magnate, collector, and founder of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Add-36 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 261, book of hours of Paris use, II Prière 40 on fols 108^{v}–109^{r}, 15th c.

Purchased from Léon Gruel, Paris bookseller, between 1895 and 1931. See Harville Family above.

Add-37 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 284, book of hours, use of Coutances, II Prière 40 on fols 131^{r}–132^{v}, 15th c.

Purchased from Léon Gruel, Paris bookseller, between 1895 and 1931. See Unidentified Lay Woman in Coutances above.

Selected Bibliography: Gautier de Coinci and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Primary Sources

Works by Gautier de Coinci

Boman, Erik, *Deux Miracles de Gautier de Coinci (Miracle de l'image qui fut le Caution d'un Pret et Miracle de Saint Basile)* (Paris: Droz, 1935).

Collet, Olivier, *Glossaire et index critiques des oeuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 227 (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

Gautier de Coinci, *Les Chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci: Edition musical critique avec introduction et commentaires*, ed. by Jacques Chailley, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, 15 (Paris: Heugel, 1959).

———, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. by Abbé Pocquet (1857; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972).

———, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. by V. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70).

———, *La Vie de sainte Cristine*, ed. by Olivier Collet, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1999).

Hakamies, Reino, *Deux Miracles de Gautier de Coinci: D'un Vilain qui fut sauvé pour ce qu'il ne faisoit uevre le Samedi et du cierge que Nostre Dame de Rochemadour envoia seur le viele au jougleour qui vieloit et chantoit devant s'ymage*, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B (Helsinki: Suomalainen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino, 1958).

Kraemer, Erik von, *Du clerc qui fame espousa et puis la lessa: Miracle de Gautier de Coinci, publié d'après quinze manuscrits*, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae), Series B, 66.2 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1950).

———, *De la bonne enpereris qui garda loiaument sen mariage: Miracle mis en vers*, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. Toimituksia. Series B, 82.2 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1953).

———, *Huit miracles de Gautier de Coinci: Édités d'après le manuscrit de leningrad; (Bibl. Publ., Fr. F. V. Xiv. 9)*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 119 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1960).

Kunstmann, Pierre, ed., *Vierge et Merveille: les miracles de Notre-Dame narratifs au Moyen Age* (Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1981).

Laboratoire de Français Ancien, <http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/arts/lfa>.

Långfors, Arthur, *Miracles de Gautier de Coinci: Extraits du manuscrit de l'ermitage*, Annales Suomalainen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 34 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1937).

Lindgren, Lauri, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame de Soissons versifiés par Gautier de Coinci*, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 129 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1963).

Lozinski, Grégoire, *De Saint Bon, Évèque de Clermont: Miracle versifié*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 40.1 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1938).

Nurmela, Tauno, *Le sermon en vers de la Chasteé as Nonains de Gautier de Coinci; publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus* (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1937).

Pol, Jonas, *C'est d'un moine qui vout retolir a qne nonne une ymage de Nostre Dame que il li avoit aportee de Jherusalem*, edn critique by Pol Jonas, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, 113.2 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1959).

Rankka, Erik, *Deux miracles de la Sainte Vierge: Les 150 ave du chevalier amoureux et le sacristain noye* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1955).

Switten, Margaret, project director and ed., *Teaching Medieval Lyric with Modern Technology: New Windows on the Medieval World*, 5 CD set (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 2001).

Väänänen, Veikko, *Glosses marginales des miracles de Gautier de Coinci*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 53.3 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1945).

———, *D'une fame de Laon: qui estoit jugie a ardoir que Nostre Dame delivra: Miracle versifié*, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 68.2 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1951).

Vilamo-Pentti, Eva, ed. *De Sainte Leocade au tans que Sainz Hyldefons estoit arcevesques de Tholete a cui Nostre Dame donna l'aube de prelaz* (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de littérature finnoise, 1950).

Other Miracles Collections and Related Texts

Adgar, *Le Gracial*, ed. by Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1982).

Albe, Edmond, and Jean Rocacher, ed. and trans, *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Rocamadour au XIIe siècle* (Toulouse: Le Pérégrinateur, 1996).

Aurelian of Réôme, *Aureliani Reomensis Musica disciplina*, ed. by Lawrence Gushee, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 21 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

———, *The Discipline of Music (ca. 843)*, trans. by Joseph Ponte, Colorado College Music Press Translations, 3 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1968).

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, trans., 'Miracle de l'abbesse grosse', in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. by Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 631–34.

Budge, E. A. Wallis, ed., *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary, Translated from Ethiopic Manuscripts for the most part in the British Museum* (London: Medici Society, 1923).

Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1929).

Herolt, Johannes, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin, 1435–1440*, trans. by C. C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1928).

Jean le Marchant, Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres, ed. by Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973).

Jenkins, T. Atkinson, ed., *Eructavit: An Old French metrical paraphrase of Psalm XLIV published from all the known manuscripts and attributed to Adam de Perseigne*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 20 (Dresden: Niemeyer, 1909).

Kjellman, Hilding, ed., *La Deuxième Collection anglo-normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin* (Paris: Champion, 1922; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1977).

Kunstmann, Pierre, ed., *Miracles de Notre-Dame tirés du Rosarius, Paris, ms. B.N.fr. 12483* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1991).

———, ed., *Treize miracles de Notre-Dame tirés du ms. B.N. fr. 2094* (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1981).

———, ed. and trans., *Vierge et merveille: les miracles de Notre-Dame narratifs au moyen âge* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1981).

Lecoy, Félix, ed., *La Vie des Pères*, 3 vols (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1993–99).

Mussafia, Adolf, and Theodore Gartner, *Altfranzösische Prosalegenden aus der Hs. der Pariser Nat. Bibl. fr. 818, I, Text* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1895).

Paris, Gaston, and Ulysse Robert, eds, *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, 8 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876).

Wallensköld, Axel, ed., *Florence de Rome: Chanson d'aventure du premier quart du XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907).

Warner, George Frederic, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame, Collected by Jean Mielot, Secretary to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Reproduced in Facsimile from Douce Manuscript 374 in the Bodleian Library* (London: Nicholas and Sons, 1885).

Wilson, Evelyn Faye, ed., *The 'Stella Maris' of John of Garland, edited together with a study of certain collections of Mary legends made in Northern France in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: Wellesley College and the Medieval Academy of America, 1946).

Secondary Sources

Andersson, H., *Étude linguistique sur une version de la légende de Théophile conservée dans les manuscrits fr. 818 et 423 de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Uppsala: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1889).

Atkinson, Clarissa, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

Azzam, Wagih, and Olivier Collet, 'Le Manuscrit 3142 de la Bibliothèque de l'Asenal: Mise en recueil et conscience littéraire au XIIIe siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e^–XIIe siècles*, 44 (2001), 207–45.

Baltzer, Rebecca, 'The Little Hours of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. by Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 463–84.

Barnay, Sylvie, *Le Ciel sur la terre: les apparitions de la Vierge au Moyen Age* (Paris: Cerf, 1999).

Baum, Paull Franklin, 'The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue', *PMLA*, 34 (1919), 523–79.

Beaussart, François-Jérôme, '*D'un clerc grief malade que Nostre Dame sana:* Réflexions sur un miracle', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 34–46.

———, 'Figures de la maladie dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', *Médiévales*, 4 (1983), 74–90.

———, 'Figures féminines dans la littérature mariale (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)', *Le Moyen Age*, 104 (1998), 435–59.

———, 'Héroïsme ou sainteté: les versions religieuses et profanes de l'histoire de Florence de Rome', in *Essais sur la perfection: Le héros et le saint*, PRIS-MA, 16 (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2000), pp. 3–30.

———, *Miracles et Mystères*, Trésors littéraires médiévaux du Nord de la France, 6 (Troesnes: Corps 9, 1989).

———, 'Sémiotique du corps dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 12 (1986), 43–47.

———, 'Visionnaires et apparitions dans les "Miracles de Nostre Dame" de Gautier de Coinci', *Romance Philology*, 43 (1989), 241–57.

Benoît, Jean-Louis, *L'art littéraire dans les 'Miracles de Nostre Dame' de Gautier de Coinci: Un art au service de la foi* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1999).

———, 'La Sainteté dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *Essais sur la perfection: le héros et le saint*, vol. II (Poitiers: PRIS-MA, 2000), pp. 31–46.

Bernstein, Alan E., 'Teaching and Preaching Confession in Thirteenth-Century Paris', in *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, ed. by Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 111–30.

Berthelot, Anne, 'Anti-miracle et anti-fabliau: la subversion des genres', *Romania*, 106 (1985), 399–419.

———, 'De Gautier de Coinci aux Rhétoriqueurs: glossolalie et poésie mariale', *Le Moyen Français*, 39–41 (1997), 25–37.

Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria, 'Libri e canzioneri d'autore nel medioevo: prospettive di ricerca', *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari Pisa*, 30 (1984), 91–116.

Béterous, Paule, *Les Collections de miracles de la Vierge en gallo- et ibéro-roman, au XIIIe siècle* (Dayton: Marian Library Studies, 1983).

Black, Nancy B., 'An Analysis and Transcription of the Latin Glosses Accompanying Gautier de Coinci's Miracle of "The Empress of Rome"', *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship*, 14 (2002), 91–108.

———, 'Woman as Savior: The Virgin Mary and the Empress of Rome in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*', *Romanic Review*, 88 (1998), 503–17.

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, 'Satires of the Beguines in Northern French Literature', in *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact*, ed. by Juliette Dor, Lesley Johnson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 233–46.

———, 'Sexual and Textual Violence in the "Femme d'Arras" Miracle by Gautier de Coinci', in *Translatio studii: Essays by his Students in Honor of Karl D. Uitti for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Kevin Brownlee, Mary B. Speer, and Lori Walters (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 51–64.

Bonifacio, Mariella Vianello, 'Temi e motivi nelle chansons di Gautier de Coinci', *Studi Francesi*, 27 (1983), 458–70.

Boyd, Beverly, *Middle English Miracles of the Virgin* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1964).

Brayer, Édith, *Catalogue des textes liturgiques et des petits genres religieux: Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970).

———, 'Livres d'heures contenant des textes en français', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, 12 (1964), 31–102.

Brou, Louis, 'Marie "Destructrice de toutes les hérésies" et la belle légende du répons *Gaude Maria Virgo*', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 62 (1948), 321–62, and 65 (1951), 28–33.

Broughton, Laurel, 'Ave Maria: The Incarnational Aesthetic and Mary Miracle Collections', *Studia Mystica*, 20 (1999), 1–14.

Brown, Carleton F., 'Chaucer's Prioress's Tale and its Analogues', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 21 (1906), 486–518.

———, 'The Prioress's Tale', in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. by W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (New York: Humanities Press, 1958), pp. 447–85.

———, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress* (London: Kegan Paul, 1910).

Busby, Keith, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols, Faux Titre, 221–22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002).

Butterfield, Ardis, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Calin, William, 'On the Nature of Christian Poetry: From the Courtly Lyric to the Sacred and the Functioning of *Contrafactum* in Gautier de Coinci', in *Studia in Honorem Prof. Martín de Riquier*, 4 vols (Barcelona: Quadrens Crema, 1988), III, 385–94.

Camille, Michael, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Cazelles, Brigitte, *La Faiblesse chez Gautier de Coinci*, Stanford French and Italian Studies, 14 (Saratoga: Anma Libri, 1978).

———, '"Jeter puer": le traitement de la "fuite du monde" dans les Miracles de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 83 (1977), 255–65.

———, 'Ne seit que dire ne que faire: Silence et passivité dans les *Miracles de Notre Dame* de Gauthier de Coinci', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 93 (1977), 209–16.

Cerquiglini, Bernard, 'Les Énonciateurs Gautier', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 68–75.

Chaurand, Jacques, *Fou, Dixième conte de la Vie des Pères* (Geneva: Droz, 1971).

Chennaf, Shara, 'La Rubrique, une unité littéraire', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 76–85.

Clark, Robert L. A., 'Constructing the Female Subject in Late Medieval Devotion', in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 160–82.

Collet, Olivier, 'Gautier de Coinci: Les Oeuvres d'attribution incertaine', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 43–98.

Colombani, Dominique, 'La Chute et la modification: le renversement diabolique chez Gautier de Coinci', in *Le Diable au Moyen Age: Doctrine, problèmes moraux, représentations* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications du CUER-MA, Université de Provence, 1979), pp. 133–54.

———, 'La Liturgie dans *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Mosaic: A Journal for the Comparative Study of Literature and Ideas*, 12 (1979), 33–54.

———, 'La Prière du cœur dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *La Prière au Moyen Age: littérature et civilisation* (Aix-en-Provence: CUER-MA, 1981), pp. 73–90.

———, 'Savoir prier Nostre-Dame à l'exemple de Gautier de Coinci', in *Le Livre des Miracles de Notre-Dame de Rocamadour: IIe colloque de Rocamadour, 19–21 mai 1973, sous la présidence de Michel François* (Luzech: Boissor, 1973), pp. 96–115.

Combarieu, Micheline de, 'Le Diable dans le "Comment Théophile vint à pénitence" de Gautier de Coinci et dans le "Miracle de Théophile" de Rutebeuf (I)', in *Le Diable au Moyen Age: Doctrine, problèmes moraux, représentations* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications du CUER-MA, Université de Provence, 1979), pp. 155–81.

Couderc, Claire, *Le Cycle de Sainte Léochade de Gautier de Coinci* (unpublished Mémoire de DEA, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002).

Coussemaker, Edmond de, *Scriptorium de musica meddii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum editit*, 4 vols (Paris: Durand, 1864).

Curtius, E. R., *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series, 36 (1953; repr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973).

Dahan, Gilbert, 'Les Juifs dans les Miracles de Gautier de Coincy, I', *Archives Juives*, 3 (1980), 179–200.

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, 'Two Miracles of the Virgin in the Poems of Gautier de Coincy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), 157–63.

Drzewicka, Anna, 'La Fonction des emprunts à la poesie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 91 (1985), 33–51, 179–200.

———, 'Le Livre ou la voix? Le Moi poetique dans les *Miracles de Notre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 96 (1990), 245–63.

Ducrot-Granderye, Arlette P., *Etudes sur les Miracles Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coincy: Description et classement sommaire des manuscrits. Notice Biographique. Edition des miracles 'D'un chevalier a cui sa volenté fu contee por fait aprés sa mort', et 'Coment Nostre Dame desfendi la cité de Costentinnoble' d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae, Series B, 25 (Helinski: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1932; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1980).

Duys, Kathryn A., 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1997; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts* 58–01 (1997), 181-A).

Ebel, Uda, *Das altromanische Mirakel: Ursprung und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1965).

Fernandez-Corugedo, Santiago Gonzalez. 'A Marian Miracle in England and Spain: Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* no. 6 and Chaucer's "The Prioress's Tale"', in *Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, ed. by Luis A. Lázaro Lafuente and others (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1994), pp. 151–75.

Fidalgo Francisco, Elvira, '"La abadesa prenada" (Berceo 21): Seis versiones romanticas y tres en latin', in *Medioevo y literatura*, I–IV: *Actas del V Congreso de la Asociacion Hispanica de Literatura Medieval*, ed. by Juan Paredes (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995), III, 329–44.

Finucane, Ronald C., *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977; repr. New York: St Martin's Press, 1995).

———, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997).

Flory, David A., *Marian Representations in the Miracle Tales of Thirteenth-Century Spain and France* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2000).

———, 'The Social Uses of Religious Literature: Challenging Authority in the Thirteenth-Century Marian Miracle Tale', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 13 (1996), 61–69.

Fulton, Rachel, *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

Furnivall, Frederick James, and others, *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, 5 vols (London: N. Trübner, 1872–87).

Gaillard, E., 'Les Prieurs de Sainte-Léocade de Vic-sur-Aisne', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Haute-Picardie*, 4 (1926), 165–68.

Gallais, Pierre, 'Remarques sur la structure des *Miracles Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Cahiers d'études médiévales*, 1 (1974), 341–98.

Garnier, Annette, 'Autour de la mort: Temps de la dilation et Purgatoire dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', *Le Moyen Age*, 94 (1988), 183–202.

———, 'Deux *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci: Essai d'analyse', *Romania*, 106 (1985), 341–98.

———, *Mutations temporelles et cheminement spirituel: Analyse et commentaire du 'Miracle de l'Empeeris' de Gautier de Coinci* (Paris: H. Champion, 1988).

Gaunt, Simon, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Gehrke, Pamela, *Saints and Scribes: Medieval Hagiography in its Manuscript Context*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 126 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

Gibson, Gail McMurray, *Theater of Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Gold, Penny Shine, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

Goodich, Michael, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Gould, Karen, 'Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathedral', *Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 51–74.

Gröber, G. '"Del Tumbeor Nostre Dame"', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 4 (1880), 88–97.

Gros, Gérard, 'Jean le Marchant et Gautier de Coinci: aspects d'un plagiat', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, 39 (1993), 205–24.

Gros, Gérard, Elisabeth Gaucher, and Jean Dufournet, '"Por ses myracles biau rimer": Etude sur le projet hagiographique de Gautier de Coinci', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 251 (1998), 73–87.

Grossel, Marie-Genevieve, 'Le Monde d'ici-bas, un royaume de violence: Le *Siècle* dans les *Miracles Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *La Violence dans le monde médiéval* (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix, 1994), pp. 265–81.

Gumbrecht, Hans-Ulrich, 'Faszinationstyp Hagiographie: Ein historisches Experiment zur Gattungstheorie', in *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven: Hugo Kuhn zum Gedenken*, ed. by Christoph Cormeau (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979), pp. 37–84.

Habermas, Rebekka, 'Weibliche Erfahrungswelten: Frauen in der Welt des Wunders', in *Auf der Suche nach der Frau im Mittelalter: Fragen, Quellen, Antworten*, ed. by Bea Lundt (Munich: Fink, 1991), pp. 65–81.

Haines, John Dickenson, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Heller-Schuh, Barbara, 'Hilfe in allen Nöten? Inhalte von hoch – und spätmittelalterlichen Mirakelsammlungen im Vergleich', in *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen*, ed. by Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), pp. 151–65.

Hunt, Tony, '"Monachus curialis": Gautier de Coinci and *courtoisie*', in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture: Selected Papers from the Tenth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society. Universität Tübingen 28 Juli – 2 August 2001*, ed. by Christoph Huber and Henrike Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto, 2002), pp. 121–36.

Huot, Sylvia, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).

———, 'Polyphonic Poetry: The Old French Motet and its Literary Context', *French Forum*, 14 (1989), 261–78.

Karras, Ruth Mazo, 'The Virgin and the Pregnant Abbess: Miracles and Gender in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Perspectives*, 3 (1988), 112–32.

Koenig, V. Frédéric, '*La Genealogie Nostre Dame* and the Legend of the Three Mary's', *Romance Philology*, 14 (1961), 207–15.

Krause, Kathy M., 'Generic Space-Off and the Construction of the Female Protagonist: The *Chanson de Florence de Rome*', *Exemplaria*, 18.1 (2006).

———, 'Virgin, Saint, and Sinners: Women in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', in *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 26–52.

Långfors, Arthur, 'Notice sur deux manuscrits des miracles de Gautier de Coinci', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 31 (1930), 62–81.

Larmat, Jean, 'La Religion populaire chez Gautier de Coinci', *Marche Romane*, 30 (1980), 167–75.

Levy, Brian J., 'Le Fabliau et l'exemple: étude sur les recueils moralisants anglo-normands', in *Epopée animale, Fable, Fabliau: Actes du IVe Colloque de la Société internationale renardienne (Evreux, 7–11 sept. 1981)*, ed. by Gabriel Bianciotto and Michel Salvat (Paris: Presses Universitaires françaises, 1984), pp. 311–21.

Lindgren, Lauri, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame de Soissons versifiés par Gautier de Coinci*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 129 (Helsingfors: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1963).

Lommatzsch, Erhard, *Gautier de Coincy als Satiriker* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1913).

Malizia, Uberto, 'Gautier de Coinci et la chanson médiévale', *Quaderni di filologia e lingue romanze* (1987), 61–75.

———, 'Gautier de Coinci: la volontá di rinnovare la musica lirica ne *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*', in *La lengua y la literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X*, ed. by Fernando Carmona and Francisco Flores (Murcia: Dept. de Literatura Romanicas, Facultad de Letras, Universidad de Murcia, 1985), pp. 319–32.

———, *Il poeta e la musica: evoluzione del lirismo tra il XIIe il XIV secolo* (Rome: Ed. dell'Ataneo, 1990).

Marenzi, Maria Laura Arcangeli, *Forme d discorso medievali, materiali e ricerche*, vol. II (Abano Terme (Padova): Aldo Francisci Editore, 1984).

Marullo, Teresa, 'Osservazioni sulle Cantigas di Alfonso X e sui Miracles di Gautier de Coinci', *Archivum Romanicum*, 18 (1934), 495–539.

McCormick, Anne Catherine, 'Revealing Tales: Sex, Violence, and Gender in the Marian Miracle Collections of Gautier de Coinci, Gonzalo de Berceo, and Alfonso X, el Sabio' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1996).

Mérindol, Christian de, 'Le Livre peint à la fin du moyen âge, support privilégié d'une politique dynastique, familiale ou personnelle: les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (B.N., n. a. fr. 24541) et le *Livre d'heures de Pierre II de Bretagne* (B.N., lat. 1159)', in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XVe siècle: Actes du Colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992 organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy*, ed. by Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 499–514.

Mettmann, Walter, 'Os Miracles de Gautier de Coinci como fonte des *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Estudos Portugueses: Homagenem a Luciano Stegagno Picchio* (Lisbon: Difel, 1991), pp. 79–84.

Monfrin, Jacques, 'L'*exemplum* médiéval: Du latin aux langues vulgaires', in *Les Exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives*, ed. by Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Nouvelle Bibliothèque de Moyen Age, 47 (Paris: Champion, 1998), pp. 243–65.

Montoya, Jesús, 'Los prologos de Gautier de Conci (I Pr. 1 (D. 1) y II Pr. 1 (D. 53))', *Estudios Romanicos*, 4 (1981), 9–75.

Morawski, Joseph, 'Mélanges de littérature pieuse: 1. Les Miracles de Notre-Dame en vers français', *Romania*, 61 (1935), 316–50.

Mussafia, Adolfo, *Altfranzösische Prosalegenden aus der Hs. der Pariser Nationalbibliothek fr. 818* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1895).

———, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, 5 vols (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Son, 1887–98; orig. pub. in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien (phil.-hist. Klasse)*, 113 (1886), 917–94; 115 (1888), 5–93; 119 (1889), 1–66; 123 (1891), 1–85; 139 (1898), 1–74).

———, *Über die von Gautier de Coinci benutzten Quellen* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1896).

Neuhaus, Carl, *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den Alt-Französischen Adgar'schen Marienlegenden* (Aschersleben: H. C. Bestehorn, 1886–87).

Okubo, Masami, 'A propos de la *Vie de sainte Cristine* de Gautier de Coinci', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 248–64.

———, 'Autour de la *Nativité Nostre Dame* et de son attribution à Gautier de Coinci', *Romania*, 121 (2003), 348–81.

———, 'La Formation de la collection des Miracles de Gautier de Coinci', *Romania*, 123, (2005), 141–212.

O'Sullivan, Daniel E., *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

———, 'Reading Children in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', *Neophilologus*, 89 (2005), 201–19.

Page, Christopher, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

———, 'Marian Texts and Themes in an English Manuscript [=Sidney Sussex College, MS 95, from East Anglia, 1409], A Miscellany in Two Parts', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 23–44.

Patterson, Lee, '"The Living Witnesses of Our Redemption": Martyrdom and Imitation in Chaucer's Prioress's Tale', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 507–60.

Payer, Pierre, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Philippart, Guy, 'Le Récit miraculaire marial dans l'Occident médiéval', in *Marie: le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat and others (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), pp. 563–90.

Poncelet, Albert, 'Initia Miraculorum B. Virginis Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt', *Analecta bollandiana*, 21 (1902), 241–360.

Pouchelle, Marie-Christine, 'Mots, fluides et vertiges: les fêtes orales de la mystique chez Gautier de Coinci', *Annales: Economies, Société, Civilisations*, 42 (1987), 1209–30.

———, 'Quan el meravellós no era imaginari: en el segle XIII, *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *El Món imaginari i el món meravellós a l'edat mitjana*, ed. by Jean-Claude Schmitt and José Enrique Ruiz Doménec (Barcelona: Fundacio Caixa de Pensión, 1986), pp. 101–26.

Regalado, Nancy, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A Study in Noncourtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

Ross, Andrew Frank, 'Mary as Mother and Other: Representations of the Virgin in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1998).

Rubin, Miri, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999; repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Russakoff, Anna. 'Imaging the Miraculous: les Miracles de Notre-Dame, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006).

———, 'The Role of the Image in an Illustrated Manuscript of *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame* by Gautier de Coinci: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 551', *Manuscripta*, 47–48 (2003–04), 135–44.

Schwan, Edouard, 'La Vie des Anciens Pères', *Romania*, 13 (1884), 233–63.

Sgaravizzi, Bernard, 'Étude sur les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université de Nice, 1983).

Sigal, Pierre-André, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe–XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985).

Southern, R. W., 'English Origins of "Miracles of the Virgin"', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958).

Spangenberg, Peter Michael, 'Transformations du savoir et ambivalences fonctionnelles: aspects de la fascination hagiographique chez Gautier de Coincy', *Médiévales*, 2 (1982), 11–32.

Stevenson, Kenneth W., 'The Origins and Development of Candlemas: A Struggle for Identity and Coherence?', in *Time and Community*, ed. by J. Neil Alexander (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1990), pp. 43–76.

Switten, Margaret, 'Borrowing, Citation, and Authorship in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*', in *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Virginie Greene (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 29–59.

Tubach, Frédéric, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1981).

Tudor, Adrian, 'Les Fabliaux: encore le problème de la typologie', *Studi Francesi*, 47 (2003), 599–603.

———, 'La Légende de l'enfant juif: peinture des personnages, mouvance d'épithètes', in *Les Lieux interdits: Transgression and French Literature*, ed. by W. L. Duffy and A. P. Tudor (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1998), pp. 31–62.

———, 'Past and Present: The Voice of an Anonymous Medieval Author', *Mediaevalia*, 24 (2003), 19–44.

———, 'Preaching, Storytelling and the Performance of Short Pious Narratives', in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. by E. Birge Vitz, N. Freeman Regalado, and M. Lawrence (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2005), pp. 141–53.

———, *Tales of Vice and Virtue: The First Old French 'Vie des Pères'*, Faux Titre, 253 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005).

Van den Boogaard, Nico, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969).

Vauchez, André, *La Sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981).

Wackers, Paul, 'There Are No Genres: Remarks on the Classification of Literary Texts', *Reinardus*, 13 (2000), 237–48.

Wallensköld, Axel, *Le Conte de la femme chaste convoitée par son beau-frère: Étude de littérature comparée*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, 34.1 (Helsingfors: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1907).

Ward, Benedicta, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, Event, 1000–1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982; rev. edn 1987).

Ward, H. L. D., *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883–1915).

Warner, Marina, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage, 1976).

Warren, Nancy Bradley, 'Pregnancy and Productivity: The Imagery of Female Monasticism within and beyond the Cloister Walls', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28 (1998), 531–52.

Wilmart, André, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1971).

Wittmer-Butsch, Maria, and Constanze Rendtel, *Miracula – Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter: Eine historisch-psychologische Annäherung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003).

Wolter, Eugen, *Der Judenknabe*, Bibliotheca Normanica, 2 (Halle, 1879).

Zink, Michel, *Poésie et conversion au Moyen Âge*, Perspectives Littéraires (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003).

Index

Aachen, 184, 189
Abbesse grosse, 14, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *De l'abeesse . . .*; *Vie des Pères*, *Abbesse grosse*
Abraham (patriarch), 202
Adam . . . episcopus, 411
Adam de la Halle, 3,4, 7, 34, 362n45
  Jeu de Robin et Marion, 131, 134
Ade, comtesse de Blois, 150–51
Ade de Grandpré, 75n15
Adélaïde d'Alsace (wife of Conrad I de Bourgogne), 189
Adieu mes amours, 134
Adgar, 211
  Gracial, 319
Adorabo ad templum (Alleluia verse), 176–7
Adorna thalamum (antiphon), 180
Adrien de Moyencourt, 410, 412, 413, 420, 427, 431, 433, 436, 440, 441
Advocates, 422
Aesop, *Fables*, 392n70
Agen, 67n4
Agnes de Bourgogne, 387n33, 411, 433
Agobard of Lyon, 178, 178n40, 193
  De correctione antiphonarii, 178
Aisne, 387n35
Alexandre, Roman d', 386n29
Alexis, Saint, 202, 394n87
Alfonso X el Sabio, rey de Léon y Castilla, 129, 149
  Cantigas de Santa Maria, 4, 11n22, 128–9, 131, 146, 167, 172, 172n19
All Saints, 380n13
Alma redemptoris, 287
Almanach aux juifs, 363n54, 413
Amalarius of Metz, 178n40, 180
Amédée, seigneur de Chaste, 418
Amiens, 79, 376, 380n13
Amigotus, scribe, 94
Amolo of Lyon, 179
Anglès, Higini, 362n40
Anne, Saint, mother of the Virgin Mary, 30, 79
Anne de Graville, poet, 395n98, 429, 442
Annominatio, 16, 17, 42, 49, 60, 62, 101–12, 113–25, 303
Annunciation/Annonciation, 281, 283–8, 296, 298
  Feast of/Fête de, 152n7, 273
Anonyme de Béthune, *Chroniques de l'*, 383n21
Anselm of Bury St Edmund's, 288

Anselm of Canterbury, 296
Anselm of Lucca, 171, 171n18
Anthony/Antoine, Saint, 365n79
Antiphoner of Compiègne, 167, 169n3, 173, 173n26, 174n27, 189, 191, 192, *see also* Manuscripts, Paris, BNF, lat. 17436
Antoing, seigneur d', 385n28
Antwerp, 406
Arbaleste, Guy II, vicomte de Melun, 423
Arbre de Vie, L', 391n66
Aristides Quintilianus, 136, 136n43, 139
Armorial Wijnberghen, 414
Arnaldus Martinus, 393n71
Arras, 43, 72n5, 81n22, 91, 376, 380n13, 387n32
Ars epistolandi, 364n72
Ashburnham, Bertram, 4th and 5th Earls of, 423, 424, 432
Asomptions Nostre Dame, L', *see* Herman de Valenciennes
Assumption, feast of/fête de, 177, 273
Assumption Nostre Dame, 21, 26, 28–30, 31n19, 32–3, 35, 360n22, 380n7, 389n56, *see also* Herman de Valenciennes
Atkinson, Clarissa, 200n6, 203n19, 204n21, 207n31
Aube/Alba (Dawn song), 44, 390n57, 390n58
Auberee, 341n24
Aucassin et Nicolette, 7
Augustine, Saint, 178n40, 199, 223
  Confessions, 223
Aumale, Henri d'Orléans, duc d', 423
Aurelian of Réôme, 179
  Musica disciplina, 172, 174–6, 174n27, 177, 178n40, 183, 184, 184n62, 184n64, 185n67
Auxerre, 167–93
Auxerre, Cathédral de Saint-Étienne d', 190
Ave gloriosa Virginum regina (sequence), 135
Ave gratia plena (antiphon), 181, 181n50
Ave Maria, 10, 13, 22, 226, 281–2, 284, 285, 287, 288–92, 294–8
Ave virgo sapiens et matura (conductus), 137
Aves, 79, 395n94
Avignon, 388n42
Avraux, comte d', 425
Avril, François, 1, 2, 92, 94n47, 254n1, 255n3, 358n8, 381n13, 385n25, 393n71, 394n90, 397
Azzam, Wagih, 387n38

Baby Tooth, *see* Jesus Christ
Bailey, Terence, 181n53
Baltzer, Rebecca, 274
Barbazan, Etienne, 431, 438
Barisel, Dit du, 387n35
Barnwell, Charles, 423
Baron, Jehan, 424, 426
Barré, Henri, 172n18, 182
Barrois, 416, 418, 423, 424
Basingehem, *see* Chrétienne de Selles
Bauffremont, Claude-Charles-Roger de, 406n2
Baumstark, Anton, 181
Bazan de Flamanville Family, 421
Beata viscera, *see* Perotinus
Béatrix de Chérisi, Abbesse de Notre-Dame de Soisson, 268
Beaussart, François-Jérôme, 132, 152, 152n7, 154, 154n12, 156n15, 207n32, 208n37, 218n5, 250, 308n9, 313, 330

Beauvais, 170, 191, 407
Liturgical drama from, 170, 191
Bede, 177, 199
Beer, Ellen J., 386n28
Beguines, 210
Behaviour manuals, 396n112
Belle dame tres pie empereris, 391n73
Belting, Hans, 257
Belval, Augustinian house, 395n97, 407
Benedicamus Domino (plain chant), 140
Bennett, Adelaide, 96, 269, 270, 270n38, 365n77, 381n13, 397
Bennett, Richard, 413, 424, 435, 441
Benoît, Jean-Louis, 101, 308, 312, 333
Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Roman de Troie*, 73n9, 362n45, 390n59
Bent, Margaret, 138
Béraud, dauphin d'Auvergne, 416
Bernard de Chartres, *La vraie medecine d'amours*, 380n13
Bernard de Clairvaux, 281, 282–7, 288, 298
Bernard de Moreuil, 413
Berthe, Abbesse de Fontevrault, 151
Berthe aux grands pieds, Roman de, 388n39
Bertolais de Laon, *Rommans Jehan de Lanson*, 395n99
Bertrand, seigneur de Saint-Nectaire, 418
Besançon, 183n59, 376, 390n58, 421
Abbaye de Saint-Vincent, 425
Bestiary, 74, 95, 390n59
Bétérous, Paule, 329
Bibles, 73n10, 75, 83, 94n47, 394n86
Biblical paraphrase, 395n98
Billiet, Frédéric, 9, 11, 16, 52, 127–47
Black, Nancy B., 13, 91n39, 229n3, 253–77, 388n47
Blanche de Bourgogne, reine de France, 270, 270n38
Blanche de France, daughter of Louix IX and Marguerite de Provence, 90
Bliocadran, 386n29
Blois, *see* Marie d'Avesnes, Comtesse de Blois
Blondel de Nesle, 11, 131
Amours dont sui espris M'efforce de chanter, 140, 145
Bien doit chanter cui fine Amours adrece, 139, 146
Il plus se plaint d'Amours mai je n'os dire, 131, 139, 145
Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, 13, 197–214, 220n6, 254
Bodenheimer, Marie-Odile, 153n11, 156
Boinet, Amédée, 88n33
Boisot, Abbé, of Besançon, 95, 419, 441
Bonaventure, Saint, *De triplici via*, 267n28
Bondeëlle-Souchier, Anne, 75n13
Boniface IV, Pope, 176, 177n37
Bonne de Luxembourg, Psalter of, 269n34
Bonne de Luxembourg, reine de France (wife of Jean II), 271n39
Books of hours/Livres d'heures, 6, 91, 93, 253, 269, 271, 274, 285, 286, 296, 364n66, 364n68, 365n75, 365n77, 365n79, 365n80, 365n81, 365n84, 366n85, 366n87, 366n91, 366n93, 366n94, 380n13, 382n15, 384n26, 389n52, 389n53, 389n54, 390n59, 390n61, 391n63, 393n75, 393n76, 394n78, 394n79, 394n84, 396n103, 396n105, 396n110, 396n111, 414, 422
Boswell, John, 208n35

Bouchart de Marli, 151
Bouhier, Jean, 425
Boulton, Maureen, 131n22
Bourbon-Condé, Joseph de, 423
Bower, Colin, 169n5
Boy who slips a ring on the finger of a statue, 308, *see also* Clerk of Pisa
Boyd, Beverly, 294n38
Brabant, ducs de, 381n13, 414
Branner, Robert, 72n5
Brayer, Edith, 365n84, 397
Breviary of Agen, 94
Breviary of Bellevaux, 391n64
Breviary of Philippe le Bel, 92, 387n38
Breviary of Renaud de Bar, 380n11
Breviary of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne, 364n70, 371n23, 380n11, 407
Brittany, 377, 393n77, 421
Brou, Dom Louis, 172n20, 176, 177, 180, 181, 181n50, 182, 182n55
Broughton, Laurel, 13, 217n3, 243n19, 281–99
Brunetto Latini, 363n54
Brussels, 380n13
Budge, E. A. Wallis, 205n27, 272n42
Burgundy, 175, 182, 183, 183n59, 187n75, 376, 409, 421
Busby, Keith, 3n4, 7n16, 73, 73n8, 73n9, 75, 79n19, 90n36, 335, 338n17, 380n9, 387n38, 391n67, 392n70, 394n79, 394n84
Bute Master, 386n28
Butterfield, Ardis, 1–18, 131n22, 311, 332, 357n5, 358n8
Bynum, Caroline Walker, 203n19
Byzantium/Byzance, 180–2

Cabaniss, Allen, 178n40
Caesarius of Heisterbach, 199, 205–6
Cahors, 67n4
Çainne Nostre Seigneur, La, 359n20
Calin, William, 310–11
Cambout, Henri de, duc de Coislin, 408
Cambrai, 86, 88n33, 91, 373, 374, 381n13, 386n28
Camille, Michael, 264, 267n28, 272, 301
Candlemas, *see* Purification of the Virgin
Cangé, Jean-Pierre-Gilbert Châtre de, 426, 433
Cantigas de Santa Maria, *see* Alfonso X el Sabio
Cardon, Hubert, 86n30
Carmina Burana, 128
Carruthers, Mary, 60
Cassagnes-Brouquet, Sophie, 363n54
Catherine II the Great, empress of Russia, 426, 428
Catherine of Alexandria, Saint/Catherine d'Alexandrie, Sainte, 84, 85, 85 fig. 20, 88n34, 204
Caton, 383n22
Cauchon-Maupas de Champagne Family, 394n78, 421, 426
Caviness, Madeline H., 229n3
Cazelles, Brigitte, 211n45, 239
centonisation, 127, 130–4, 142
Central France, 376
Cerquiglini, Bernard, 154–6, 215
Chabannez, 409, 424, 426
Chailley, Jacques, 5, 6, 6n11, 11, 23, 127, 128, 129, 129n12, 137, 138n55, 140n65, 141, 151, 345, 357n6
Chaillou de Pesstain, 2, 3n3, *see also Fauvel, Roman de*
Chambéry, 93
Champagne, 380n13
Chanson d'Aspremont, 395n99

Chanson de Florence de Rome, 247n25, 248n27
Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 91n38
Charles IV, le bel, king/roi de France, 91, 255, 255n3, 270n38
Charles V, king/roi de France, 253, 255, 273, 274
Charles VI, king/roi de France, 253, 255, 271, 274, 400
Charles de Bourbon, 412
Charles le Chauve, 189, 190
Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne, 419
Charlier, Dom Célestin, 179n44
Chartres, Cathédral de, 285, 286n16
Chartres Miracles, 81n22, 363n62, 396n116, *see also* Jean le Marchant
Chastelain de Vergi, Roman du, 387n35
Château de l'Aigle, 416
Chaucer, Geoffrey
  Canterbury Tales, 4, 5n8, 167, 172, 185, 186, 192
  Prioress's Tale, 172, 287
Chauvigny (Berry), 93
Chess, Treatise on, 381n13
Chrétien de Troyes, 66, 73n9, 382n16, 386n29
Chrétienne de Selles, dame de Bazinghen, 410, 412, 413, 420, 426, 431, 433, 436, 440, 441
Christina of Sweden, queen, 425
Christus resurgens (Easter responsory), 181
Chromatius (martyr), 187
Cîteaux, Cistercian Abbey of, 392n70
Clairvaux, Cistercian Abbey of, 425
Clark, Robert L. A., 16, 112, 113–25, 207n33
Claude de France, 429
Clémence de Hongrie, queen/reine de France, 270, 270n38, 363n54, 413
Clément, Nicolas, 67n2, 437
Clerk of Chartres, Legend of, 14, 281, 282, 289–91, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *Dou clerc mort en cui boche . . .*; *Vie des Pères*, *Ave Maria*
Clerk of Pisa, Legend of, 10, 119, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *De l'enfant qui mist l'anel . . .*; *Vie des Pères*, *Image de Pierre*
Clermont, Prévôt de, 426, 431, 433, 436, 441
Clostra de l'ame, Li, 395n96
Cohen, Joel, 130–1
Coislin, Henri-Charles du Cambout, duc de, 420, 423, 427, 434
Colars de Fontaine, 410, 412, 413, 420, 427, 431, 433, 436, 440, 441
Colbert, Jean-Batiste, 427, 433, 435
Colin Muset, 12, 151
Colinet Rolet, *see* Nicolas Rolet
Colker, Marvin L., 295n40
Collet, Olivier, 6n11, 13–14, 21–36, 105, 109, 310, 333, 357n2, 359n13, 359n14, 17, 366n89, 383n24, 387n38, 417
Colletet, François, 132n25
Colombani, Dominique, 329n32
Combarieu, L., 67n4
Comment Jhesu Criz commanda la sainte Virge mere en la garde saint Jehan l'Evangeliste, 28, 360n24
Compiègne, 373, 407, *see also* Breviary of Saint-Corneille
Complainte Nostre Dame, 371n20, 408
Comte de Poitiers, Roman du, 386n29
Comtesse de la Table, 75n15, 383n18, 400, 413

Conception of the Virgin/de la Vierge, feast of/fête de, 273
Condé, *see* Bourbon-Condé
Condé, Baudouin and Jean de, 7
Condé, Jean de, *La Nonete*, 319n28
Conductus/Conduit, 136–7
Connebert, 343n31
Connolly, Thomas H., 179n41
Conon de Béthune, 11
Conrad I de Bourgogne, 189
Constance de la Tour, 418
Constant du Hamel, 341n24
Constantinople, 261, 266
Conte du baril, Le, 392n68
contrafacture/contrafacta, 8, 9, 12, 16, 40, 48, 127–46, 157
Corpus Christi, Feast of, 393n74
Costuma d'Agen, 67n4, 71 fig. 5, 94
Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, Baronet, 427
Couderc, Claire Chamiyé, 9, 130n20, 139, 142n72, 149–65
Court de Paradis, La, 14, 27n9, 364n65, 380n10
Coussemaker, Edmond de, 138n52
Coutances, 366n92, 394n79, 421
Couvoiteus et de l'Envieus, Du, 334
Crassier, Guillaumme Pascal, baron de, 408, 426, 427, 428
Crawford, William Horatio, 415, 428
Cron, B. S., 73n10
Crusade Cycle, 386n29
Cullin, Olivier, 112n30, 169n6
Curtius, E. R., 114
Cutter, Paul, 180n49
Cycle de Sainte Léocade, *see* Gautier de Coinci, Chansons

Dalarun, Jacques, 360n26
Dame escoilliee, La, 342n26
David, King/Roi (Psalmist), 37, 38, 41–3, 45, 46–7, 49, 51, 52, 54 fig. 2, 55, 63, 382n16
Dees, Antonij, 380n7, 386n29, 390n57, 390n58, 391n67, 392n69
Defente, Denis, 150n3
Denis, Saint, 176
Denssento, Jom de, 415, 419, 428
Deroin, Jules, 414, 428
Derolez, Albert, 94n47
Descendi de caelis (Christmas responsory), 180
Descendit de celis (responsory), 178, 178n40
Deschamps, Eustache, 4, 7
D'Estormi, 387n35
Destrois d'amours et pensis sanz deport, 139
Deus Anglois et l'anel, Les, 338
D'Haenens, Albert, 384n25
Dicant nunc Judaei (responsory verse), 181
Dijon, 376
Dijon, Chapel of the Dukes of Burgundy, 390n60
Diocletian, 187
Dits de Hue Archevesque, Les, 387n35
Diurnal of Lyre Abbey, 365n74, 394n82, 407
Dive, *see* Robert de Dive
Dix commandemans de la loi, Li, 395n96
Dominic of Evesham, 288, 332
Dormition of the Virgin, 191
Douai, 72n5
Douze Signes d'amors, 24
Drowned Sacristan, Miracle of, *see* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *D'un moigne qui fu ou fleuve*
Drzewicka, Anna, 44n7, 134, 153, 333, 337

Dubrovsky, Piotr, 426, 428
Ducrot-Granderye, Arlette, 5–6, 6n13, 22–3, 24, 25, 27n9, 28n12, 33, 51n17, 72, 73n8, 75, 75n15, 76n17, 96, 304–6, 345, 346, 358n8, 370n1, 379n3, 380n7, 382n16, 383n21, 383n23, 387n35, 393n72, 396n108, 396n115, 397, 407, 414
Duggan, Joseph, 142, 163
Dupuy, Jacques, 67n2
Dupuy, Pierre, 67n2
Duys, Kathryn (Karen) A., 3n5, 6n12, 9, 10, 10n18, 10n20, 37–63, 255n2, 357n5, 358n8, 370n1, 387n32, 393n73, 397
Dyer, Joseph, 180
Dykmans, Marc, S.J., 94n47

Eastern France, 376, 391n64
Egerton, Sir Thomas, Baron and Viscount, 428
Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint, 86
Ellebaud, *Anticlaudien*, 366n90
Elucidation, 386n29
Empress of Rome, Miracle of, 308, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *De l'empeeris . . .*; *Vie des Pères*, *Impératrice*
Enguerrand de Créquy, Bishop of Cambrai, 412
Epiphany, Feast of/Fête de, 190, 191, 192
Eructavit, 26n8, 27n9, 28n14, 45, 52, 52 fig. 2, 359 n13, 359n18, 360n22
Escuiriel, L', 341n24
Espiner-Scott, G., 384n24
Estormi, 342n28
Étienne de Bourbon, 339
Étienne de Fougères, 338
Eure, 387n35
Eustache d'Amiens, *Bouchier d'Abeville*, 337
Eustache de Lens, *Cosmography*, 74, 75n13
Evangelist Symbols, 68, 68 fig. 2
Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu, *see Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*
Eve, 9, 134
excisions, 85
Excommunicated knight, 308, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *D'un escommenié*; *Vie des Pères*, *Fou*

Fabliaux, 6, 13, 15, 154–5, 313, 331–43, 390n57, *see also* individual titles and authors
Fauchet, Claude, 384n24
Fauvel, Roman de, 2–4, 7, 10, 93, 389n51, 409
Ferdinand de la Cerda, Infant of Castile, 90
Feuillen, Saint, 201
Fiacre, Saint, 365n79
Fille du comte de Pontieu, La, 383n22
Finnegan, Ruth, 130n15, 163, 163n20
Finucane, Ronald C., 200, 201n13, 202n16
Five Psalms, Miracle of, *see* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *D'un moigne en cui bouche . . .*
Flavian of Constantinople, 182
Fleury, Édouard, 83n27
Florence, Discalced Carmelites of St-Paulin, 409
Florus of Lyon, 177–8, 178n40, 179n44
Flory, David A., 206n30, 208–9, 213, 311, 312
Foehr-Janssens, Yasmina, 15, 49n11, 134, 215–26, 230n4, 233n8, 240–1
Foerster, Wendelin, 393n73

Folda, Jaroslav, 387n34
Fountains Abbey, 295n40
Franche-Comté, 376, 390n58
Franciscan nun, 393n74, 409
Françoise d'Amboise, foundress of the community of Nazareth, 413, 441
Francon de Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*,140
Froissart, Jean, 4, 7
Fulton, Rachel, 268

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, 92n44, 92n45
Gabriel, Archangel/Archange, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 296
Gabrielem archangelum (responsory verse), 169, 170n7, 170n9, 171n15, 175, 179, 181, 183–4
Gace Brulé, 11
  Chanter me fet ce dont je crien morir, 139
Gaesbeck Family, 414
Gaiffier, Baudouin de, 182
Gaignat, Louis-Jean, 417, 429, 431, 437
Gaillard, E., 66n2
Galderisi, Claudio, 302–3
Gallais, Pierre, 215
Galterus, prior de Vi, 66n2, *see also* Gautier de Coinci; Vic-sur-Aisne
Gasparov, Mikhail, 183n60
Gaude, Maria Virgo, 9, 167–93
Gautier de Châtillon (poète), 137
Gautier de Châtillon d'Autresche, notary of Vic-sur-Aisne, 96, 381n13, 398, 413, 414
Gautier de Coinci, 74, 74 fig. 6, 75, 76, 76 fig. 8, 78 fig. 10, 85, 90, 370n5, 371n11, 379n3, 383n23, 386n30, 387n32, 403, *see also* Galterus, prior de Vi
Chansons
  'Amors, dont sui espris' (II Ch 4), 140, 145
  'Amors, qui bien seit enchanter' (I Ch 3), 42–3, 48, 109, 111–12, 139, 145, 298
  'De sainte Leocade' (I Ch 47), 22, 140, 145, 277
  'D'une amor coie et serie' (II Ch 5), 132–3, 139, 145
  'Entendez tuit ensemble, et li clerc et li lai' (II Ch 36), 10, 11, 22, 134, 137, 140, 145, 298
  'Esforcier m'estuet ma voiz' (I Ch 7), 128, 145, 298
  'Hui enfantez fu li filz Dieu', 135, 145
  'Hui matin a l'ajornee' (II Ch 6), 17, 140, 145
  'Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee' (II Ch 7), 131, 139, 145
  'Las! las! las! las! par grant delit' (I Ch 45), 22, 139, 145, 157–62
  'Ma vïele' (II Ch 8), 136–7, 146
  'Mere Dieu, virge senee' (II Ch 3), 129
  'Pour conforter mon cuer et mon coraige' (I Ch 9), 129, 146
  'Pour la pucele en chantant me deport' (II Ch 2), 139, 146
  'Pour mon chief reconforter', 137, 146
  'Puisque voi la fleur novele', 138, 146
  'Quant ces floretes florir voi' (I Ch 8), 139, 146
  'Qui que face rotruenge novele' (I Ch 4), 136, 139, 146
  'Roïne celestre' (I Ch 5), 135, 146

'Sour cest rivage, a ceste crois' (I Ch 46), 22, 139, 146, 157
'Talens m'est pris orendroit' (I Ch 6), 137, 146
'Virge glorieuse', 135, 138
Miracles
Comment la fiertre fu boutee hors de l'eglyse (II Mir 16), 115, 229 Table 1
Comment li hosrfevres fu renluminez (II Mir 14), 115
Comment li moustiers et toute la vile fu ars par un dragon (II Mir 17), 276
Comment Nostre Dame desfendi la cité de Constantinople (II Mir 12), 261, 261 fig. 4, 277
Comment Nostre Dame rendi un homme le piet (II Mir 25), 106, 155, 277
Comment sainte Leochade fu perdue (I Mir 44), 22, 40, 41, 46, 49, 50, 94, 153–4, 220, 229 Table 1, 231, 231 Table 2, 232, 236, 245, 246, 247, 250
Comment Theophilus vint a penitance (I Mir 10), 22, 60, 60 fig. 6, 62, 76, 94, 103, 104, 112, 122, 297n50, 336
De cele meïsme orison (I Mir 39), 115, 124, 294, 295–6, 299
De celui qui se tua par l'amonestement dou dyable (I Mir 25), 80 figs 11, 12, 81, 81 fig. 13, 124, 222, 251n29
De deux freres, Perron et Estene (II Mir 19), 277
De deuz fammes que Nostre Dame converti (I Mir 33), 229 Table 1, 277
De Gondree, comment Nostre Dame li rendi son nez (II Mir 24), 156, 229 Table 1, 231 Table 2, 232–3, 236, 243–4, 243n21, 247, 277
De l'abeesse que Nostre Dame delivra de grant angoisse (I Mir 20), 13, 14, 82, 82 figs 15, 16, 83, 83 fig. 17, 123, 197, 198, 207–14, 220–1, 229 Table 1, 231 Table 2, 231n7, 232, 236–9, 239 fig. 1, 243, 245, 251, 276, 307, 319–29
De la nonain (I Mir 43), 36, 109, 217, 229 Table 1, 230n5, 232, 268, 269, 270, 307
De la nonain a cui Nostre Dame abreja ses salus (I Mir 29), 124, 229 Table 1, 276
De la tavlete en coi l'ymage de la mere Dieu estoit painte (I Mir 13), 102–3, 123, 217, 257–8, 259 fig. 1, 276
De l'empeeris qui garda sa chasteé contre mout de temptations (II Mir 9), 50n15, 76, 102, 112, 115, 120, 220, 228, 229 Table 1, 231 Table 2, 232, 236, 244, 246–50, 307
De l'enfant a un gïu qui se crestïena (I Mir 12), 123, 229 Table 1, 307
De l'enfant qui mist l'anel ou doit l'ymage (I Mir 21), 104, 119–20, 123, 229 Table 1, 230n5, 251, 264–5, 265 fig. 7, 276, 297n50, 307
De l'enfant resuscité qui chantoit Gaude Maria (II Mir 13), 167, 168
De l'orison Nostre Dame (I Mir 38), 115, 294, 294–6, 336
De l'ymage Nostre Dame (I Mir 32), 79, 124, 259, 259 fig. 2, 276, 337

De l'ymage Nostre Dame de Sardanei (II Mir 30), 112, 229 Table 1, 261–2, 262 fig. 5, 276
De l'ymage Nostre Dame qui se desfendi dou quarrel (I Mir 34), 124, 260, 260 fig 3, 276
De un chevalier (I Mir 41), 229 Table 1, 251, 277
De un evesque de Clermont (I Mir 36), 277, 340
De un moigne que Nostre dame delivra dou Dyable (I Mir 16), 123, 217, 219, 243, 307
De un provoire qui toz jors chantoit Salve . . . (I Mir 14), 123, 226, 276, 297n50, 307
De une noble fame de Rome (I Mir 18), 94, 123, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 225, 229 Table 1, 231 Table 2, 232, 236, 240–4, 242 fig. 3, 251, 276, 297n50, 307, 309, 315–18
Des marcheans qui offrirent a Nostre Dame deniers et puis li tolrent (II Mir 15), 115
Dou chevalier a cui la volenté fu contee por fait (I Mir 28), 124, 222, 223, 224–5, 277, 335n12
Dou cierge qui descendi au jougleour (II Mir 21), 32n20, 43, 226, 276
Dou clerc mort en cui boche on trova la flor (I Mir 15), 123, 217, 223, 225, 243, 288, 289–91, 294, 307
Dou gïuis qui reçut l'ymage Dieu en wages (II Mir 18), 276
Dou jouvencel que li dyables ravi . . . (I Mir 22), 123, 229 Table 1, 251
Dou larron pendu que Nostre Dame soustint par deux jors (I Mir 30), 124, 155, 276
Dou moigne que Nostre Dame resuscita (I Mir 24), 124, 221, 243, 277
Dou riche et de la veve fame (I Mir 19), 123, 229 Table 1, 276
Dou soucretain que Nostre Dame visita (I Mir 31), 120–1, 124, 277
D'un abbé qui nagoit en mer (I Mir 35), 110–11, 124
D'un archevesque qui fu a Tholete (I Mir 11), 22, 46, 47, 47n9, 49, 50n15, 60, 60 fig. 6, 62, 90, 103, 106, 107, 108, 116–17, 122–3, 229 Table 1, 231, 247, 262–3, 263 fig. 6, 273, 276, 297n50, 333, 371n15
D'un clerc (II Mir 29), 229 Table 1, 230n5, 231, 231 Table 2, 233–6, 251, 277, 339, 341
D'un clerc grief malade que Nostre Dame sana (I Mir 17), 123, 216–17, 218
D'un escommenié (I Mir 37), 124, 217, 307
D'un moigne (I Mir 40), 277, 297n50
D'un moigne en cui bouche on trouva cinc roses nouveles (I Mir 23), 124, 225, 293–4, 307, 336
D'un moigne qui fu ou fleuve (I Mir 42), 117, 217, 225, 225n8, 277, 289–90, 291–2, 294
D'un moigne qui ne seoit mie as eures Nostre Dame (I Mir 27), 124
D'un vilain (II Mir 20), 225, 226
D'une fame qui fu delivree a loon dou feu (II Mir 26), 229 Table 1, 231 Table 2, 232, 239–40, 241 fig. 2, 243, 246, 247, 340

D'une fame qui fu garie a Arras (II Mir 27), 43–4, 229 Table 1, 250, 277, 326n31, 341
D'une nonain qui vaut pechier, mais Nostre Dame l'en delivra (I Mir 26), 124, 217–18, 229 Table 1, 230n5, 232, 276, 307
Le myracle qui desfendi les samedis Nostre Dame (II Mir 32), 111, 276
Les miracles Nostre Dame de Soissons (II Mir 22), 110, 150n4, 155, 276
Miracles de la chasse de Laon (II Mir 14–17), 337
Prayers/Prières, *see also* Appendix V
Dame de Paradis, Dame de tout le monde (II Prière 39), 96
Dame resplendissante (II Prière 37, Prayer of Theophilus), 92, 93, 94, 96
Doulx dieux qui es sans fin et sans inicion (II Prière 40), 93, 96
Gemme resplendissante (II Prière 37), 96
Marie mère de concorde (II Prière 38), 96, 105
Prologues, Epilogues, Sermons, Saluts
De la chasteé as nonains, *see Des nonains de Nostre Dame . . .*
De la doutance de la mort, *see De la miserere d'omme et de fame . . .*
De la miserere d'omme et de fame et de la doutance qu'on doit avoir de morir (II Dout 34), 22, 32n20, 93
Des nonains de Nostre Dame de Soissons (II Chast 10), 45, 50n25, 115, 131–2, 227, 228, 230, 233, 243, 250, 268
Epilogue (II Epi), 10
Prologue, Livre I (I Pr 1), 10, 74 fig. 6, 76 fig. 8, 115n2, 118, 122, 277, 297
Prologue, Livre II (II Pr 1), 10, 27n9, 76, 226, 310, 339
Prologue des chansons, Livre I (I Pr 2), 9, 10, 22, 109, 122, 297
Salus Nostre Dame (II Sal 35), 1, 10, 79
Other texts by Gautier de Coinci
Vie de Sainte Cristine, 23, 28n12, 32–3, 34n25, 110, 359n14, 361n36, 383n24, 391n65
Gautier de Dargies, *Au tens gent que reverdoie*, 138
Gautier de Metz, *Image du Monde*, 14, 25, 366n90, 390n59, 391n68, 392n68
Gehrke, Pamela, 361n38
Genealogie Nostre Dame en romanz, 26, 26n8, 27n9, 28n14, 29–32, 29n17, 35, 358n13, 359n20, 360n22
Genealogy of the Virgin, 69 fig. 3, 70 fig. 4, 79, 370n2, 370n3, 370n4, 380n7, 383n23
Genlis, Augustininan Canonesses of Sainte-Elisabeth de, 86
Gent, Abbey of St Peter Blandin, 384n24
Geofroi de Paris, 41n6
George, Saint, 384n26
Gerard Cagnoli, Blessed/Bienheureux, 211
Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la Violette*, 17, 136
Germain, St, 182n55, 185, 189, 190–1, 190n86
Gervès du Bus, 2, *see also Fauvel, Roman de*
Gesta of the Bishops of Auxerre, 187, 187n74, 188n77, 190

Gibson, Gail McMurray, 285
Gilbert de Sainte-Aldegonde, 384n24
Gilles Binchois, 132 132n24
Ave corpus christi carum, 132n24
Ave dulce tu frumentum, 132n24
Rerum Conditor, 132n24
Virgo Rosa, 132n24
Gilles de Vieux Maisons, 133
Je chant, c'est mout mauvais signes, 139
Gilles li Muisis, Abbot of Saint-Martin, Tournai, 91, 384n25, 398, 409
Gillingham, Bryan, 136n45
Gisèle, sister/sœur de Charlemagne, 156
Gobert de Coinci, 150
Gold, Peggy Shine, 229n3
Gombert et les deus Clers, 340, 342n30
Gontier de Soignies, *see* Gautier de Dargies
Goodich, Michael, 201–2, 208
Goody, Jack, 162
Gossuin de Metz, *see* Gautier de Metz
Gower, John, 4
Gradual, 83, 84, 84 fig. 18, 135
Grammar school, 84
Grancelle, Cardinal de, 425
Gregory/Grégoire de Tours, 191, 205
Gregory the Great/Grégoire le Grand, 176, 274
Gruel, *see* Walters, Henry
Guggenbühl, Claudia, 76n18, 383n19, 383n20
Gui de Châtillon, comte de Saint-Pol, 381n13
Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale,* 366n86, 396n102
Guilhem de Cabestanh, 129, 146
Guillaume, duc de Bavière, 415
Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, *Roman de la Rose*, 363n59, 371n21, 388n48
Guillaume de Morigny, scribe, 66, 359n21, 386n30
Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, 200–1
Guillaume d'Orange, Cycle de, 386n29
Guillemette des Vaux, 418
Guinard, Pierre, 393n73
Guines Atelier, 72n5
Guiot de Provins, 338
Guiraut Ricquier, 143
Guiron le Courtois, Roman de, 382n16
Gumbrecht, Hans-Ulrich, 198
Guy de Chauvigny, 416
Guy de Couci, 11

Haggh, Barbara, 9, 88n33, 167–93
Haines, John, 128n3
Hamage-lès-Marchiennes, 73n10
Harley, Robert, 289, 430
Harville Family, marquis de Palaiseau, 414, 442
Hasenohr, Geneviève, 362n40, 393n74
Haute-Saône, 392n69
Haymo of Auxerre, 186, 186n71
Hebrew Miscellany, 72
Heck, C., 267n28
Heidelberg, 430
Heinrich Isaac, 171
Heiric d'Auxerre, 167, 192
Collectanea, 186
Homilies, 192, 192n93, 192n94
Life of St Germain of Auxerre in verse, 190
Miracula sancti Germani, 167, 185, 187n73, 187n74, 189, 190n85
Hélie VII, comte de Talleyrand-Périgord, 410
Hélinand de Froidmont, 338
Vers de la mort, 24, 25
Helisachar, Abbot, 177n37, 184
Heller-Schuh, Barbara, 200n8

Henri, 414
Henri, Master, 386n28
Henriette de Lorraine, Abbesse de Notre-Dame de Soissons, 255
Heraldry, 381, 389n54, 395n96, 406n2, 410, 413, 414, 420, 421, 422, 425, 426
Héribald, Bishop/Evêque d'Auxerre, 190
Herman de Laon, 337–8
Herman de Valenciennes, 25
Bible, 394n87
L'Asomptions Nostre Dame, 13, 27
Hermann, Landgraf of Thuringia, 88n33
Hernaus, *see* Herman de Valenciennes
Herolt, Johannes, 206
Hier matin a l'enjournee (pastourelle), 140
Hildefonsus of Toledo, Saint, *see* Ildefonsus of Toledo, Saint
Hindman, Sandra, 72n5
Honoré, Master, Illuminator, 92, 375, 387n38
Horsham St Faith, Benedictine priory of, 185n65
Hospitaller Master, 91, 92, 375, 387n33, 387n34, 387n35, 403
Hours of the Virgin, 274
Hufnagel notation, 73n10
Hugh Farsit/Hugues Farsi, 81n22
Libellus de Miraculis Beatae Mariae, 244n22
Hughes-Hughes, Augustus, 361n40, 393n74
Huglo, Michel, 169n7, 170n9, 173n26, 174n28, 177n37, 178n40, 181n50
Hugo Guiot, 414, 428
Hugo Potelli, 414
Huguccio de Pisa, *Vocabularium*, 393n71
Hugues de Chantemerle, 418
Hugues de Châtillon, 75n15
Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 415
Hunt, Tony, 301n1, 302, 303n4, 306n6
Huon de Créquy, 412
Huon d'Oisy, 11
Huon le Roi, 25
Li Regrés Nostre Dame, 13, 27, 27n10, 28
Huot, Sylvia, 3n4, 7n16, 16, 131n22,

Ildefonsus of Toledo, Saint, 107, 231, 247, 273
Latin Miracle of the Pregnant Abbess, 81, 81 fig. 14, 382n16
Ils sont bien pelés, 134
Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 357, 379
Instruction pour bien vivre, 395n96
Inviolata (sequence), 170–1, 171n14, 171n15, 171n17
Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France (wife of Charles VI), 271
Isenheim, Louis de Gand Vilain XIV de Mérode de Montmorency, Prince d', 430
Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholicos contra Judaeos*, 179
Italy, 93, 377

Jacobus Mathey, 393n71
Jacqueline de Bavière, 365n84, 385n27, 414
Jacques de Vitry, 339
Jadot Gillebert, 415, 419
James, M. R., 295n40
James the Greater, Apostle and Saint, 80, 81
Jaquet Maci, *see* Jacobus Mathey
Jean II, le Bon, roi de France, 91, 253, 254, 255, 256, 260

Jean, duc de Berry, 253, 254, 255, 412
Jean, duc de Bourbon, 412
Jean I sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne, 412
Jean II, duc de Brabant, 417
Jean IV, duc de Brabant, 415
Jean Bodel, *Dou Couvoiteus et de l'Envieus*, 334
Jean de Bretagne, 416
Jean de Châtillon, seigneur de La Palace, 418
Jean de Grouchy, 140, 143
Jean de Joinville, 421
Crédo, 390n59
Jean (Jehan) de La Masse, 415
Jean de Mandeville, *Voyage*, 93, 389n51, 409
Jean de Mello, seigneur de Saint-Parise, 418
Jean de Meun, *see* Guillaume de Lorris
Jean de Touraine, 415
Jean Fremin, 370n10, 429, 437
Jean le Marchant, *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, 107
Jean Madot, 362n45
Jean Neret Ponset, 419
Jean Pucelle, 91, 253, 254–5, 257, 375, 400
Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, 7, 12, 17, 131
Jeanne d'Evreux, reine de France (3rd wife of Charles IV le Bel), 255n3, 270
Jeanne de Bourgogne, reine de France (wife of Philippe V), 270
Jeanne de Bourgogne, reine de France (wife of Philippe VI), 91, 254, 255, 255n3, 270–1, 270n38, 271n39, 274, 415
Jeanne de l'Espinasse, 418
Jeanne de Navarre, Heures de, 19, 269
Jeffery, Peter, 176n35
Jehan Baron, 409
Jérôme de Coinci, 150n3
Jérôme de Moravie, 138
Jerome, Saint, 25, 90n35, 170n9
L'epitre saint Jherome de la garde de virginité, 359n20, 380n7
Jesus Christ, 13, 30, 67, 67 fig. 1, 68, 68 fig. 2, 71, 71 fig. 5, 74, 74 fig. 6, 79, 83, 88, 89 fig. 24, 92, 216, 221, 246, 254, 266, 267, 268, 269, 275, 283, 284, 285, 286, 292, 296, 298, 299, 371n11, 371n23, 379n3, 379n4, 380n8, 380n10, 380n12, 381n13, 387n32, 388n39, 421
Baby Tooth, Miracle of, 360n22, 360n24, 368n65, 380n10, 396n114, 398, 403, *see also Saint Dent . . .*
Christ in Majesty, 386n30
Circumcision, Feast of/Fête de, 170, 191, 192
Crucifixion of, 370n5, 383n24, 391n66
Enfances Nostre Seigneur, 388n42
Incarnation, 167, 168–9, 179, 183, 191, 192
Infancy, 294
Passion, 380n7, 387n33, 393n73, *see also Passion Palatine*.
Jeudy, Colette, 185
Jewish boy, miracle of, 308, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *De l'enfant a un gïu . . .*; *Vie des Pères*, *Juitel*
Joachim, father of the Virgin Mary, 79
Johannes, *Pseudo-Turpin*, 383n21
Johannes dictus Campions, 73n10
Johannes Lamasse, prior of Saint-Victor, Paris, 93, 389n51, 402, 410
Johannes Phylomena, 386n28

John the Evangelist, Apostle and Saint, 267, 296, 297, 421
Joly, Claude, 412, 420, 427, 430, 433, 440, 441
Joni de Deusscuto (Denllecuto ?), *see* Denssento, Jom de
Josquin Des Prez, 171
Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor*, 4
Judas Machabé, Roman de, 382n16, 386n28
Juliane, sainte, Vie de, 392n68
Julien, Saint, 202
Jullien de Pommerol, Marie-Henriette, 86n31
Jumièges, Benedictine Abbey of, 81, 382n16, 407
Justin Fournier, 365n82, 416, 432

Karras, Ruth Mazo, 207n34, 208n35, 210n43
Katherine, Saint, *see* Catherine of Alexandria
Katherine, sainte, Vie de, 392n68
Ker, Neil F., 72n9, 295n40
Kessler, Herbert, 258
King and Queen, 383n23
Kjellman, Hilding, 320n29
Koenig, V. F., 4n6, 5, 6n11, 35n27, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313n23, 358n8, 367, 397
Koopman, Harry Lymman, 431
Kraus, H. P., 358n8, 438
Krause, Kathy M., 15, 94n50, 211, 220n6, 227–51, 286n15, 345, 370n1
Kunstmann, Pierre, 16, 101–12
Kyrie Regnum, *see* Saint-Evroult, Abbaye de

Laborde, Comte A. de, 379n6
Labours of the Months, 95
Lacombe, P., 67n4
Laetabundus (sequence), 135, 138, 145
Laffitte, Marie-Pierre, 394n85
La Fontaine, Jean de, 339
La Guiche, Minorites of, 409, 424, 426
Lang, *see* Phillipps, Sir Thomas
Långfors, Arthur, 21, 23, 357n8
Langres, 390n57
Languedoc, 95
Laon, 72, 74, 90, 94, 375, 380n8, 387n32
Laon Cathedral, 86, 285
Laon Miracles, 81n22, 359n13
Larmat, Jean, 310, 313n23
Laurent, Frère, *Somme le roi*, 396n109
Laurin, Roman de, 380n13
La Vallière, Louis-César de la Baume le Blanc, duc de, 429, 430, 431, 434, 435, 437
Lawrence-King, Andrew, 141n67, 142
Leboeuf, Abbé, 408
Lecoy, Félix, 302n2, 304–6
Legaré, Anne-Marie, 75n15
Legenda aurea, 395n97
Leguaz amourex et plains de jalousie, 24, 360n24
Le Leu, Claude, 365n82, 416, 432
Leo, St, 182
Léocadia/Léocade, Sainte, 22, 107, 154, 156n15, 231, 232, 236, 245, 246, 247, 250, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, Chansons; Vic-sur-Aisne
Lepage, Yvan, 412
Leroquais, Victor, 83n23, 83n26, 86n29, 86n32, 88n34, 358n7, 380n11, 380n13, 389n54, 390n59
Lesdiguières, Connétable, 432
Les Enluminures, <http://www.lesenluminures.com> (last consulted December 2006), 381n13

Le Vot, Gérard, 142–3, 144
Levy, Brian, 15, 155n14, 237n12, 331–43
Libellus de Beata Virgine Maria, 29, 73n10
Libellus de Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ, 29
Libri, Count, 423, 432
Licorne et del serpent, Le, 394n87
Liège, 93, 387n32, 389n51, 409
Lieven van Lathem, 406
Lille, Collégiale Saint-Pierre, 411, 430, 442
Limoges, 134
Lindgren, Lauri, 338
Listenois, Anne de Vienne de, 406n2
Livre de Job, 363n54
Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie, Le, 358n8
Livres d'heures, *see* Books of hours
Lobrichon, Guy, 178n40
Loisel, Antoine, 410, 412, 413, 420, 427, 432, 436, 440, 441
Lolade, 365n83, 416
Lommatzsch, Erhard, 338
Long Melford, Suffolk, Clopton Chantry Chapel, Holy Trinity Church, 286n14
Longuenesse, Chartreuse de, 384n24
Loon, 387n32
Lord, Carla, 255n3
Lorraine, 376, 391n62
Louis I le Pieux/the Pious, 189
Louis IX, roi de France (Saint Louis), 90, 201, 380n11, 390n59, 406n1
Enseignements, 383n22
Louis X, le Hutin, roi de France, 270, 270n38
Louis XI, roi de France, 419
Louis XIII, roi de France, 433
Louis XIV, roi de France, 67n2, 434, 435, 437
Louis XVI, roi de France, 408, 426
Louis de Brosse, seigneur de Boussac, 418
Louis de Chantemerle, seigneur de La Clayette, 390n58, 416
Louis de Toulouse, Saint, 393n74
Louis Malet de Gaville, 429
Louis-Philippe, roi de France, 423
Lowe, E. A., 182n57, 183n59,
Luc-en-Diois, 408, 420, 427, 434
Lucidarius, 392n68
Ludwig, Friedrich, 360n40
Ludwig IV of Thuringia, 88n33
Lusarche, Victor, 423
Luxeuil, 183, 183n59
Lydgate, John, 4
Lyon, 177, 178, 178n40, 179, 179n44
Lyon Cathedral, 285
Lyon Saints, 389n56
Lyre Abbey, *see* Diurnal of Lyre Abbey; Psalter of Lyre Abbey

Machaut, Guillaume de, 3, 4, 7, 8, 17
Magi, Adoration of, 84, 84 fig. 19
Magnus liber organi, 170
Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne, 92, 401, 416, 419
Maid of Arras, Miracle tale of, *see* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *D'une fame qui fu garie a Arras*
Mâle, Émile, 285
Manekine, Roman de la, 66, 382n16
Manion, Margaret, 269
Manuscripts/Manuscrits (For *MND* manuscripts see also the footnotes to Appendices I and IV. Here we list only the primary page reference.)
Aachen, Domarchiv, G1; 171n14
Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42; 67n4, 71 fig. 5

Akron, Ohio, Bruce Ferrini, 72n5
Arras, BM, 448; 73n10
Arras, BM, 657; 305
Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I.4.20 3 (MS Add-4); 349, 350, 355, 370, 375
Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212 (MS Add-6); 349, 350, 356, 377, 402, 408
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 98 (MS Add-22); 349, 350, 355, 374, 400, 422
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 128; 83
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 130; 94
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 261 (MS Add-36); 349, 350, 356, 376, 404, 414, 442
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 284 (MS Add-37); 349, 350, 356, 377, 404, 421, 442
Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 106 (MS 7); 305, 348, 350, 354, 375, 438
Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 296; 386n29
Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 828 (MS 13); 304 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 348, 350, 356, 378, 441
Besançon, BM, 551 (MS T); 22n2, 24, 93, 94, 95, 238, 238 fig. 1, 238n14, 242n18, 305 Table 1, 305 Table 2, 349, 352, 355, 368, 369, 377, 419, 422, 425, 441
Blois, BM, 34 (MS A); 22n2, 25, 90, 258n12, 260n16, 291n29, 348, 350, 353, 367, 373, 411
Bologna, Biblioteca Università, 261; 305 Table 1
Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 192, 383n22
Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 321 (MS Add-29); 349, 350, 358, 374, 403, 414, 440
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, 9229–30 (MS a); 22n2, 24, 304 Table 1, 305 Table 2, 347, 350, 355, 369, 375, 409, 418
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, 9433–34; 380n13
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, 10747 (MS B); 22n2, 25, 140, 149, 150, 157, 240n16, 241–2, 242 fig. 3, 242n18, 346, 350, 353, 367, 369, 375, 418
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, 13076–77; 384n25
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, 18465; 73n10
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, II 1396; 73n10
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, II 2523; 385n28
Brussels/Bruxelles, BR, IV. 119 (MS 9); 91, 96, 348, 350, 353, 355, 370, 374, 384n25, 398, 409, 424, 438
Budapest, Országos Széchényl Könyvtár, fragments; 357n2, 383n24, 384n24
Cahors, Archives Municipales, 1; 67
Cambrai, MM, 75; 169n6
Cambrai, MM, 87 (MS 1); 96, 97 fig. 25, 98 fig. 26, 347, 350, 354, 370, 373, 381n13, 398, 413
Cambrai, MM, 189–90; 385n28, 386n28
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473; 170
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 75 (MS Add-30); 349, 350, 356, 377, 405

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51; 94n47
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 178; 305
Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 95; 173, 173n23, 295, 295n40
Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 100; 74
Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, 106 (MS 2); 347, 350, 354, 374, 383n24, 391n65, 409
Châlons-sur-Marne, BM, 45; 85, 87 fig. 21
Chantilly, Musée Condé, 62 (1423); 380n13
Chantilly, Musée Condé, 475 (MS b); 22n2, 24, 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 350, 355, 378, 414, 423
Charleville, BM, 90 (MS c); 347, 350, 353, 376, 409, 420
Charleville, BM, 271 (MS 3); 74n11, 347, 350, 355, 378, 400, 407
Chartres, BM, 546 (MS Add-24); 345, 349, 350, 356, 378, 405
Chartres, BM, 620 (MS 4); 345, 350, 354, 378, 403
Chartres, BM, 1027 (MS Add-7); 346, 349, 350, 355, 379
Chartres, BM, 1595 (MS 5); 345, 348, 350, 357 379
Châteauroux, BM, 17 (MS 6); 348, 350, 357, 376
Città del Vaticano, *see* Vatican City
Courtrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Fonds Goethals-Vercruysse 135; 384n25
Den Haag, KB, 71. A. 24 (MS d); 91, 255n3, 304 Table 1, 305 Table 2, 347, 350, 355, 369, 375, 436
Den Haag, KB, 78. J. 49 (MS Add-25); 349, 350, 356, 378, 405
Denton TX, University of North Texas, Rare Books, Antiphonarium M 2149.L4 1500z; 184n61
Dijon, BM, 1; 392n70
Dijon, BM, 16–21; 392n70
Dublin, Trinity College, 167; 295, 295n40
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 3. 8 (MS Add-8); 349, 350, 354, 378, 402, 422
Enluminures <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr> (last consulted December 2006), 72n6
Evora, Biblioteca Publica, CXXIX/2–9 (MS Add-9); 349, 350, 355, 378, 403, 422
Evreux, BM, 117 (MS Add-19); 349, 350, 356, 377, 399, 407
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113 (MS v); 97, 347, 350, 354, 368, 378, 399, 409, 423, 432
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 121; 388n42
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1; 170n11
Frankfurt, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Linel Sammlung, L. M. 20; 392n70
Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale, Z. 49 (MS Add-3); 349, 350, 354, 379
Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 106; 170n7
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. LX; 172, 172n20, 176, 177
Kraków, Czartoriski Library, 3204; 380n13

Laon, BM, 228; 83
Laon, BM, 241; 83
Laon, BM, 426; 76, 86, 88 fig. 22
Le Mans, MM, 157; 83
Lille, BM, 130 (MS 8); 348, 350, 355, 378, 411, 429, 442
London, BL, Add. 11639; 72
London, BL, Add. 16636 (MS 10); 348, 350, 357, 374, 400
London, BL, Add. 16975 (MS Add-21); 349, 350, 355, 377, 399, 407
London, BL, Add. 29253; 384n24
London, BL, Add. 29988; 179
London, BL, Add. 32678; 305
London, BL, Add. 42132; 94n47
London, BL, Cotton Appendix V (MS Add-31); 349, 351, 355, 378, 403, 427
London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra C. X; 288–92, 299
London, BL, Egerton 274 (MS 10-bis); 9–10, 348, 351, 354, 368, 374, 411, 429
London, BL, Egerton 945 (MS 11); 94, 348, 351, 355, 377, 399, 410, 429
London, BL, Harley 4401 (MS C); 22n2, 25, 289, 295, 346, 351, 353, 367, 379n3, 430
London, BL, Oriental 643; 272
London, BL, Royal 14. E. ii; 358n8
London, Private Collection, A initial cutting; 75
London, Private Collection (olim Sotheby's 18.vi.1996, lot 13); 94n47
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig IX. 3; 380n13
Lyon, BM, 611; 179
Lyon, BM, 739 (olim 645) (MS 12); 348, 351, 355, 377, 403
Mâcon, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, 3 (MS Add-2); 348, 351, 356, 378, 402, 409, 424, 426
Manchester, The John Rylands University Library, French 1; 384n24
Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *096/R66(I) (MS Add-32); 349, 351, 355, 378, 405
Mons, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 331/206; 386n29
Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, ms. 542; 171n17
Montpelier, BIU, Section Médecine, H 347; 304
Nancy, BM 35 (245) (MS Add-20); 349, 351, 356, 376, 400, 422
Neuchâtel, BP, 4816 (MS e); 22n2, 304 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 351, 356, 368, 378, 415, 419, 428
New York, New York Public Library, 4; 73n10
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 84 (MS Add-38); 349, 356, 377, 404, 413, 424, 435, 436, 441
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 638; 75
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729 (MS Add-23); 75n15, 349, 351, 355, 374, 400, 413
Orléans, BM, 201; 171n13
Oxford, Balliol College, 240; 335
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Balliol 240; 288
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 775; 169n6
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 212; 174n27
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 5–6; 384n24

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 150; 304
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 154; 304
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 215; 384n24
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1 (MS 13-bis); 348, 351, 354, 377, 401, 423
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud lat. 84; 380n13
Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 353; 73n10
Paris, B. Ars., 570 (MS 14); 348, 351, 354, 376, 400, 421, 436, 437
Paris, B. Ars., 650 (MS 15); 348, 351, 356, 377, 402, 421, 437, 439
Paris, B. Ars., 1192 (MS Add-26); 349, 351, 356, 377, 421, 426, 438
Paris, B. Ars., 2115 (MS Add-27); 349, 351, 356, 376, 403, 416, 432
Paris, B. Ars., 3123 (MS Add-10); 349, 351, 357, 373, 438
Paris, B. Ars., 3142 (MS 16); 92, 348, 351, 354, 370, 375, 388n39, 401, 417, 429, 431, 437, 440
Paris, B. Ars., 3340; 73n9, 351
Paris, B. Ars., 3516 (MS 17); 76, 91, 348, 351, 353, 354, 374, 391n64, 437
Paris, B. Ars., 3517–18 (MS D); 11, 22n2, 24, 26, 27, 32–3, 35n27, 67, 69 fig. 3, 76, 77 fig. 9, 78 fig. 10, 79, 149, 150, 158–62, 184, 258n12, 304, 305 Table 2, 346, 351, 353, 367, 369, 374, 430, 431, 437
Paris, B. Ars., 3527 (MS f); 22n2, 24, 304 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 349, 353, 355, 370, 371, 376, 437
Paris, B. Ars., 3641 (MS Add-5); 304, 349, 351, 354, 378, 438
Paris, B. Ars., 5204 (MS g); 22n2, 24, 91–2, 242n18, 286, 304, 347, 351, 355, 369, 375, 411, 429, 437
Paris, B. Ars., 5216; 304
Paris, B. Ars., 5218; 384n25
Paris, BNF, fr. 146; 2–3
Paris, BNF, fr. 183; 91, 255n3
Paris, BNF, fr. 350; 382n16
Paris, BNF, fr. 375 (MS 18); 91, 348, 351, 354, 374, 435, 438
Paris, BNF, fr. 412; 386n28
Paris, BNF, fr. 423 (MS k); 347, 351, 355, 378, 420, 433, 435
Paris, BNF, fr. 786; 386n29
Paris, BNF, fr. 817 (MS E); 4, 93, 130n14, 258n12, 260n16, 346, 351, 353, 356, 368, 376, 383n24, 402, 416, 417, 437
Paris, BNF, fr. 818 (MS l); 22n2, 24, 94, 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 351, 354, 369, 376, 433
Paris, BNF, fr. 819–20; 271
Paris, BNF, fr. 837 (MS 19); 92, 348, 351, 354, 375, 401, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 986 (MS F); 22n2, 25, 75, 76 fig. 8, 130n14, 134, 258n12, 346, 351, 353, 367, 369, 373, 426, 433
Paris, BNF, fr. 1039; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 1181 (MS Add-28); 349, 351, 356, 378, 403, 416
Paris, BNF, fr. 1530 (MS G); 22n2, 25, 74, 74 fig. 6, 75, 347, 351, 353, 367, 369, 373, 433
Paris, BNF, fr. 1533 (MS H); 22n2, 26, 26n7, 92, 240n16, 242n18, 347, 351, 353, 367, 369, 375, 397, 411, 433

Paris, BNF, fr. 1536 (MS I); 22n2, 24, 25, 91, 347, 351, 353, 367, 369, 374, 427, 433
Paris, BNF, fr. 1544; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 1545; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 1546 (MS m); 304 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 351, 354, 375, 427, 433
Paris, BNF, fr. 1547; 304
Paris, BNF, fr, 1588; 382n16
Paris, BNF, fr. 1610; 390 n59
Paris, BNF, fr. 1613 (MS K); 9, 22n2, 24, 25, 130n14, 305 Table 1, 305 Table 2, 347, 351, 353, 368n2, 369, 374, 420, 433
Paris, BNF, fr, 1633; 387n36
Paris, BNF, fr. 1635; 404
Paris, BNF, fr. 1639; 358n8
Paris, BNF, fr. 1807 (MS n); 22n2, 24, 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 351, 354, 377, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 2094; 305
Paris, BNF, fr. 2162 (MS 20); 348, 351, 354, 378, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 2163 (MS M); 22n2, 25, 66, 67 fig. 1, 68 fig. 2, 72, 73, 74n12, 97, 137, 258n12, 260n16, 347, 351, 353, 367, 369, 374, 393n72, 397, 408
Paris, BNF, fr, 2166; 92
Paris, BNF, fr. 2173; 392n70
Paris, BNF, fr. 2187; 305
Paris, BNF, fr. 2193 (MS o); 7, 92, 347, 351, 354, 367, 369, 375, 425, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 2495 (MS 21); 96, 348, 351, 354, 378, 401, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 12467 (MS 22); 92, 96, 348, 352, 354, 370, 375, 401, 416, 419
Paris, BNF, fr. 12471; 304, 382n16
Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 (Rosarius) (MS 22-bis); 92, 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 348 352, 355, 375, 409
Paris, BNF, fr. 12560; 73n9
Paris, BNF, fr. 12593; 81
Paris, BNF, fr. 12604; 305
Paris, BNF, fr. 13167 (MS Add-11); 93, 349, 352, 356, 376, 403, 421
Paris, BNF, fr. 15104; 386n28
Paris, BNF, fr. 15110 (MS x); 22n2, 24, 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 352, 354, 377
Paris, BNF, fr. 15212 (MS 23); 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 348, 352, 355, 378
Paris, BNF, fr. 17068 (MS 24); 348, 352, 356, 377, 401, 417, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 17230; 305
Paris, BNF, fr. 19152 (MS 25); 348, 352, 354, 376, 408, 418, 420, 427, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 19166 (MS p); 92, 347, 352, 354, 369, 375, 408, 423, 427, 434
Paris, BNF, fr. 20040; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 22928 (MS L); 10, 22n2, 26, 27, 30, 32–3, 35n27, 67, 70 fig. 4, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81 fig. 13, 82, 83, 83 fig. 17, 90, 149, 150, 158–62, 240, 240 fig. 2, 240n16, 242n18, 258n12, 260n16, 347, 352, 353, 367, 369, 375, 431, 434, 440
Paris, BNF, fr. 23111 (MS t); 22n2, 24, 130n14, 304 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 352, 354, 376, 399, 411, 439
Paris, BNF, fr. 24300 (MS 26); 304 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 348, 352, 354, 378, 431, 435

Paris, BNF, fr. 24301; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 24428; 390n59
Paris, BNF, fr. 24432 (MS Add-12); 349, 352, 355, 370, 375
Paris, BNF, fr. 24436 (MS 27); 93, 348, 352, 356, 375, 402, 410
Paris, BNF, fr. 24748 (MS 28); 93, 348, 352, 356, 375, 398, 410
Paris, BNF, fr. 24758; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 25438; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 25440; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 25462 (MS 28-bis); 91, 348, 352, 354, 374, 410, 412, 413, 420, 426, 430, 432, 436, 440, 441
Paris, BNF, fr. 25532 (MS N); 14, 22n2, 26, 27–8, 32–3, 35n27, 72, 73, 74, 79, 80 fig. 11, 82, 82 fig. 15, 83, 85, 90, 93, 130n14, 149, 150, 158–62, 240n16, 242n18, 258n12, 263, 347, 352, 353, 367, 369, 373, 397, 409, 410
Paris, BNF, fr. 25566; 3
Paris, BNF, fr. 25759; 304
Paris, BNF, fr. 35439; 304
Paris, BNF, lat. 215; 406
Paris, BNF, lat. 315; 171n18
Paris, BNF, lat. 1023; 92
Paris, BNF, lat. 1029; 185n68
Paris, BNF, lat. 1159; 360n25
Paris, BNF, lat. 1338; 170n8
Paris, BNF, lat. 1412; 184n61
Paris, BNF, lat. 1745; 178n40, 191n87
Paris, BNF, lat. 3556 (MS 30-bis); 348, 352, 355, 378, 401, 427, 434
Paris, BNF, lat. 3879; 177
Paris, BNF, lat. 6428C; 76, 86, 88 fig. 23
Paris, BNF, lat. 7622; 392n71
Paris, BNF, lat. 8882; 184n61
Paris, BNF, lat. 10286; 381n13
Paris, BNF, lat. 10508; 135
Paris, BNF, lat. 10511; 169n6
Paris, BNF, lat. 10769; 305
Paris, BNF, lat. 11631; 170n9
Paris, BNF, lat. 12584; 171n17
Paris, BNF, lat. 12593; 382n16
Paris, BNF, lat. 14454; 273n47
Paris, BNF, lat. 15181; 186n68
Paris, BNF, lat. 16262; 88
Paris, BNF, lat. 17296; 185n68
Paris, BNF, lat. 17330; 273n47
Paris, BNF, lat. 17436; 173, 174n26
Paris, BNF, lat. 17491; 81 fig. 14, 382n16
Paris, BNF, lat. 17994 (MS Add-15); 349, 352, 354, 370, 373, 400, 408
Paris, BNF, lat. 18134; 193n96
Paris, BNF, lat. 18465; 73n10
Paris, BNF, Moreau 1715–19 (MS q); 347, 352, 357, 376
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 1050; 11n22
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4276 (MS i); 22n2, 24, 347, 352, 355, 376, 414, 428
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4412 (MS Add-13); 349, 352, 355, 374, 400, 422, 439
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4509; 364n69, 390n59
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 4510 (MS Add-14); 349, 352, 354, 376, 405
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6295 (MS h); 22, 91, 347, 352, 354, 367, 369, 374, 415, 419, 428
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 6835; 304
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 10044 (MS 29); 348, 352, 356, 376, 400, 421, 424
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 11198 (MS 29-bis); 90, 348, 352, 354, 373

Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 13521 (MS Add-y), La Clayette; 304, 347, 352, 354, 370, 376, 416, 418
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 16251; 386n28
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 20001 (MS 30); 74n12, 348, 352, 354, 378
Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541 (MS S) (dit 'de Soissons'); 13, 22, 22n2, 91, 149, 150, 158–62, 240n16, 242n18, 254–77, 347, 352, 353, 355, 368, 369, 375, 398, 415
Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 1412; 184n61
Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 2511; 94n47
Paris, BNF, n. a. lat. 3162; 380n13
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 586 (MS r); 22n2, 24, 92, 304 Table 1, 305 Table 2, 347, 352, 354, 375, 410
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2689; 86, 89 fig. 24
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, item 23, fols 30–33 (MS Add-16); 349, 352, 354, 378, 410, 435
Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, 219 (MS 31); 348, 353, 355, 378, 404
Philadelphia, Free Library, Widener 9; 79
Porto, Bibliotea Pública Municipal, 619 (MS Add-35); 349, 352, 355, 370, 373, 378, 400
Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 27; 392n70
Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 125; 382n16
Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library, Koopman 1400? C28b4 (MS Add-39); 349, 352, 356, 376, 406
Rennes, BM, 593 (MS 32); 348, 352, 355, 370, 375, 413, 439
Rouen, BM, 305; 72
Rouen, BM, 533 (MS Add-17); 10, 349, 353, 355, 368, 377, 407
St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 37. 626 (Add-34); 349, 353, 355, 378
St Petersburg, NLR, fr. F. v. XIX 9 (MS R); 22n2, 24, 26, 27–8, 31, 32–3, 35n27, 72, 73, 79, 80 fig. 12, 82, 82 fig. 16, 90, 149, 150, 158–62, 240n16, 347, 353, 367, 369, 373, 408, 426, 428
Saint-Omer, BM, 174; 383n22
Saint-Omer, BM, 270; 384n24
San Marino, Huntington Library, H. 1148; 358n8, 404
Serrant, Château de Serrant (MS 34); 348, 353, 354, 379
Soissons, BM, 3; 74, 75, 75 fig. 7
Sotheby's 18.vi.1996, lot 61; 86
Sotheby's 2.xii.98, lot 2; 86
Sotheby's 5.vii.2005, lot 48; 83
Stuttgart, WLB cod. Bibl. 208; 94n47
Torino, BN L. II. 19 (MS Add-18); 91, 349, 353, 355, 374
Tournai Cathedral, 11; 73n10
Tours, BM, 231 (MS Add-33); 349, 353, 356, 378, 440
Tours, BM, 948 (MS s); 22n2, 24, 305 Table 1, 306 Table 2, 347, 353, 355, 368, 377, 403, 408, 432
Troyes, BM, 1905 (MS 35); 269, 348, 353, 355, 376, 390n58, 400, 421, 425
Valenciennes, BM, 148; 173–5, 174n27, 185, 185n67, 190
Valenciennes, BM, 396–97; 74n10, 75, 83, 85, 85 fig. 20, 90

Vatican City/Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 493 (*Missale Gallicanum Vetus*); 182, 182n58
Vatican City/Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 1959 (MS 33); 348, 350, 356, 378
Vatican City/Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969 (MS O); 22n2, 26, 90, 347, 350, 353, 368, 373, 399, 430
Vatican City/Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1725; 392n67
Vatican City/Città del Vaticano, BAV, San Pietro B. 79; 179
Verdun, BM, 107; 380n13
Verdun, Séminaire; 392n70
Vesoul, BM, 22; 391n64
Vienna, Österreiche Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2609; 380n13
Vienna, Österreiche Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2621; 381n13
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1099 (MS Add-1/W_2); 345
Margaret/Marguerite, Sainte, 201, 201n14, 204
Vie de sainte Marguerite, inc. Apres la sainte passion, 390n60, 394n87
Margaret/Marguerite d'Oingt, 203–4
Marguerite de Bavière, 412
Marguerite de Bourgogne, 415
Marguerite de Chauvigny, OC, 93, 391n65, 416, 417
Marguerite de l'Espinasse, 418
Mariage de Nostre-Dame saint Marie, Le, 371n20
Mariales, 273
Marichal, Robert, 406n2
Marie d'Avesnes, Comtesse de Blois, 75n15
Marie de Berry, 412
Marie de Brabant, reine de France (2nd wife of Philippe III le Hardi), 417, 429, 431, 437
Marie de France (author), 7n16, 364n67
Marie de Luxembourg, queen/reine de France (2nd wife of Charles IV le Bel), 270, 400
Marie l'Egyptienne, Sainte, 220, 387n35
Marie-Amélie de Bourbon-Sicile, 423
Marie-Madeleine, 220
Mark, Claudia Marchitiello, 390n61
Marmoutiers, Benedictine Abbey of, 407, 432
Marne ouest, 380
Matheolus, 340
Matile, G. A., 396n106
Matthew Paris, 337n15
Maubeuge Master, 91, 375, 388n42
Maurice de Sully, 391n62
Mazarin, Jules, 435, 438
McKinnon, James, 176n35
McMunn, Meradith T., 389n48
Meaux, lady of, 73n10
Meier, Christel, 86n30
Méliacin Master, 91, 92, 375, 387n37
Méliacin, Roman de, 92, 387n35
Mérindol, Christian de, 254n2, 266n26, 267n27, 270, 271n39, 360n25
Merode Altarpiece, 296
Metz, 169n6, 375, 378, 391n61, 391n67, 421
Meunier et les deux Clers, Le, 340, 343n30
Meyer, Paul, 358n7, 361n33, 361n40, 362n41, 389n56, 390n58, 393n73
Michel, Francisque, 435
Middleton, Roger, 382n16, 407

Mielot, Jean, 173
Milon de Bazoches, 151
Mimouni, Simon Claude, 30n15
Miracle collections other than the *MND*
  Elements series, 205, 288
  Ethiopic, 272
  Hildefonsus-Murieldis (H/M), 288
  Toledo-Saturday (T/S), 288
  See also Chartres Miracles; Hugh Farsit; Jean le Marchant; Laon Miracles; *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*; Rocamadour, Miracles de
Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages, 207, 207n33, 209–10, 271
Miracles of St Michael, 363n61
Missa sancte Mariae sollemnitate, 183
Missal of Bobio, 182
Missal of Cambrai, 86
Missal of Cistercian Use, 380n13
Missal of Clement V, 94
Missal of Montiéramey, 392n70
Missal of Soissons, 86
Mokretsova, Inna, 79n20, 379n6
Monfrin, Jacques, 86n31, 312n19
Monroe, William, 366n94
Montagu, Mons. de, 432, 435
Montpellier, 95, 425
Mont-Saint-Michel, 407
Moore, R. I., 244n21
Morawski, Joseph, 106n30
Morgan, J. Pierpont, 413, 424, 435, 436, 441
Morigny, Benedictine Abbey of, 66, 73, 359n21, 374, 407
Motto, 384n14, 395n96, 420, 423
Mouillé, A., 67n4
Moullard de Glatigny, Louis, 436, 437
Mourin, Louis, 358n7
Moy de la Crox Family of Beauvais, 421
Murethach, 186n71
  In Donati artem maiorem, 186
Murjanoff, Michael, 366n89
Murray, C. Fairfax, 361n39
Mussafia, Adolfo, 206n30, 288
Mystère de la Passion et de la résurrection, 360n24

N. de Bretaigne, Madame, 393n77, 417
Nassau, Counts of, 436
Nativité Jhesucrist, 21–36, 359n20, 360n22
Nativité Nostre Dame, 21–36, 359n13, 360n24, 370n4
Nativité saint Jehan Baptistre et li fait Jhesucrist, 21–36, 359n13, 370n4
Nativity of Christ, 84, 370n4
Nativity of the Virgin, feast of/Nativité de la Vierge, fête de, 273
Naudé, Gabriel, 435, 438
Nevers, 376, 391n66, 414
Nicholas, Saint, 206, 326
Nicolas Gombert, 171
Nicolas Rolet, 366n88, 396n114, 440
Nicolas servus amoris, 92, 375, 388n40
Nidibrius of Narbonne, 184
Nièvre, 391n67, 392n68
Nixon, Terry, 73n9, 79n19, 362n45
Noble woman of Rome, miracle of, 308, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *De une noble fame de Rome*; *Vie des Pères*, *Inceste*
Nonete, La, *see* Condé, Jean de
Normandy, 377
Notker Balbulus of St-Gall, 135, 169, 169n5, 191
Notre Dame, *see* Virgin Mary/Vierge Marie
Notre-Dame, Vie de, 387n33

Notre-Dame-de-Soissons, *see* Soissons, Abbaye de Notre-Dame de
Notre Père/Our Father, 226
Nowacki, Edward, 180n46
Noyon, 72, 74, 90, 94, 373
Noyon, Abbaye de Saint-Eloi de, 72, 73
Nurmela, Tauno, 132n23

O beata et intemerata, 13, 287, 294–9
O fils des fils, 138
O intemerata, 79, 391n66, 396n105
O Maria, o felix puerpera (conductus), 137
Obsecro te, 296
Odington, Walter, 136n45
Ogier de Caumont, 389n51, 410
Ogier le Danois, Roman d', 388n39
Okubo, Masami, 23n6, 28n11, 28n12, 34n25
Olivier de Clisson, 385n28
Ordene de chevalerie en vers, 383n22
Orléans, 260
Orléans, Gaston, duc d', 436
Orpheus, 55
Ottosen, Knud, 391n64
Our Lady, *see* Virgin Mary/Vierge Marie
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 363n63, 396n101, 421

P. de Bonier, penflourisher, 392n71
P. Testut, prestre, 416, 417
Page, Christopher, 16n25
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da, 171
Palladius, Bishop/Evêque d'Auxerre, 188, 188n77
Panayotova, Stella, 74n10
Pantheon, 167, 170n7, 176–7, 176n35, 177n36, 187–8, 188n79
Papal Library, 86
Papias, *Vocabularium*, 74n10, 76, 84, 86
Paris, 74n10, 81, 132n25, 171n14, 185, 189, 296, 364n66, 366n91, 366n94, 374, 375, 376, 380n13, 382n16, 386n31, 388n40, 388n48, 389n49, 389n52, 389n53, 389n54, 421
Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, 85, 379n5, 409, 410, 411, 420, 427, 430, 433, 436, 440
Paris, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Benedictine Abbey of, 407, 418, 420, 423, 427, 428, 434
Paris, Saint-Victor, Abbey of, 93, 389n51, 398, 402, 410
Paris, Sainte-Geneviève, Victorine house of, 410
Pas-de-Calais, sud-est, 386n29
Passion Palatine, 26n7
Patrick, saint, Vie de, 384n24
Paulmy, Antoine-René de Voyer, Marquis de, 417, 426, 429, 430, 431, 437, 439
Payen, Jean-Charles, 330
Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de, 435, 438
Pernette en Savoy, 418, 419
Perotinus, *Beata viscera*, 48n10, 137, 140, 145
Perrins, C. W. Dyson, 361n39, 424, 438
Peter, Apostle and Saint, 80
Peter Damian, *see* Petrus Damianus
Peter Martyr/Pierre Martyr, saint, 201–2
Petitmengin, Pierre, 178n39
Petrus Damianus, 181, 191, 204
Petrus de Palude, 55
Phaedrus, Fables of, 339
Philibert de Chantemerle, seigneur de La Clayette, 390n58, 416, 418

Philip the Chancellor/Philippe le Chancelier, 138, 368n4
Ave gloriosa Virginum regina, 138
Philippe II Auguste, roi de France, 151
Philippe III le Hardi, roi de France, 269, 417
Philippe IV le Bel, roi de France, 92, 388n41
Philippe V le Long, roi de France, 270n38
Philippe VI de Valois, roi de France, 91, 253, 255, 255n3, 267n27, 270–1, 270n38, 274
Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, 415, 418
Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, 415
Philippe Alamande, dame de Chassenaige, 390n57, 408, 418, 420, 427, 434
Philippe de Hochberg, comte de Neuchâtel, 95, 419, 425, 441
Philippe de Lomagne, 410
Philippe de Mézières, 272n41, 273
Phillipps, Sir Thomas, 438
Phocas, *Artem de nomine et verbo*, 185
Picard, Charles-Adrien, 437, 439
Picardie, 382n16, 383n23
Pierart dou Thielt, 384n25
Pierre, Canon of Saint-Aubert, Cambrai, 88n33
Pierre de Balsac, 429
Pierre de Beauvais, *Liber sancti Iacobi*, 390n58
Pierre de Coinci, 150n3
Pierre de la Rue, 171
Pierre de Molins, *Chanter me fet ce dont je crien morir*, 139
Pierre de Vatravers, 419, 428
Pignon Family of Tournai, 91, 364n68, 385n26, 439
Poissy, Dominican Nunnery of, 92, 388n41, 409
Poitiers, Battle of, 91, 255, 256, 260, 275
Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne, 85
Poquet, Abbé Alexandre-Eusèbe, 254n1, 357n3
Porcher, Jean, 86n29
Pouchelle, Marie-Christine, 218
Pregnant Abbess, miracle of, 308, 319–29, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, *De l'abeesse . . .*; *Vie des Pères*, *Abbesse grosse*
Presentation of the Virgin/de la Vierge, feast of/fête de, 273
Prestre crucefié, Le, 343n31
Prestre et les deus Ribaus, Le, 342n28
Prestre qui ot Mere a Force, 339n21
Prestre traint, Le, 343n31
Prêtre Jean/Prester John, *Lettre*, 364n71
Prêtre pelé, 235, 339
Prophet, Old Testament, 77 fig. 9, 370n2, 383n23
Prosper of Aquitaine, 73n10
Protévangile de Jacques, 29
Provence, 95
Psalter of Lyre Abbey, 365n76, 394n81, 407
Psalter-Hours, 75n15, 79, 82, 351, 381n13
Psalters, 6, 82, 87, 88, 380n13, 392n70
Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium, 14, 29, 30, 30n18, 35n27
Purification of the Virgin, Feast of, 171n14, 172, 173n25, 176n35, 177, 177n36, 179–81, 192, 193, 193n97, 273

Purgatoires saint Patrice, Il, 27n9, 391n62, 392n69
Purgator criminum, 140
Puys, 135, 135n40

Quatre sohais saint Martin, Les, 313
Quinze Signes du définement du monde, 387n33
Quinze Signes du Jugement dernier, 26n7

Raby, F. J. E., 183n60
Randall, Lilian M. C., 83n25, 382n15
Raoul III, Comte de Soissons, 75n15, 150
Raoul de Houdenc
  Le Roman des Ailes, 390n57
  Le songe d'enfer, 387n35
Raoul de Nesles, 75n15
Raoul de Saint-Éloi de Noyon, 151
Raoul de Soissons, younger son of Raoul III, 413
Reaney, Gilbert, 362n40
Regalado, Nancy, 41n6
Regrets Notre Dame, 79, 359n20, 360n24, 368n4, 381n22
Regula Pauli et Stephani, 178n40
Reims, 6, 74n10, 185, 371, 373, 378n13, 400
Reims, Abbaye de Saint-Rémi, 381n24, 409
Remigius of Auxerre, 185–6, 186n71, 193
Renart, Roman de, 338, 338n19
Renaud de Bar, Bishop of Metz, 389n67
Renclus de Moilliens, 338, 370n9, 381n22, 389n67, 393n100
  Miserere, 24, 25, 27n9
  Roman de Carité, 24
Rendtel, Constanze, 199n4, 201
Rennes, 366n93, 393n75
Repairs, 85
Replacement, 370n10
Ribard, Jacques, 331, 333, 343
Richard de Fournival, 2, 380n13
  Bestiaire d'amour, 275n51
Richard de Saint-Laurent, 383n22
Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal, duc de, 439
Ricketts, Peter, 393n74
Robert, Saint, 384n26
Robert II, comte d'Artois, 401, 416, 419
Robert de Béthune, Abbot of Clairmarais, 383n22
Robert de Dive, Prior of Saint-Blaise and Abbot of Saint-Eloi, Noyon, 72, 73
Robert de Sorbonne, 41n6
Robert de Torote (Thourotte), Bishop of Langres, 385n28
Robertson, Elizabeth, 201n34
Robien, Christophe-Paul de, 439
Robin Boutemont, scribe, 363n54
Robinson, Lionel and Philip, 438
Rocamadour, Miracles de, 81n22, 273
Roger d'Andeli, 12, 151
Rogeret de Cambrai, 131
Romanova, Vera L., 79, 79n20, 379n6
Rome, 175–6
Rothwell, W., 360n40
'Rouelle' badge, worn by Jews, 387n35
Rouen, 366n85
Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A., 361n28, 361n30, 363n54
Royal Portraits, 370n5
Rubin, Miri, 207n31
Ruby, Christine, 366n89
Runnalls Graham A., 207n33
Russakoff, Anna, 255n2, 271n39, 370n5, 382n16, 392n70

Rutebuef, 226, 338n19, 358n8, 364n67, 387n35
Frère Denise, 338n19

Sacristain, Le, 340, 341n24, 342n27
Saint dent Nostre Seigneur, Dou, 26n8, 28n14, *see also* Jesus Christ
Saint Pierre et le Jongleur, 342n28
Saint-Amand, Benedictine Abbey of, 85, 90
Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, Abbaye de, 169n3, 189n79
Saint-Evroult, Abbaye de, 135, *see also* Manuscripts, Paris, BNF, lat. 10508
Saint-Denis, Basilique de, 286, 286n16
Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Abbaye de, 167, 178n40, 183, 185–92
Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *see* Paris
Saint-Jean-de-Réôme, Abbaye de, 175, 177, 183
Saint-Martial-de-Limoges, Abbaye de, 171n18
Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Antiphoner of, 170n9, 170n10, 171n17
Saint-Médard de Soissons, Abbaye de, 150
Saint-Omer, 76, 91, 374, 380n13, 381n13, 386n28
Saint-Omer, Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Bertin, 91, 293
Saint-Omer, Collegiate Church of, 91
Saint-Quentin, Collegiate Church of, 370n10, 411, 437
Saint-Victor, *see* Paris
Sainte-Chapelle (Paris), 171n14
Sainte-Marie-de-Compiègne (Palatine Chapel), 173
Samaran, Charles, 363n55, 406n2
Santiago Pilgrim, 80, *see also* Gautier, Miracles, *De celui qui se tua . . .*
Saône-et-Loire, 390n58
Sapin, Christian, 189
Sarah (wife of Abraham), 202
Sardière, Guyon de, 417, 429, 431, 434, 437
Sargent-Baur, Barbara, 382n16
Savoye, Marie-Laure, 366n90
Schietere, Thomas-Louis, 440
Schiller, Gertrud, 285, 296, 299
Schmidt, Gerhard, 360n25
Schmitt, Jean-Claude, 156n15
Schonfield, Jeremy, 72n7
Schoolbook, 394n80
Scott-Stokes, Charity, 96n55
Sed-Rajna, Gabrielle, 72n7
Seelhem, Carthusian house of, 409
Séguier, Antoine, 427, 440
Seine-et-Marne, 387n35
Selviestre, *Li Pater noster*, 394n87
Sempy, Anne de, 410, 412, 413, 420, 427, 431, 433, 436, 440
Senlis, Antiophoner of, 191n90
Sens, 374
Sermons, 1, 10, 394n86, 395n96
Sgaravizzi, B., 111
Sherman, Philip D., 431
Sidrac de Lannoy, 415, 419
Sigal, Pierre-André, 200, 201n32, 212n47
Signy, Cistercian Abbey, 391n62, 409, 420
Simonet Marchant de Mouzon, 409, 420
Sinclair, Keith Val, 358n8, 397
Sion, 421
Slipper, of Our Lady, *see* Soulier de la Vierge
Smeyers, Maurits, 86n30
Soissons, 6, 72, 82, 83, 90, 94, 373, 374, 379, 380n8, 380n9

Soissons, Abbaye de Notre-Dame de, 254n2
Soissons, Abbaye de Saint-Médard de, 85, 90, 167, 173, 173n26, 192, 193, 289, 379n5, 409, 410
Sol sub nube latuit (conductus), 137
Solente, Suzanne, 390n58
Solomon, Throne of, 370n5
Sonet, Jean, 358n8, 397
Song of Songs/Cantique des cantiques, 283
Sonnet, François-Charles, 95, 419, 425, 441
Sorbonne, 411, 439
Soulier de la Vierge/Slipper of our Lady, 156, 156n15, 233, 244n22, 275
Southern, R. W., 288, 289, 295
Southern France, 377
South-Western France, 377
Spangenberg, Peter Michael, 153
Stahl, Harvey, 380n13
Steiger, 441
Stein, *see* Steiger
Sterligov, Andrei, 79n20, 360n24, 379n6
Stirnemann, Patricia, 359n20, 416
Stones, Alison, 6, 14, 22n2, 65–98, 74n10, 75n14, 75n15, 79n19, 86n30, 150n1, 254n1, 263n20, 270n36, 270n38, 347, 357n4, 383n21, 384n24, 384n25
Sub-Fauvel Master, 91, 375, 388n45
Suetonius, 186
Suger, Abbot, 286
Sweetheart, Cistercian Abbey, Kirkudbrightshire, 392n70

Talleyrand-Périgord family, Counts of Périgord, 94, 393n74
Tallotte, William, 142n73
Tannis, J. R., 79n19
Tarentaise, 421
Tertre, Marguerite du, 410, 412, 413, 420, 427, 431, 433, 436, 440, 441
Theobold, Bishop of Canterbury, 293
Theodosius, Emperor, 261
Theophilus, 92, 383n23, 388n39, 403, *see also* Gautier de Coinci, Prayers
Thérouanne, 91, 374, 380n13, 381n13
Thibaut de Blason, 137
Chanter et renvoisier sueil, 137
Thomas Aquinas/d'Aquin, Saint, 3, 224
Summa theologica, 224
Thomas d'Angleterre, *see Tristan, Roman de*
Thomas de Maubeuge, libraire, 91
Thomas Salemos, 412, 413, 420, 431, 436, 440, 441
Thomassin Family of Lyon, 420, 433, 435
Throne of Solomon, 254, 266, 277
Tiburtius (martyr),187
Toul, 391n63
Tournai, 73n10, 90, 91, 364n68, 374, 380n13, 384n24, 384n26, 386n28, 386n29, 422
Tournai, Abbey of Saint-Martin, 73n10, 91, 384n25, 409
Tournai Cathedral, 73n10
Transitus beatæ semper virginis Mariæ Genitris Dei, 29, 29n15, 31n19
Treitler, Leo, 130n16, 163, 164
Trespassement de Nostre Dame, 371n20, 394n68
Tristan, Roman de, 102, 116, 224
Trois aveugles de Compiègne, Les, 387n35
Tropes (in music), 130, 134–5
Tudor, Adrian, 13, 14, 221n7, 301–30, 331, 332n1, 335
Turner, Victor, 118–19, 120

Urban I, Pope, 187

Vaivre, Jean-Bernard de, 390n58
Valerius Maximus, 186
Valory, 430, 442
Van Buren, Anne, 387n32, 397
Van den Abeele, Baudouin, 86n31
Van Gennep, Arnold, 118
Van Vleck, Amelia, 163–4
Van Winsberghe, Dominique, 86n30
Vauchez, André, 200
Vauclair, Cistercian Abbey of, 83
Veillereille-lez-Brayeux, Collège Notre-Dame de Bonne Espérence, 86n30
Veit Stoss, 296
Vers sur la mort, 393n96
Vesoul, 95, 376
Vi, *see* Vic-sur-Aisne
Vic-sur-Aisne, 96, 386n30, 400
Vic-sur-Aisne, Benedictine Priory of Sainte-Léocade at, 46, 66n2, 72, 96, 150, 193, *see also* Galterus, prior de Vi; Gautier de Coinci
Vidame de Chartres, 12, 151
Vidimus stellam (antiphon), 191
Vieile Truande, La, 338n21
Vielart de Corbie, *De chanter me semant Amours*, 139
Vies de saints, 360n27, 386n28, 396n108
Vie des Pères, 6, 13, 14, 25, 27n9, 81, 301–30, 332, 335, 360n24, 360n27, 363n58, 363n60, 370n9, 370n10, 371n12, 382n16, 387n34, 388n42, 389n56, 391n67, 394n88, 394n89, 395n93, 396n107, 399, 411, 414
Abbesse grosse, 307, 319–29
Ave Maria, 307
Fornication imitée, 310
Fou, 307, 308n8
Image de Pierre, 307, 308
Impératrice, 307
Inceste, 307, 309, 314–19
Ivresse, 307
Juitel, 307, 308, 308n7
Merlot, 313
Miserere, 307
Sacristine, 307
Viex de Coulogne, Li, 394n87
Vigilius, Bishop/Evêque d'Auxerre, 187, 187n76, 188
Vilain Asnier, Le, 313
Vilain qui conquist Paradis par Plait, Le, 342n29
Villon, François, 226
Vincent de Beauvais, 14, 86n30, 86n31, 293n35, 309, 320n29
Speculum historiale, 73n10, 86, 206n30, 293, 309
Speculum maius, 86n30
Speculum naturale, 14, 73n10, 76, 86, 86n30, 86n31, 88, 88 fig. 23
Virgin, Offices of, 273–4, 293n34, 294
Virgin Hodegetria, 261
Virgin Mary/Vierge Marie, 6, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 31n19, 32, 34n24, 35, 67, 67 fig. 1, 69, 69 fig. 3, 70, 70 fig. 4, 71, 71 fig. 5, 74, 74 fig. 6, 79, 82, 88, 89 fig. 24, 92, 97 fig. 25, 106, 118, 119–20, 134, 152, 153, 154, 167, 168–9, 174–5, 182, 183, 186, 187, 191, 192, 193, 198, 199, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215–26, 227, 229–36, 239–43, 247, 247n26, 249, 250, 253–77, 302, 303, 307, 309, 312–29, 333, 336, 341, 370n9, 371n11, 371n23, 379n3, 379n4, 380n8, 380n12, 382n16, 386n30, 387n32, 388n39, 396n114, 398, 401, 421

Visitation, Feast of/Fête de, 273n47
Visser, J., 436
Vitzthum, Georg von, 72, 92n43
Voronova, Tamara, 79n20, 360n24, 379n6

Wace
Conception Nostre Dame, 13, 27n9, 389n56, 393n73
Vie de sainte Marguerite, 66, 269n34, 390n58
Wackers, Paul, 332
Wallensköld, Axel, 247n25
Walters, Henry, 442
Walters, Lori, 73n9, 79n19
Wanley, Humfrey, 189n22
Ward, Benedicta, 199, 202n17, 266n25, 272n43, 273
Ward, H. L. D., 82n22, 288n21, 293n35, 295, 358n8, 379n3
Warner, Marina, 205
Warner, Sir George, 384n25
Warren, Nancy Bradley, 208
Watriquet de Couvin, 7
Whitcomb, Pamela Kay, 385n28
Wieck, Roger, 366n93
Wilmart, André, 183n59, 296
Wilson, Evelyn Faye, 288n19
Winchester Troper, 170
Wittmer-Butsch, Maria, 199n4, 201

Yolande de Soissons, 383n18, 400, 413
York Minster, 286n14
Yseult (Iseut), 6, 116

Zaluska, Yolanta, 392n70
Zink, Michel, 302, 310
Zumthor, Paul, 5n9, 142n70, 155, 163–4, 165

Contributors

Frédéric Billiet, Professeur de musique ancienne, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne
Nancy Black, Professor Emerita of English, Brooklyn College (CUNY)
Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Professor of French, University of Pittsburgh
Laurel Broughton, Lecturer in English, University of Vermont
Ardis Butterfield, Reader in English, University College London
Robert L. A. Clark, Associate Professor of French, Kansas State University
Olivier Collet, Maître d'enseignement et de recherche, Faculté des Lettres, Université de Genève
Claire Chamiyé Couderc, Doctorante, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne
Kathryn A. Duys, Assistant Professor of French, St Francis University
Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, Professeur ordinaire de français médiéval, Faculté des Lettres, Université de Genève
Barbara Haggh, Associate Professor of Music, University of Maryland, College Park
Kathy M. Krause, Associate Professor of French, University of Missouri-Kansas City
Pierre Kunstmann, Professeur de Lettres Françaises, Université d'Ottawa
† Brian J. Levy, formerly Reader in Medieval French Studies, University of Hull
Alison Stones, Professor of History of Art and Architecture, University of Pittsburgh
Adrian P. Tudor, Lecturer in French, University of Hull

Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

Titles in Series

Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe, ed. by Alan Hindley (1999)

Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages, ed. by Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (1999)

Sandra Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Sub-Text from Chrétien de Troyes to Jean Michel* (2000)

History and Images: Towards a New Iconology, ed. by Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (2003)

Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence, ed. by Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (2004)

Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550* (2005)

Bjørn Bandlien, *Strategies of Passion: Love and Marriage in Medieval Iceland and Norway* (2005)

Imagining the Book, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (2005)

Forms of Servitude in Northern and Central Europe: Decline, Resistance, and Expansion, ed. by Paul Freedman and Monique Bourin (2005)

Grant Risee? The Medieval Comic Presence / La Présence comique médiévale. Essays in Honour of Brian J. Levy, ed. by Adrian P. Tudor and Alan Hindley (2006)

In Preparation

Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400–1625, ed. by Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé

The Narrator, the Expositor, and the Prompter in European Medieval Theatre, ed. by Philip Butterworth